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University of California, Los Angeles

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A Grammar of

Huallaga (Huanuco) Quechua

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics by

David John Weber

1983
The dissertation of David John Weber is approved.

William Bright
Allen Johnson
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University of California, Los Angeles
1983

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<th>Trigger</th>
<th>Affectee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Category 1</td>
<td>Description 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Category 2</td>
<td>Description 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

...
ABBREVIATIONS

* unacceptable/ungrammatical/ill-formed

: length

Ø null (nothing)

1 first person singular

11 first person plural exclusive

12 first person plural inclusive

2 second person

3 third person

?? question marker

x = y (read 'x on y') the subject is x-person, and the object is y-person, e.g.,

3 = 2 indicates a third person subject an a second person object.

= y the object is y-person, e.g., = 2 indicates that the object is second

person

ABL ablative

ACC accusative

accom accompaniment

adv adverbial(izer)

asp aspect

bec become

ben benefactive

caus cause or causative

CNJ conjecture

COM comitative

compl completive

conc concerted

concen concentratedly

cond conditional

def definite

desid desiderative

DIR direct (information) or direction

dubit dubitive

EVD evidential

excl exclusive (i.e., excluding the hearer)

fut future

GEN genitive
GOAL
HgQ  
hum
IMP
impfv
incep
incl
IND
indef
inf
iter
LIM
LOC
man
NARPST
NEG
nml
NOM
NP
NRP
OBJ
P
part or prtc
pass
past
PERF
pg.
PL or plur
pol
punct
PQ
PUR
Q.
recip
refl
RF
resp
S
SHD
SIM
Sp.
ST
stat
sub

goal
Huallaga Quechua
human
imperative
imperfective
inceptive
inclusive
indirect (information)
indefinite
infinitive
iterative
limitative
locative
manner adverbial
narrative past
negative
nominalizer (subordinator)
nominative (case marker)
substantive phrase (i.e. noun phrase)
narrative past
object
possessive
participle
passive
simple past
perfect
page
plural
polite
punctual
proto-Quechua
purposive
Quechua
reciprocal
reflexive
rhetorical force
respective(ly)
sentence
shading (suffix)
similarity
Spanish
situation
state
substantivizing subordinator
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SUBJ</td>
<td>subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sud</td>
<td>sudden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>super or sup</td>
<td>superlative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tog</td>
<td>together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>topic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trans</td>
<td>transition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>verb phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vrb</td>
<td>verbalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WH</td>
<td>interrogative word (who, what, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YN?</td>
<td>yes/no question marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to the following:

To the members of my committee:
  Sandra Thompson (chairman), Paul Schachter, Bill Bright, Bob Kirsner, and
  Al Johnson. Their comments have helped to improve this dissertation a great
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  By allowing my family and me to live among them, by being the kind people
  that they are, and by being willing to instruct us in the use of their language,
  they have not only provided the data for this study, but also the stimulus to
  write it. I hope that this grammar will (in small measure) be a window through
  which is seen the beauty and uniqueness of their life and thought.

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  As the primary one to instruct me about Quechua language and culture, to
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  By signing a contract with the Summer Institute of Linguistics, they have made
  work such as this possible. I would particularly like to thank those
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  study would have been terminated in the initial stages.

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VITA

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PUBLICATIONS


ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

A Grammar of Huallaga (Huanuco) Quechua

by

David John Weber

Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

University of California, Los Angeles, 1983

Professor Sandra A. Thompson, Chair

This is a reference grammar of Huallaga (Huánuco) Quechua, an American Indian language spoken in central Peru. After (1) a general introduction and (2) an introduction to HgQ syntax, it contains chapters of the following topics: on word and suffix classes for (3) verbs, (4) substantives, (5) adverbs, and (6) other classes; on morphology: (7) word formation generally, (8) the "transitions," i.e., the complex which indicates the person of the subject and object, and (9) the suffixes which occur between the root and the transition; on grammatical relations: (10) case markers (11) and passives; (12) on substantive phrases; (13) on relative clauses and complements; (14) on adverbial clauses; (15) on reduplication; (16) on question formation; (17) on negation; (18) on conjunction; on the post-transition suffixes: (19) the "shading" suffixes (-lla, -pis, -na, and -raq), (20) the (so-called) "topic" marker -qa, and (21) the evidential suffixes (-mi, -shi and -chi); (22) on idiomatic and formulaic expressions; and (23) on phonology and loan processes.
1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Huallaga (Huanuco) Quechua

Huallaga Huanuco Quechua (HgQ) is spoken in the department of Huánuco (Peru), principally in the districts of Churubamba and Santa María del Valle, but also in the districts of Huánuco, San Francisco de Cayrán and Conchamarca. Torero [37] classified it as a "Quechua I" dialect, referring to it as "Alto Huallaga Quechua." (In Parker's [26] classification it is a "Quechua B" dialect, and in Landerman's [17] it is a "Central" dialect.) To some extent HgQ and its closest neighbor, Pachitea Quechua, are relic dialects, not having suffered as much change as the dialects to the west which were much closer to the pre-Colombian centers of prestige.

Residents of the capital of Huánuco who speak only Spanish generally regard Quechua as a thing of the past, unsuitable for modern purposes, at best an interesting artifact of former times. Many regard it as "corrupted" by Spanish loans (ignoring the fact that the Spanish of the region has been enriched considerably by words from Quechua). Because monolingual Quechua speakers seldom come to the capital, transacting their business through bilinguals who travel to and from the communities, many Huánuco residents have been led to think that all the people in the Quechua communities speak Spanish.

No one who has lived in a Quechua community--as my family and I have--can deny the importance of the Quechua language in the life of such communities. Quechua is spoken by all but a few outsiders. And while parents sometimes punish children for speaking Quechua, it is unquestionably the primary vehicle of communication. Only certain functions--e.g. education--are restricted to Spanish.¹

While Quechua is of extreme importance within communities, it is not an important element in the communication between communities. This is because the ways communities interact are largely Spanish-oriented. For example, the legal system functions entirely in Spanish, so that (considerable) interaction is not in Quechua. Communities meet each other for soccer matches, but that is very oriented to Spanish.² Other forms of interaction (e.g. a political rally) are at the initiative of Spanish-speaking outsiders, and are carried out in Spanish.

The fact that Quechua is no longer an important vehicle for communication between communities has perhaps retarded the spread of innovations of change within Quechua. The mechanism by which innovations are spread--speaker to speaker contact--has been undercut: when speakers from different communities get together, there is little or no interaction in Quechua. Further, differential prestige, a force that keeps innovations spreading, no longer fuels change in Quechua. Rather than attaching prestige to one or another of the local Quechua dialects, only Spanish is regarded as prestigious. Because of these two factors, I also suspect that innovations have not spread across Quechua for many years, i.e., except for many words borrowed from Spanish. HgQ

---

¹This restriction is due simply to teachers who know only Spanish. Many Quechua-speaking teachers have told me how much better things have gone using Quechua in the classroom.

²I have seen matches played to the blare of a radio announcer narrating (in Spanish) a game being played in Lima: it seems a form of "national participation."
is spoken today much as it was a hundred years ago. Unfortunately, there seems to be no way to verify this.

It is true that HgQ (as most Quechua dialects) has borrowed many words from Spanish. However, this is proof positive that Quechua is a living language: Quechua is daily shaped by the environment in which it must serve, an environment that includes new things (radios, trucks, insecticides etc.), new ideas and ideologies (reforms, revolutions, programs, religions, etc.), new situations (inflation), and so forth. While Quechua provides a rich set of mechanisms with which such things can be described it has opted for borrowing the words which accompany the new thing.

On the other hand, Spanish has had virtually no impact on the structure of the language. I have not found a single case where I can say with certainty that a construction is borrowed from Spanish, or that a Quechua structure has been modified under the influence of Spanish.

1.2. About the Author and the Data
I have been involved in the study of Quechua for the last 10 years, working under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Relatively little of this time (approximately two years) has actually been spent in a Quechua community. Contact has been maintained with Quechua speaking people from the capital of the Department of Huánuco, where I now make my home.

The corpus on which this study is based comprises
- field notes of elicited material.
- transcriptions of recordings.
- written texts.
- examples caught on the fly from conversations,
- observations made in the process of translating material into Quechua.

This data was organized by creating an exhaustive file (on paper slips) according to a method shown me by Dr. Harold Gleason. to whom I am extremely grateful.

Much of the data on which this study is based is due to Mr. Teodoro Cayco Villar. Teodoro was born in Huajay (Wahaq) in the district of Santa María del Valle, Huánuco. He has lived most of his adult life in the town of Llacón.

1.3. In What Sense a "Reference" Grammar
This is a reference grammar. It is intended as a source of information on HgQ made readily accessible by organization, cross-referencing and indexing. It should be useful to persons who have had little or no linguistic training, while at the same time being of interest to linguists, particularly those who study Quechua, but also those interested in typology and universals.

This grammar does not attempt to justify any particular theory of grammar. To the contrary, I have attempted a degree of theoretical neutrality. This is not because linguistic theory does not interest me, but because what I see as a more useful and enduring contribution is the sort of grammar presented below. Modelling a language as a formal system (which is what much "theory" tends toward being) is at best no more than a gross caricature of it.

I have intentionally included a large number of examples because:
1. I see a dangerous trend (in linguistic studies generally and particularly in those focusing on
Quichua) to theorize on the basis of few examples, these largely elicited.

2. I regard the examples as the primary instruments for demonstrating the facts of HgQ. The text is merely an aid to the reader so that he may appreciate the examples. The point is not whether or not the examples "prove" what I say, but whether from them the reader has an adequate reference for making his own conclusions. If the examples were elicited, I would not make such dependence on them. But virtually none of the examples are elicited. They are from from tape recordings (in reply to a query like, "What do you eat outside of the city?"), from written texts (e.g. in response to a request to tell what happens in Holy Week) or from sentences caught "on the fly" in conversation.

3. I hesitate to accept as a "fact" of the language something for which I have only one or two examples, particularly if they are from the same speaker. (Eliciting a few more examples seldom alleviate my skepticism; with a little arm-twisting you can get anything.) But when I find examples from different speakers and different texts consistent with what I conjecture, then I have a fact (perhaps not a "linguistic" fact, but a fact about language as it was actually used).

4. The examples are both pleasing and enlightening. They are not the dry stuff that comes of elicitation, but actual sentences used by native speakers to describing events and situations. Some convey subtle "overtones" (e.g. "Isn't it terrible how we are exploited?")--a difficult but fascinating aspect of "real" language. (This aspect of language is virtually always absent in elicited material.) Further, the examples provide glimpses into the culture. I believe that one cannot understand the nature of a language without also understanding the culture that it serves.

a. Speakers count on intelligent, culturally-informed hearers to correctly interpret what they say. For example, one of the first texts I studied had the expression "blow the light." The only way I had seen a light "blown" is that of blowing out a candle, so I assumed this to be the meaning, but it made no sense in the text since the participants were in the dark. "Blow the light" means to blow on a coal (usually along with a dry corn husk) to make it burst into flame, producing light. I understood the words and the syntax but I misunderstood the sentence completely because I did not know what is known by probably all HgQ speakers.

b. Language is a tool shaped by its speakers to optimize its usefulness in the physical and cultural environment in which it must serve and for the purposes to which it is put. To understand why a language works as it does, it is necessary to know its speakers, to know where they live, to know the conditions under which they say what they say, and with what intent they say them. For example, the system described in for hana (uphill) ura (downhill) and washa (at level) in 12.3.2.3 gains its utility from the physical environment in which Quechua is spoken: just as steep hillsides have influenced the angle between the handle and blade of the hoe used to farm those hillsides,\(^1\) so they have influenced the language.

c. The way that speakers shape their language is by "institutionalizing" tendencies. What proves useful--whether "grammatical" or not--comes to be accepted and incorporated by subsequent generations into the regularities of the language.

Much of this work consists of lists (with discussion) of various uses of suffixes. For a given

\(^{1}\)The angle between the handle and blade used throughout the HgQ area is about 40 degrees, as compared to (roughly) 90 degrees for the hoes generally used on level ground.
suffix, the uses are not discretely different, i.e., from use to use there is a great deal of commonality. The reader should not dwell on the issue of whether two uses should be recognized as the same or different: it is expected that there will be overlap because (basically) the uses of a suffix are a direct consequence of a commonality, one which we might call its "meaning." Time and space have prevented me from showing how, and to what extent, the various uses of each suffix result from a common meaning. I hope that this work will serve such studies in the future.

The glosses associated with morphemes are not intended as meanings; they are simply arbitrary labels to help the reader. When a particular morpheme has several uses/meanings, the label used might have little direct relationship to the meaning of that morpheme in a particular example. For example, -mu in aywa-ya-kamumun 'he is coming here' would be glossed as 'afar' even though a gloss like 'toward here' would have made clearer what this suffix contributes to the meaning in this case.

The typical example has three lines: a line of Quechua text with morpheme divisions, a morpheme by morpheme gloss, and a free gloss. Another type of example is used occasionally when there is considerable context, but where the Quechua form of that context does not bear directly on the example itself. In these, Quechua is embedded in a free translation of the whole. See, e.g. example 581.

Most of the examples are completely divided into morphemes, but some have more limited divisions. In these, more than one English word may correspond to a bit of Quechua, so these English words are separated by colons. For example, the reader should be prepared to see wasinpiita glossed as from:his:house or to see wasi-n-piina (house-3P-ABL) 'from his house'.

I have tried to observe the following conventions about the representation of morphemes when morpheme divisions are introduced into a word:

- An /a/ which results from an (underlying) high vowels by morphophonemic lowering (see section 23.8.11) is represented with a capital "A" or "I". For example, the /u/ of -rkU becomes /a/ in ayworkachir 'having made them go' so when broken into morphemes, this is represented as aywa-rukU-chi-r (go-up-caus-adv). When this /u/ is not lowered, it is written simply as u, e.g., aywa-rukUr (go-up-adv).

- A short vowel which results from an underlying long vowel by foreshortening (see section 23.8.13.1) is represented as short. For example, the length of -ma: '->1' is absent in rikaman 'he sees me', so when broken into morphemes, this is represented as rika-ma-n (see->1-3). If the vowel is pronounced long, then it is so written, e.g., rika-ma-na-n-paq (see->1-sub-3P-PUR).

- High vowels which are phonetically lowered by /q/ (see section 23.8.2) are written as lowered unless a morpheme boundary intervenes between the vowel and the /q/ which causes the lowering. For example, [atox] /atuq/ is written atoq 'fox' but [upox] /upuq/ is written upuq or upu-q (drink-sub) because of the morpheme boundary between the /u/ and the /q/.

Throughout the examples (and the text), unless the referent of a pronoun is clearly female, he is used rather than some genderless form (such as s/he). I beg the pardon of any who regard this as

---

4 The serious reader should get into the habit of reading these as /a/.

5 This convention is part of the government-mandated orthography; see section 23.6.
sexist or chauvinistic.\footnote{The Quechua language has no gender distinctions, but the inequities toward women are no less severe.}

\section{1.4. Quechua in the Department of Huanuco: Demographic Facts}

The following discussion is based on data from:
- the 1972 census (made available by the National Institute of Statistics), and
- a survey of Quechua languages made by Peter Landerman and other members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- my personal experiences in attempting to adapt text from one dialect of Quechua to another.

In map 1-1 (page 6), for each district is given the number of persons censused and the percentage which claimed not to know Spanish. Both figures must be considered absolute minima, for the following reasons:
1. many persons are not censused: of those the greater part are monolinguals because
   - monolinguals tend to be more suspicious of the census than bilinguals.\footnote{The Quechua people have long been censused for tax purposes.}
   - the more monolingual people live in very remote areas, making it difficult or impossible to interview them.
2. people generally claim to know Spanish even if their knowledge is extremely rudimentary; many who are listed as knowing Spanish probably know little beyond what is required for face-to-face buying and selling.
3. because of the low prestige of Quechua, many claim to know Spanish (and might deny knowing Quechua) even though Quechua is their native language or the one they speak 95\% of the time.

Taking these factors into consideration, the data show Quechua to be widely spoken in the department, particularly east of the Marañón river.

The Quechua of the department of Huánuco can be grossly divided into six dialect areas; see map 1-2 (page 7). Within each of these areas there are minor dialect differences.\footnote{The areas outlined here are an informed speculation about how the languages would be grouped for an educational strategy which uses Quechua as the primary vehicle of literacy. It is impractical to prepare separate materials for each hamlet; but material should be prepared for each area where dialect differences would otherwise impede a student's progress.}

Table 1-1 (page 8) summarizes some facts about these gross dialect areas. The columns contain the following:
1. for the whole area, the thousands of people who do not speak Spanish,
2. the districts with the highest concentration of monolingual Quechua speakers.\footnote{These are represented in figure 1-2 by the denser shading within the dialect areas.}
3. for the districts of highest concentration, the percentage who do not speak Spanish.
Figure 1-1: MONOLINGUALISM IN THE DISTRICTS OF HUANUCO
Figure 1-2: GROSS DIALECT DIVISIONS IN HUANUCO
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
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<td>ch</td>
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<td>ts</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>husa</td>
<td>qosa</td>
<td>qowa</td>
<td>qowa</td>
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<tr>
<td>*tiya-</td>
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<td>-sha</td>
<td>-shqa</td>
<td>-sha:-shqa</td>
<td>-shqa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1-2: PHONOLOGICAL DIFFERENTIATORS FOR HUANUCO DEPARTMENT
Dialect Diversity in Huánuco Department [1.5]

Table 1-3: MORPHO-SYNTACTIC DIFFERENTIATORS FOR HUANUCO DEPARTMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1)</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>-shka</td>
<td>-shka</td>
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<tr>
<td>-nqa 'rel'</td>
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<td>yes</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ya: 'pi'</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ku '?'</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>-ku-</td>
<td>tsu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ski</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-paq 'fut'</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kuna/VERB</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inf/VB FSL</td>
<td>-y-ta</td>
<td>-y-</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>-r</td>
<td>-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RecentPast</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-shu&lt;shka</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1-4: LEXICAL DIFFERENTIATORS FOR HUANUCO DEPARTMENT

12 Is the perfect tense collapsed, and if so, has /ka/ or /qa/ been dropped?
13 Does this dialect have a relativizer -nqa?
14 Does this dialect pluralize verbs primarily with -ya?
15 Is the yes-no question marker ku? Other dialects have -chu.
16 Does this dialect have -ski?
17 May future verbs be followed by -paq?
18 May -kuna be used as a verbal pluralizer?
19 How are the complements of phasal verbs (begin, end, etc.) subordinated?
20 Is there a recent-remote past tense distinction?
21 Does -shu precede or follow the perfect tense marker, i.e., -shu-shka or -shka-shu?
1.6. Huallaga (Huanuco) Quechua: Subdialectal Variation

In the HgQ dialect area there is some minor variation, none of which seems to impair intelligibility. No detailed survey of the area has been made; I have observed the following:

1. The /k/ of the imperfective suffix -yka: is often voiced, may become a fricative, and may even be absent. Thus all the following are attested: [-yka:~yga:~yya:~ya:]

2. noqakuna 'we(exclusive)' has various alternative forms: The /q/ may be voiced [noqakuna] or a (voiced) fricative [noyakuna]. The vowel following /q/ may be dropped, in which case the /q/ becomes voiceless [noxkuna]. This may in turn become simply length [no:kuna].

3. As in the neighboring dialect of Pachitea, word initial /q/ is sometimes pronounced [h]. This is infrequent except in some areas for which there is a geographically explanation: in the area of Malconga (district of Santa Maria del Valle) the tendency is substantial; a major trail from the Pachitea area to the departmental capital used to run through this area.

1.7. The Organization of this Work

This work is organized as follows:

1. Chapters 2 gives a quick introduction to HgQ syntax.

2. The next four chapters deal with classes of words and the suffixes which apply to them:
   - Chapter 3 deals with verbs.
   - Chapter 4 deals with substantives.
   - Chapter 5 deals with adverbs.
   - Chapter 6 deals with other classes.

3. The next three chapters deal with morphology:
   - Chapter 7 deals with word formation generally.
   - Chapter 8 deals with the "transition." i.e., the complex of suffixes which includes the tense marker or subordinator and indicates the person of the subject and object.
   - Chapter 9 deals with "pre-transition" suffixes, i.e., those which occur between the root/stem and the transition.

4. The next two chapters deal with relating substantives and verbs:
   - Chapter 10 deals with the case markers, i.e. the suffixes which typically indicate the relationship of a substantive to a verb.
   - Chapter 11 deals with passives, i.e. verbal phrases in which substantives relate to the verb as subjects which would otherwise relate as objects.

5. Chapter 12 deals with substantive phrases.

6. Chapter 13 surveys de-clausal substantives (relative clauses and various sorts of complement).

7. Chapter 14 deals with adverbial clauses.

8. Chapter 15 deals with reduplication. It is discussed here because much of it depends on the mechanism of adverbial clause formation, dealt with in chapter 14.

9. The next three chapters deal with traditionally syntactic topics:
   - Chapter 16 deals with question formation.
   - Chapter 17 deals with negation.
   - Chapter 18 deals with conjunction.

10. The next three chapters deal with suffixes which follow the transition. To give an account of them typically requires considerations beyond the clause in which they are used.
    - Chapter 19 deals with four suffixes which I have chosen to call "shading" suffixes.
- Chapter 20 deals with the (so-called) "topic" marker.
- Chapter 21 deals with the evidential suffixes.

11. Chapter 22 lists various expressions that are not directly interpretable from the morpho-syntax (e.g. idioms).
12. Finally, chapter 23 surveys aspects of the phonology and processes by which words have been borrowed.
2. INTRODUCTION TO THE SYNTAX

This chapter introduces some of the basics of Quechua morpho-syntax.

2.1. Word Classes

There are two major open lexical classes: verbs and substantives. Verbs are sub-classified on the basis of transitivity, complement type, etc. Within the substantives there are various closed subclasses such as various sorts of pronoun (demonstrative, personal, interrogative/indefinite, intensifying/reflexive,...), quantifier (including numerals), etc. and the large open class of noun-adjectives. There is insufficient evidence of a strictly morpho-syntactic nature for considering that nouns and adjectives form distinct lexical classes. (Also, relative clauses and nominalizations cannot be distinguished on a purely morpho-syntactic basis.)

There are no definite articles distinct from demonstrative noun/adjectives (such as chay ‘that’, kay ‘this’, tayoq ‘that (afar)’...). There is no indefinite article, and only infrequently is the numeral one (huk) used as an indefinite article. e.g.:

\[ \text{huk runa kasha}\]
\[ \text{One man there:was} \]
\[ \text{There was a man.} \]

2.2. Importance of Suffixes in the Morpho-Syntax

HgQ morpho-syntax rests heavily on suffixation: all affixation is by suffixing. In virtually any sort of text, slightly more than half of the morphemes which occur are suffixes. The combinatorial of word formation are very productive. e.g.:

\[ \text{uma - sapa - yaa - kaaku - chi - maa - na - n - paq} \]
\[ \text{head-big-become-completive-cause-\#1-sub-}\text{-P\text{-PUR}} \]
\[ \text{‘in order to cause me to become completely big-headed’} \]

Suffixes are used to indicate (but a few of the many uses):

- the person of the subject and object of a verb: e.g. in mucha-ma-nki ‘you kiss me’ the -ma indicates a first person object and the -nki indicates a second person subject.
- tense: e.g. in mucha-ma-shka-nki ‘you kissed me’ -shka indicates past tense.
- aspect: e.g. mucha-ra-ya-ka-n ‘he kisses her (a long, protracted kiss)’. 
- shades of meaning: e.g. mucha-yku-ra-n ‘he kissed her! (forcefully, surprisingly)’.
- the relationship of a substantive phrase to a verb: e.g. in Maria-ta mucha-ra-n ‘He kissed Mary’. -ta indicates that Maria is the object of mucha-ra-n.
- whether something was witnessed, was heard second hand, or is simply conjectured; e.g. Juan-shi Maria-ta mucha-ra-n ‘John (it is said) kissed Mary’.

The point is this: a morpho-syntax of Quechua must treat primarily its suffixes. Suffixes which apply to verbs are introduced in section 7.1 and elaborated primarily in chapters 8 and 9.

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22One goal of this grammar is to give a fairly complete picture of various uses of each suffix. In some cases this is best embedded within a discussion of a general topic (e.g. -ma: ‘first person object’ is only treated as part of the general system of indicating the person of the subject and object) while others—particularly the semantically richer ones—are dealt with more individually.
2.2.1. Person agreement

Subject agreement suffixes play a large role in the syntax. There are two sets. One set is used typically with verbs; the other set is used with substantives and adverbial clauses and will be referred to as the possessive suffixes. The forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>for verbs</th>
<th>substantives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-1 (i.e. length)</td>
<td>-1P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nki</td>
<td>-yki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nchi:</td>
<td>-nchi:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The plural forms are formed by other, co-occurring suffixes, e.g. aywa-pa:ku-n (go-plur-3) 'they are going'. Note that in HgQ these sets differ only in the second person; in other dialects they differ in some other persons as well. HgQ and other Quechua B (Quechua I) dialects are clearly moving toward a single class for these agreement suffixes.

2.2.2. Case and Case Marking

HgQ is a subject-prominent language: i.e. the structure of the sentences favors a description in which the grammatical relation subject-predicate plays a major role. (For a discussion of the notion of "subject-prominent" language, see Li and Thompson [21].) Case-marking, which is nominative-accusative, is accomplished by attaching one suffix to the rightmost constituent of the NP.

The nominative case is unmarked, i.e., no overt suffix occurs. Both the accusative and the dative cases are marked by -ta, which will be glossed simply 'OBJ' e.g.:

Juan-ta kuchi-ta ranti-kusha
John-OBJ pig-OBJ he:sold

'He sold a/the pig to John'.

There are several oblique case markers, among them -chaw 'LOCative', -man 'GOAL', -pita 'ABLative', -wan 'COMitative' (instrument or accompaniment), -paq 'PURPosive', and -yaq-kama 'LIMitative'. These are further introduced in section 4.3.3. Case is discussed in considerable detail in chapter 10.

2.2.3. The Scope of Suffixes

An insightful way to view HgQ morpho-syntax is based on the notion that morphemes (suffixes included!) are operators on other morphemes or sequences of morphemes. (A limited version of this view, restricted to word formation, is discussed in section 7.3). Scope plays an important role in this perspective because an operator must have its operand within its scope. If this approach is extended
to include elements larger than a single word, the picture that emerges is that suffixes frequently have more than one word within their scope.

Examples 4 and 5 illustrate the extent to which suffixes may have units larger than a single word in their scope.

4. \textit{mangor asnu} -pa \textit{wirpa-n} -raw sin\textit{qa}-vog China
   mangor donkey-GEN lip-3P -SIM nose -HAVING girl
   'a girl with a nose like a mangor donkey's lip'

5. \textit{"Ama miku-y-chu} ni-sha:-} yoora]-pa wayu-y-nin]-la...
   not eat-2IMP-NEG say-sub-1P tree-GEN fruit-3P-OBJ
   '...the fruit of the tree of which I said "Do not eat it."'

Some justifications will now be sketched for the view that in many cases suffixes have such scopes.

1. In section 10.15.5, two arguments are given to show that case markers have within their scope the whole substantive phrase to which they are attached.
2. In some cases the object NP and the verb root (stem) form a constituent to which some following verbal suffix is sensitive. This is argued for -\textit{mu} 'afar' in section 9.3.2.6.
3. Section 14.3.1 discusses a case in which an apparent switch reference anomaly is resolved by assuming a structure in which -\textit{chi} 'cause' has within its scope an adverbial clause and a verb. The switch reference facts show that these must be combined prior to the addition of -\textit{chi} 'caus'.
4. There is an anomaly concerning the morphological marking of subjects and objects in verbs: e.g., if the subject is third person, and the object is first person plural inclusive, then the subject marker is first person plural inclusive. That is, to indicate $3=\#12$ one uses -\textit{m} \#1...\#12:

   maqa-ma-ra-nchi
   hit-\#1-past-\#12
   'he hit us' ($3=\#12$)

In 6 this anomaly spans the tense marker -\textit{ra} 'past'; in 7 it spans a word boundary (brought about by the paraphrastic future):

   taripa -\textit{ma}-\textit{q} aywa-nchi
   catch:up:to-\#1-sub go -\#12
   'He will catch up to us.'

On phonological grounds this is definitely two words. Yet the subject and object marking anomaly spans this word boundary. If this is structurally 8 such an anomaly would be surprising, but as analyzed in 9a it is completely parallel to 9b (corresponding to 6b) in which a simple tense marker occurs between the subject and object marking:

8. \textit{[taripa-ma-q]} adv \textit{[aywa-nchi]} verb VP
   a. \textit{[taripa-ma]} V\#1\#0 aywa\#1\#1 nchi\#1\#0
   b. \textit{[taripa-ma]} V\#1\#1 ra\#1\#1 nchi\#1\#0

5. Quechua is a highly agglutinative language, i.e., it demonstrates the effects of a long history of postpositions cliticizing onto the ends of words to form new suffixes. A very clear case of this is -\textit{q tuku-} (-sub pretend-) becoming -\textit{qtuku-} followed by a reanalysis of \textit{ku} to -\textit{kU}, ultimately

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23 This example is from Huaraz (Ancash) Quechua, reported by Helen Larsen in an unpublished paper. It is acceptable in HgQ.
yielding -{}gut{}kU. Before this collapse, what was the structure of aywa-q tuku-n 'He pretends to go'?

a. [aywa\textsubscript{V1}g\textsubscript{ADV} [tuku-n]\textsubscript{S}]

b. [aywa\textsubscript{V1}a tuku\textsubscript{V1}]

c. [aywa\textsubscript{V1}atuku\textsubscript{V1}]

d. [aywa\textsubscript{V1}atu\textsubscript{V1}k\textsubscript{V1}]

If it were 10a, collapse would have involved radical restructuring. But if it were 10b, restructuring is localized to the underlined nodes. The fused form is in 10c and the reanalyzed form is in 10d.

The approach just sketched, in which suffixes are assumed to apply to units larger than a word, seems to provide many insights into the grammar. The facts discussed in the rest of this grammar do not depend, however, on accepting this approach.

### 2.3. What is a Sentence?

A **SENTENCE** must contain a predication. It may contain other elements such as oblique substantive phrases (i.e., substantive phrases which are not the subject or an object of the predicate), adverbial clauses, interjections, links.

A **PREDICATION** must contain a predicate. It may contain other elements such as substantive phrases (particularly a subject and one or more objects), adverbs, adverbial clauses. (Note, nothing in the definition of predicate requires any substantive phrases, so overt subjects and object phrases are optional.)

A **PREDICATE** is either

1. a **FINITE VERB (PHRASE)**, i.e. one which is not subordinate: this might be either
   a. an auxiliary verb (phrase) with its substantive complement, or
   b. a verb (phrase).

or

2. a substantive (phrase), one which can be interpreted as the complement of an absent auxiliary verb. This could be
   a. a non-finite verb, in which case it is interpreted as a compound tense, or
   b. a substantive phrase, in which case it is interpreted as a predicate substantive.

To illustrate possible predicates, aywanan 'he went' is a finite verb. olgio karan 'it was a male' is an auxiliary (formed from kar- 'to be') with its complement. puka 'red' and sumaq hatun 'very big' are substantive phrases. and aywanan 'it's going (irreals)' and gomasha 'he gave it to me (participle)' are non-finite verbs.

A predication could be formed from each of these predicates: *Marucha aywanan* 'Mary went', *Juanpa wamran olgio karan*. 'John's child was a male (child)'. wasin puka 'his house is red', wasin sumaq hatun 'his house is very big'. Pillkuta aywanan 'he should go to Pillku', wasita gomasha 'he gave me a house'.

\[24\] That is, ku acquires the property of undergoing morphophonemic lowering (see section 23.8.11) so e.g. moq-qut-ka-ma-y 'pretend to hit me'.

16
A sentence could be formed from each of these predications: *Qanyamni Marucho aywaran*. ‘Mary went yesterday’ *Wallka wamran kaptinpis wasin sumaq hatun*. ‘Although his children are few. his house is very big’. *Wasita qomasha alli tiyanaapaq*. ‘He gave me a house so that I might live comfortably’. etc.

Predications are also formed with the auxiliary *ka* ‘to be’. It is used in various ways, some as follows:

- predicate noun-adjectives
  - *Pay hatun ka-ra-n* (he big be-past-3) ‘He was big’,
  - *pay aqenadaaru ka-ra-n* (he hacienda:owner be-past-3) ‘He was an hacienda owner’;

- compound tenses
  - *Pillku-man aywar ga ka*: (Pillku-GOAL go-sub be-1) ‘I used to go to Pillku’
  - *Tuni-na-n-paq ka-yka-n* (fall-sub-3P-PUR be-impfv-3) ‘It is about to fall’

The full range of uses of the *ka* ‘to be’ is discussed in section 3.1.1.2.

Sentences, predications and predicates are not classified into declarative, interrogative, imperative, etc. nor into equational, intransitive, transitive, and di-transitive in this grammar. What in other grammars\(^2\) is said here in terms of smaller units (morphemes and phrases).

Example 11 is an illustrative sentence, broken down to show its components and the function each component plays:

11

a. Chawra
b. llyunkunqaa
  c. “lloqshiykaamun wañuchimaananchiipaq” nishpañshi
d. qeshipir awakun
e. wasiñpita
f. chakay
g. puntapa

a. So
b. the lions
  c. saying “They are coming out to kill us”
  d. escaping go
  e. from their house
  f. at night
  g. to the ridge.

'Then the lions, saying "They are coming out to kill us" go fleeing from their house at night to the ridge.'

Other elements which could be added are interjections and vocatives.

### 2.4. Word Order

HgQ strongly demonstrates the properties characteristic of a language in which the order of

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\(^2\) Such distinctions are rightly made for Indo-European languages because they are very significant for the structure of those languages.
major sentence elements is SUBJECT < OBJECT < VERB. Thus, HgQ is an SOV\textsuperscript{27} language. However, of the properties characteristic of an SOV language, the one which HgQ least demonstrates is that of having SUBJECT < OBJECT < VERB word order. HgQ has a fairly free word order, particularly in non-subordinate clauses. For example, all permutations of 12 are acceptable:

\begin{quote}
Juan Tumas-ta maqa-n.
John Tom-OBJ hit-3
\end{quote}

More significant evidence of the freedom of word order is seen in table 2-1, a count of 1309 sentences.\textsuperscript{28}

\begin{tabular}{lrr}
\textbf{PERCENTAGE} & \textbf{TYPE} & \textbf{NO. OF CASES} \\
\hline
5% & \textit{[with no verb]} & 69 \\
40% & \textit{[with an intransitive verb]} & 625 \\
& \quad 53% & \textit{[SUBJ present]} & 280 \\
& \quad 76% & \textit{[SUBJ < VERB]} & 212 \\
& \quad 24% & \textit{[VERB < SUBJ]} & 88 \\
& \quad 47% & \textit{[SUBJ absent]} & 245 \\
17% & \textit{[with n\textsuperscript{r} as verb]} & 224 \\
& \quad 67% & \textit{[SUBJ present]} & 149 \\
& \quad \quad 61% & \textit{[SUBJ < VERB]} & 91 \\
& \quad \quad \quad 12% & \textit{[OBJ present]} & 11 \\
& \quad \quad \quad 36% & \textit{[OBJ < VERB]} & 4 \\
& \quad \quad \quad 64% & \textit{[VERB < OBJ]} & 7 \\
& \quad \quad \quad 88% & \textit{[OBJ absent]} & 80 \\
& \quad \quad 39% & \textit{[VERB < SUBJ]} & 58 \\
& \quad \quad \quad 7% & \textit{[OBJ present]} & 4 \\
& \quad \quad \quad 25% & \textit{[OBJ < VERB]} & 3 \\
& \quad \quad \quad 76% & \textit{[VERB < OBJ]} & 54 \\
& \quad \quad 93% & \textit{[OBJ absent]} & 76 \\
& \quad 33% & \textit{[SUBJ absent]} & 149 \\
& \quad \quad 13% & \textit{[OBJ present]} & 10 \\
& \quad \quad \quad 50% & \textit{[OBJ < VERB]} & 5 \\
& \quad \quad \quad 50% & \textit{[VERB < OBJ]} & 5 \\
& \quad \quad 87% & \textit{[OBJ absent]} & 65 \\
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{26}Not coincidentally--I believe--the basic order of major constituents (SUBJECT, OBJECT, VERB) mirror that of the corresponding affix. In the model sketched in Weber\textsuperscript{[38]} the suffix and the overt noun phrase would be co-constituents, as in the following:

\[ [\text{SUBJECT} \quad [\text{OBJECT} \quad [\text{verb}] \quad \text{obj}] \quad \text{subj}] \]

\textsuperscript{27}See Greenberg\textsuperscript{[13].}

\textsuperscript{28}\textit{n\textsuperscript{r}} 'to say' has been treated as exceptional: this is because its natural complement is a quote. Since quotes tend to directly precede \textit{n\textsuperscript{r}} they separate the subject phrase from \textit{n\textsuperscript{r}} by the length of the quote--in many cases a not inconsiderable distance. This gives rise to a preference for putting the subject after the verb more frequently than with other verbs.
38\% [with a transitive verb]
   31\% [SUBJ present]
   75\% [OBJ < VERB]
   68\% [OBJ < VERB]
   66\% [OBJ < VERB]
   56\% [OBJ < VERB]
   60\% [OBJ < VERB]
   42\% [OBJ absent]
   25\% [VERB < OBJ]
   50\% [SUBJ present]
   71\% [OBJ < VERB]
   70\% [OBJ < VERB]
   68\% [OBJ < VERB]
   60\% [OBJ present]
   60\% [OBJ < VERB]
   59\% [OBJ < VERB]
   40\% [OBJ absent]
   19\% [OBJ absent]
   13\% [OBJ absent]

Table 2-1: THE ORDER OF SUBJECTS OBJECTS AND VERBS

Several things are worth noting:

1. There is a strong tendency to have either a subject or object but not both. Out of 714 sentences which have transitive verbs (including those with ni- 'say'), only 99 had both a subject and object (about 12\%).
2. Of these 99 cases, only 48 have SOV order.
3. The total number of sentences in the corpus which are not consistent with SOV order is 160 (about 12\%).

These figures would hardly lead anyone to conclude that HgQ is an SOV language. However, HgQ does strongly show the correlates of SOV word order, i.e. post-positions over prepositions, modifiers before heads, possessors before possessed, auxiliary verb after "main" verb, etc. Some of these will now be discussed.

2.4.1. Word Order: Subject and Object in Subordinate Clauses

The tendency toward rigid SOV word order is much greater in subordinate clauses. For example, 13 is acceptable: note that the order of the doubly embedded complement (underlined) is SOV:

Muna: : [pay [Tumas Pablute maqa-shan-ta] musya-nan-ta].
want-1 he Tom Paul-OBJ hit-SUB-OBJ know-NOM-OBJ
'I want him to know that Tom hit Paul.'

If the subject and object are reversed in this complement it becomes unacceptable (see 14) even though this order is acceptable in the main clause:

*Muna: [pay [Pablute Tumas maqashanta] musyananta]

\footnote{The non-SOV order is also acceptable in most singly embedded complements.}
2.4.2. Word Order: Modifier < Head

Adjectives generally precede the nouns they modify, e.g.:

hatun runa
big man
'big man'

This is not the only possibility, as will be seen below. The most common order for multiple adjectives is (1) demonstrative, (2) numeral, and (3) qualifying adjectives, e.g.:

chay ishkal hatun wasi-kuna
that two big house-plur
'those two big houses'

Adjectives do not agree in any way with the nouns they modify.

The possessive construction involves
- obligatorily suffixing a possessive suffix to the possessed noun, and
- optionally adding the possessor phrase with the genitive suffix -pa.

As typologically expected, the possessor generally precedes the possessed phrase: e.g.:

(Juan-pa) chaki-n
(John-GEN) foot-3P
'John's foot/his foot.'

Adverbs precede the adjectives they modify, e.g.:

sumaq wire waaka
very fat cow
'a/the very fat cow'.

They generally precede the verb that they modify, e.g.:

wedruyllapa purin
limpingly he:walks
'He walks limpingly.'

However there is considerable freedom: the adverb may follow the verb or be separated from it by some other constituent: e.g.: all permutations of 20 are acceptable:

pakayllapa waaka:ta suwapamasha
hiddenly cow-1P-OBJ he:stole:it:on:me
'He stole my cow on the sly (to my detriment)'

2.4.3. Word Order: The Auxiliary Verb ka- 'be'

The auxiliary verb ka- 'be' forms many compound expressions. In these the "main" verb is syntactically subordinated to ka- 'be'. As typologically predicted, the auxiliary follows the verb that it "helps." Example 21, a future perfect, and 22, a habitual past, illustrate this:

Pillku-man aywa-sha ka-shaq.
Pillku-GOAL go-prtc be-1FUT
'I will have gone to Pillku.'

Pillku-man aywa-ka-.
pillku-GOAL go-sub be-i
'I used to go to Pillku.'
2.4.4. Word Order: Subordination

Subordinate clauses tend to precede the verb to which they are subordinate, but this word-order is not rigid. e.g. 23a and 23b are synonymous:

   kiss-INF-OBJ want-1
23

b. Muna-ː mucha-y-ta.
   want-1 kiss-INF-OBJ

a.b. 'I want to kiss him/you.'

Embeddings within embeddings are, of course, allowed: e.g.:

[[Yapya-y]-ta usha-na-n]-ta shuyarayka-n.
   plow-INF-OBJ finish-NOM-3P-OBJ be:waiting-3

'He is waiting for him to finish plowing.'

2.5. Negation

Negation is accomplished by the word mana 'not' or ama 'not (for imperatives)' accompanied by the suffix -chu 'NEG'. -chu does not occur in or on subordinate clauses except as mentioned below. E.g.:

Mana musyaːː-ːchu.
not know-1-NEG
25

'I do not know.'

Ama aywa-y-ːchu!
not go-2IMP-NEG
26

'Don't go!'

Chari-y mana qeshpi-na-n-paq.
grab-2IMP not escape-NOM-3P-PUR
27

'Grab him so that he won't escape.'

Mana is occasionally omitted in main clauses, e.g.:

Aywa-shao-ːchu.
not go-1FUT-NEG
28

'I will not go.'

-chu 'NEG' interacts with the so-called 'topic' marker -qa 'TOP' in focusing on an element of the negative sentence. To a limited extent, this is done by merely placing -chu on the focal element, e.g.:

Mana maqasha Juuan-ta-ːchu.
not he:hit him John-OBJ-NEG
29

'He didn't hit JOHN (i.e. he hit someone else).'

A more general pattern is that -chu 'NEG' occurs on the verb and -qa occurs on the focal element, e.g.:

Mana maqasha-ːchu Juuan-ta-ːqa.
not he:hit him-NEG John-OBJ-TOP
30

'He didn't hit JOHN.'

Negation of verbs which have a compound tense (in which they are subordinate to the auxiliary verb ka-ː) generally have -chu on the subordinate verb, e.g.:
2.6. Questions

Yes-no questions are formed by suffixing -chu ‘YN?’ either to the questioned element or to the verb. -chu ‘YN?’ shows the same sort of interaction with -qa ‘TOP’ discussed above for -chu ‘NEG’\(^30\).

E.g.:

Mary Juan-ta-chu maqa-sha?
Mary John-OBJ-YN? hit-3PERF

'Did Mary hit JOHN? (or did she hit someone else?)'

Mary Juan-ta-qa maqa-sha-chu?
Mary John-OBJ-TOP hit-3PERF-?

'Did Mary hit JOHN? (or did she hit someone else?)'

Content questions are formed by inserting a WH word (e.g. ima ‘what’, pi ‘who’, mayqa ‘which’, ayka ‘how much’, imay ‘when’, imanir ‘why’...) for the questioned element and suffixing an interrogative suffix (-taq or -raq) following that constituent. The questioned NP is generally (but not always) fronted to the beginning of the sentence. E.g.:

Ima-ta-qa chay?
what-?? that

'What is that?'

Pi-ta-ta-qa qoyku-shka-nki?
who-DAT-?? give-perf-2

'To whom did you give (it)?'

Pi-raq suwa-paa-maa-sha?
who-?? steal-ben-??-1-3PERF

'Who might have stolen it on me?'

Ayka waaka-ta-ta-qa ranti-shka-nki?
how-many cow-OBJ-?? buy-perf-2

'How many cows did you buy?'.

2.7. Conjunction

There are no conjunctions except those recently borrowed from Spanish (like y from Sp. y ‘and’, piru from Sp. pero ‘but’, akesee from Sp. aun que sea ‘although’). These are undoubtedly more in evidence in the speech of bilinguals than in “purer” Quechua, for which conjunction is accomplished either by simple juxtaposition, as in 38, or with the comitative suffix (-wan), as in 39:

Kuka-ta awindi-ta sigaaru-ta ranti-sha.
coca-OBJ firewater-OBJ cigarettes-OBJ buy-3PERF

'He bought coca, firewater, and cigarettes'.

\(^30\) Indeed, -chu ‘NEG’ and -chu ‘YN?’ may be considered the same suffix in HgQ: some other dialects (e.g. Ancash Quechua) have two distinct forms for these.
2.8. Quotes

Direct quotes are frequent in HgQ. They are fully sentential because
- they have a finite verb,
- they may have an evidential suffix.
- they bear no grammatical relation (e.g., subject, object...) to any verb.

Only a few verbs frame direct quotes; the principle one is ni- 'say'. To use a quote with verbs such as parla- 'converse, agree to', willa- 'tell, advise', gappa- 'yell', rina- 'speak' the quote is embedded within an adverbial clause whose verb is ni-. For example, to use a quote with willa- 'tell', one says "X" ni-r willa- (X say-adv tell-) 'tell "X":

"Ama aywa-y-chu!" ni-r willa-shka-:
not go-IMP-NEG say-adv tell-perf-1

'I told him not to go.'
(lit. 'I advised him saying "Don't go!'"

The verb ni- 'say' may be used for definitions, i.e., in the sense of 'refer to as'; e.g.:

"Mundunqo" ni-n muti llushki-sha-ta.
mondongo say-3 corn peel-prtc-OBJ

'They call peeled corn "mundunqo".'

Direct quotes may occur in relative clauses; e.g.:

["Manka-siki" niptee maqamashan runa]-ta rikaa.
["pot-buttckes" when-1:said who:hit:me man]-OBJ 1:see

'I see the man who hit me when I called him (said to him)
"baggy-pants".'

Indirect quotes are very infrequent in HgQ. They are usually subordinated as a purpose clause; e.g.:

Rura-nu-na-n-pag ni-sha.
30-sub-3P-PUR say-3PERF

"He said that I should do it."
References to quotes (or the content of those quotes) are made with the case marker -naw 'SIM': e.g.:

Chay-naw ni-ra-n.
that-SIM say-past-3P

'He said that.'

Willa-ma-sha-yki-naw ni-shka-:
tell-->1-sub-2P-SIM say-perf-1

'I said what you told me.'

These may be nothing more than an indefinite expression: e.g.:

Ama ima-pis ni-y-chu.
not what-indef say-2IMP-NEG

'Don't say anything.'

Quotes may be nested within quotes: e.g., there are several instances in 517 (page 130). And, as example 50 shows, a narrative may be nothing but quotes.33

---

33 This has serious implications for notions like "event line" or "backbone" since there is no material which could be called the "event line."
(A) Señor sapo, llall-i-naku-shun punta-man.
    mister frog race-recip-12IMP ridge-GOAL

    Mayqa-nchi-shi mas ñaw+puta-ta chaya-r miku-naku-shun.
    which-12P-IND more first-OBJ arrive-adv eat-recip-12FUT

    Qam ñaw+puta-ta chaya-r noqa-ta miku-me-nki.
    you first-OBJ arrive-adv 1-OBJ eat--->1-2

    Noqa ñaw+puta-ta chaya-r qam-ta miku-shayki.
    I first-OBJ arrive-adv you-OBJ eat-1=2FUT

(B) Yaa, koorri-shun. (lapse) Señor sapo!
    OK run-12IMP mister frog

(A) Tok!! (loud)
    croak

(B) Señor sapo!
    mister frog

(A) Tok! (soft)
    croak

(B) Señor sapo!
    mister frog

(A) Tok (very soft)
    croak

(B) noqa manana...
    I not:now

(A) Mister frog, let' race to the ridge.
    Which ever of us arrives first, he will eat the other.
    If you arrive first, you will eat me.
    If I arrive first, I will eat you.

(B) Ok, let's run. (lapse) Mister frog!

(A) Croak (loud)

(B) Mister frog!

(A) Croak (soft)

(B) Mister frog!

(A) Croak (very soft)

(B) Oh no, I can no longer...
3. VERBAL ELEMENTS

3.1. Verb Classes and Properties

This section deals with distinctions which must be made for verbs: classes of verbs and properties of verbs. There is a basic distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs. INTRANSITIVE verbs do not occur with an object (neither an object noun phrase nor an object marking suffix). TRANSITIVE verbs may occur with an object. A transitive verb is not required to have an object: both the noun phrase and its object marking may be absent, but its meaning involves some object. E.g., *miku* is a transitive verb (*mikushayki* 'I will eat you'); in *pay miku* 'He eats' no object occurs but it is strongly implied that he ate *something*. It is not necessary to distinguish DTRANSITIVE verbs as the morphology allows for agreement with only one object, and there is little or no morpho-syntactic justification for distinguishing direct and indirect objects.

3.1.1. Subclasses of Verbs

Within the class of verbs, certain subclasses are significant. These are discussed in this section.

3.1.1.1. Transitive/Intransitive verbs

There is a small class of verbs which may be used either as intransitive or transitive and for which the object of the transitive corresponds to the subject of the intransitive. Two such verbs are *kicha* 'to open, to be open' and *wichqa* 'to close, to be closed'. e.g.,

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Punku-tá kicha-y,} \\
\text{door-DBJ open-2IMP} \\
\text{‘Open the door.’}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Punku kicha-(ra)-yka-n,} \\
\text{door open-(state)-impfv-3} \\
\text{‘The door is open.’}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Punku wichqa-n.} \\
\text{door close-3} \\
\text{‘The door is closed.’}
\end{array}
\]

3.1.1.2. Auxiliary verbs

There are various uses of the auxiliary verb *ka* 'to be':

1. It may be PREDICATIONAL, i.e., ascribing the property expressed in the complement to the subject. The complement generally precedes the auxiliary, but may also follow, e.g., one can say *puka ka-nqa* (red be-3FUT) or *ka-nqa puka* (be-3FUT red) 'It will be red'.

2. It may be TEMPORAL, i.e., in the formation of a compound tenses. Used temporally, the auxiliary must directly follow the complement; e.g., one can say *aywa-sha ka-ra-n* (go-participle be-past-3) 'he had gone' but not (*karan aywashya).

3. It may be used with a case marked substantive to form a predicate, e.g., *Wasi-n-chaw ka-yka-n*.

---

\[\text{Note: *kicha* cannot be used as an active verb as e.g. when *-ra* is omitted. 52 may mean ‘The door is open’ but not ‘The door is opening.’}\]
Auxiliary verbs [3.1.1.2]

(house-3P-LOC be-impfv-3) 'He is in his house'. Wañu-nawn ka-ya-za. (die-sub-SIM be-impfv-3) 'He is as though dead.'

4. It may be EXISTENTIAL ka- i.e., to assert that its subject exists or is present. In this case the verb formed from ka- is not optional, e.g., in response to a question 'Is there bread?' one may respond Ka-n. 'There is' or Tanta ka-za 'There is bread'; one could never respond Tanta in the sense of 'There is bread.'

Except in the existential use, the auxiliary does not occur if it would be third person and present, and not be needed to support some suffix (e.g. -yka: impfv); e.g., to say 'Is it red?' one does not say *Puka ka-za (red be-3), but simply Puka36 'It is red'.

keeza-'remain' is used occasionally as a compound; e.g.,
taksha keeza-ra-za (small remain-past-3) 'It remained small.'
chay-chaw keeza-nu-za (that-LOC remain-afar-3PERF) 'He remained there.'

The difference between keeza- and ka- 'to be' is that keeza- has a stative or durative component of meaning. For example, compare 54 and 55:

Wasi ali keeza-za.
house good move-3
'The house moved.'

Wasi ali keeza-za.
house good stay-3
'The house stays nice.'
(since the paint and plaster protect it)

Chawra ups wañu-sha-nu keeza-sha,
then stooge die-prtc-nu stay-3PERF
'Consequently, the stooge ended up dead.'

strike-pass-sub-3P precisely-LOC lodge-pass-prtc stay-refl-past-3.
'It stayed lodged right where it had struck.'

3.1.1.3. Subject complement verbs

The only verbs which take subject complements (that I have been able to discover) are the following:

pishe- 'to be lacking' e.g.,
Millu-na-za pishe-za.
wind-sub-3P lack-3
'It needs to be wound (of a clock).'

risa: sa- 'to be certain' (from Sp. preciso) e.g.,

35This rule is reiterated in section 8.1.4.

36This is somewhat better with the addition of an evidential suffix: Puka-mi (red-DIR) 'It is red.'

37keeza- is a borrowing from Spanish quedar 'to remain'. One might expect to find ka-ra- (be-state) in these cases, but ka- and ra- never co-occur, possibly because this combination has been supplanted by keeza-.
3.1.1.4. Interrogative verbs

The following verbs form a type of content question, where it is the verb (rather than some substantive) that is being questioned:

*imana- 'what do' (from *ima* 'what' and *na* (empty verb)) e.g.

*imana*-sha-tag?
what:do-3PERF-??
'What did he do?'

*imana- 'what become' (from *ima* 'what' and *na* 'thing' and *-ya*: 'become') e.g.

*imana*-chi-shunki-taq?
what:become-cause-he:to:you-
'What will it cause you to become?'

*imani- 'what say' (from *ima* 'what' and *ni* 'say') e.g.

*imani*-shka-shu-nk?
what:say-perf-=>2-2
'What did he say to you?'

3.1.1.5. Object complement verbs

Certain verbs take infinitive complements as objects; this is only if the subject of the complement is coreferential to the subject of the verb in question. For example:

Aywa-y-ta gonga-yku-shka-... gc-inf-OBJ forget-impact-perf-1
'I forgot to go.'

Aywa-y-ta muna-... gc-inf-OBJ want-1
'I want to go.'

If the subject of the complement is not coreferential to the subject of the superordinate clause, then it is subordinated by *-na or -sha*: e.g.:

Aywa-na-yki-ta muna-... gc-sub-2P-OBJ want-1
'I want you to go.'

---

38 From this verb is formed the interrogative word *imani* 'why' as in

*imani*-taq miga-sha.
what:.say-OBJ-? hit-3PERF
'Why did he hit him?'

39 Among them are the following: *apustar* 'to bet' (from Sp. apostar), *awanta* 'to tolerate, sustain' (from Sp. aguantar), *aypa* 'to reach, to hold out (still)', *aypa* 'to help' (from Sp. ayudar), *gaana* 'to beat (in competition)' (from Sp. ganar), *kacha* 'to allow', *kama* 'to prepare, to put one's self to', *kumina* 'to begin' (from Sp. comenzar), *maña* 'to ask', *muna* 'to want', *musa* 'to know (a fact)', *ofisha* 'to offer' (from Sp. ofrecer), *pino* 'to think' (from Sp. pensar), *puvri* 'to be able' (from Sp. poder), *qitilo* 'to begin', *quat* 'to continue (?)', *qonqa* 'to forget', *usha* 'to finish', and *yachu* 'to know (how to)'.

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Object complement verbs [3.1.1.5]

Aywa-sha-n-ta gonga-shka:-.
go-sub-3-OBJ forget-past-1
'I forgot that he had gone.'

There are subclasses within the class of verbs which take object complements (e.g., those which require like subjects e.g., puyri 'to be able'. phasal verbs e.g., usha 'finish' qalla 'begin'...) but these will be ignored for the moment.

3.1.1.6. Purpose complement verbs

A few verbs take complements which are subordinated as purpose clauses. These complements are distinct from simple purpose clauses, which may occur with virtually any verb; see Weber [39], section 4.3, for discussion. For example, parla 'to speak, converse, agree to' occurs with such a complement in 68:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Wañuchi-ma:-na-n-paq } & \text{ parlakuran.} \\
\text{kili :-1-sub-3-PUR} & \text{ they:agreed}
\end{align*}
\]

'They agreed to kill me.'

Aywa-na-n-paq ni-sha.
go-sub-3-PUR say-3PERF

'He told him to go.'

Some of these verbs may also take object complements. e.g., kacha 'to leave, to send'. In these cases there is generally a significant difference in meaning according to whether the complement is an object noun phrase or a purpose noun phrase: e.g.:

a. Aru-v-ta kachaykusha,
work-INF-OBJ he:leftloff

b. Aru-na-n-paq kachaykusha,
work-sub-3-PUR he:sent:him

a. 'He ceased to work/left off working.'
b. 'He sent him to work.'

3.1.2. On Properties of Verbs

This section will discuss three properties of verb roots, the feature [± motion], the property of undergoing morphophonemic lowering, and the property of ending with an underlying long vowel.

3.1.2.1. On the feature [+ motion]

Verbs must be indicated as either motion or non-motion. This is relevant to the syntax in two ways. First, the "purpose-motion" construction is possible only when the verb of the superordinate clause is a motion verb. For example, 71a and 71b are very approximately synonymous. (\( \theta \) is the subordinator used in the purpose motion construction)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Apusti- } & \text{'to be'. asti- 'to search'. buluntani-POS ka- 'to be willing to do' (literally: X's will exists, where X is indicated by the possessive suffix). kacha- 'to leave off. manda- 'to order'. mañaku- 'to ask'. mî(m)kaku- 'to solicit help'. ni- 'tell someone to' (to report what another has given as an order). numru- 'to name (to some task/position). parla- 'to speak, agree to'. urdina- 'to order'. willa- 'to tell, advise'. and sorpo- 'to intend, to think'.}
\end{align*}
\]
On the feature [+motion] [3.1.2.1]

a. Pay-\textit{ta rika-na\textemdash naq} shamushk\textit{a}.  
he-OBJ see-sub-1P-PUR I\textemdash came

b. Pay-\textit{ta rika\textemdash q} shamushk\textit{a}.  
he-OBJ see-sub I\textemdash came

'I came to see him.'

But if the superordinate verb is a non-motion verb only the form substantivized with -\textit{na} is possible:

a. Pay-\textit{ta rika\textemdash naq shuyaraykashk\textit{a}}.  
him to:see I\textemdash was:waiting

b. *Pay-\textit{ta rika\textemdash q shuyaraykashk\textit{a}}.  
him to:see I\textemdash was:waiting

'I was waiting to see him.'

Thus, a feature \([\pm motion]\) needs to be attached to each verb in order that one knows whether the purpose-motion construction may be used.\footnote{It should be noted that it is not a simple, straightforward matter, since a few verbs that one would expect to be non-motion seem to allow the purpose-motion construction.}

Second, the suffix -\textit{mu} 'cis-/trans- locative' has two different senses (at least two!) depending on whether the verb is or is not a motion verb. Very generally, with a motion verb, -\textit{mu} means 'toward here'\footnote{This is toward the place of speaking or, in a narrative, toward the \textit{point of perspective}, i.e., the place in the world of the narrative from which the events are viewed.} With non-motion verbs, however, -\textit{mu} means 'at a distance from the speaker or "point of perspective"'. For example, \textit{aywa-} 'go' is a motion verb; thus with -\textit{mu} it means 'go toward here, come' and thus cannot occur with a phrase like \textit{chayman} 'toward there' as in 73b:

a. Kay-\textit{man} 
here-GOAL

\begin{center}
aywa-\textit{mu\textemdash n.}
go-to:here-3
\end{center}

b. *Chay-\textit{man} 
there-GOAL

\begin{center}
aywa-\textit{mu\textemdash n.}
go-to:here-3
\end{center}

a. 'He comes to here.'

b. *'He comes toward there.'

\textit{Pu\textit{nu}-} is a non-motion verb and thus:

a. *Kay-\textit{chaw} 
here-LOC

\begin{center}
pu\textit{nu-\textit{mu\textemdash n.}}
sleep-afar-3
\end{center}

b. Chay-\textit{chaw} 
there-LOC

\begin{center}
pu\textit{nu-\textit{mu\textemdash n.}}
sleep-afar-3
\end{center}

a. *'Here he sleeps (over there).'  
b. 'He sleeps there (at a distance from the speaker).'  

Thus, again it is clear that the dictionary should include a feature \([\pm motion]\) if it is to provide a necessary basis for the correct manipulation of -\textit{mu}.\footnote{Be it noted that this characterization of -\textit{mu} is extremely simplistic: -\textit{mu} has many and subtle uses: see section 9.3.}

There are however, problems in assigning a feature \([\pm motion]\). First, the feature may not be consistent for both the purpose-motion construction and for -\textit{mu} For example, \textit{keera-} 'to remain' is \([+\text{motion}]\) for the purpose-motion construction (e.g., \textit{rika\textemdash q keera-shk\textit{a}}: (see-sub remain-perf-1) 'I
remained in order to see him') but [-motion] for the use of -mu, (e.g., chay-chaw keeda-mu-sha (that-LOC remain-afar-3PERF) 'He remained there (afar).').

Second, there are some verbs which are either [+motion] or [-motion] depending on the object with which they occur (or maybe it would be better to say simply, depending on their meaning). For example, aru- 'work' is [-motion] if the object is wasi-ta (house-OBJ) since one builds a house in one place. but [+motion] if the object is sikya-ta (irrigation:ditch-OBJ) since when one works on a ditch he travels. (Note that this provides a strong argument for the constituency of the object and the verb root: [sikya-ta aru-]mu-sha ([ditch-OBJ work]-afar-3PERF) 'He worked the irrigation ditch toward here.') Thus, the verb aru- must be left unspecified for the feature ±motion).

Third, some verbs which occur with -mu are not clearly either [+motion] or [-motion]. The emission-verbs (shine, yell,...). i.e., those which indicate that some stimulus is produced, are consistent with either feature: the emitting occurs at some distance from the speaker. the stimulus travels toward the speaker.

3.1.2.2. Undergoing morphophonemic lowering

Another property of verbal roots involves morphophonemic lowering: a full discussion is found in 23.8.11. but the following summary should suffice at this point. The final high vowel of some roots/stems is lowered to /a/ when followed (not necessarily immediately) by certain other suffixes. For example, when followed by -mu 'afar', the final vowel of mikur- 'eat' becomes /a/, so mikanushun results from /mikU-mu-shun/ (eat-afar-12IMP) 'let's go eat (over there)'.

Many of the verbs which have this property derive from morphologically complex verb stems, i.e., a verb root and a derivational suffix. This is because several of the derivational suffixes have this property, and carry it into the verb stem when the verb+suffix becomes one unit. For example, -ykU and -ku become -yka and -ka respectively preceding (among other suffixes) -chi 'cause', -mu 'to here/at a far'. Thus yaykU- (from /ya-ykU/) and mikU- (from /mi-kU-/) undergo lowering.

There is a tendency to eliminate this property as the root and suffix become totally fused. For both yayku- 'enter' and miku- 'eat' the lowering has become optional:

yaykachin ~ yaykuchin 'He causes him to enter'
mikuchin ~ mikachin 'He causes him to eat'.

Since not all fused stems show this optionally, perhaps this property is a multi-valued one, indicating the degree of susceptibility to lowering, rather than a binary one.

3.1.2.3. Final long vowel

Another morphophonemic property of verbs is the length of the root/stem final vowel. (A significant aspect of this property is discussed in 23.8.13.1.) There are minimal pairs such as wayra- 'to blow (of wind)' and wayra:- 'to winnow', pishi:- 'to be lacking' and pishi- 'to urinate (child)'.

a. Wayrachin.
b. Wayrachin.

a. 'He causes the wind to blow (on it).'
b. 'He causes him to winnow it.'
3.2. Verbs Derived From Substantives

This section discusses various suffixes which derive verbs from substantives. (Suffixes which derive verbs from verbs are discussed in 9. Some suffixes derive verbs from both verbs and substantives: e.g. -ra: 'exhibit/stative', -na: 'desiderative'; these are discussed both here and in section 9.)

3.2.1. -ya:, -pa: and -ta: ‘become’

Three suffixes mean (roughly) ‘become’: -ya:, -pa: and -ta:. Exactly how they differ, I do not know: 77 illustrates these suffixes:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Shallay} & \{ a. \text{-ta} \} \quad \text{3PERF} \\
\text{dew} & \{ b. \text{-pa} \} \quad \text{SHA} \\
\text{c. \text{-ya}} & \quad \text{3PERF}
\end{align*}
\]

a. 'It has become slightly wet with dew.'
b. 'It has become wet from moving through the fog.'
c. 'It has become wet with cew.'

-ya: is by far the most productive of the three: -pa: and -ta: are largely frozen in certain verbs. The following examples show other derived (now completely frozen) forms which suggest a morpheme meaning ‘become’:

*waño*-ya: - 'to wither, dry up' (cf. *waño* - ‘die’)
*año*-lia: - 'to break into small pieces' (cf. *año* 'sand', *agri* - 'grind')

The suffixes -ya: 'become' seems to be completely productive. Three uses have been identified:

1. -ya: mean 'become', occurring with a very wide range of substantive; e.g.:
   - ha: *qua*-ya: - 'to make (a wall) higher' (cf. han’qa+ - 'above with respect to slope').
   - hatun-ya: - 'become big' (cf. *hatun* 'big').
   - ima-ya: - 'become what' (cf. *ima* 'what'),
   - looku-ya: - 'go crazy' (cf. *looku* 'crazy'),
   - tempraanu-ya: - 'become early morning' (cf. tempra *early'),
   - tardi-ya: - 'become late (in the afternoon/evening)' (cf. *tardi* 'afternoon').

44 Perhaps long ago there was just a single morpheme for ‘become’ which was phonologically conditioned by the substantive to which it attached.
yoraq-ya: 'become white' (cf. yoraq 'white'),\textsuperscript{45}
riiku-ya: 'become rich' (cf. riiku 'rich'),
runa-ya: 'become a man' (cf runa 'man'),
puka-ya: 'become red' (cf puka 'red'),
qeshya-q-ya: 'become invalid' (cf. qeshya- 'be sick', qeshya-q 'sick person'),
qeshya: 'become sick' (cf. qeshya 'sickness, sick person'),
goshpu-ya: 'become curly' (cf. goshpu 'curly'),
il Qur-ya: '(of lightning) to strike/flash' (cf. ill Qur 'lightning'),
chukru-ya: 'become hard' (cf. chukru 'hard'),
upa-ya: 'become deaf' (cf. upa 'deaf'),
ichki-lla-ya: 'to become a very small quantity' (cf. ichik 'a small quantity').

Some such cases have rather idiomatic meanings: e.g.:

haga-ya: 'become unhappy, discouraged' (cf. haga 'debtor'),
huk-niraq-ya: 'become angry/sad. countenance fall' (cf. huk-niraq 'one-similar').

2. When applied to a word characterizing a sound, -ya: indicates the making of that sound: e.g.:
kachkap-ya:
'to have one's teeth clatter (as from the cold)' (cf. kachkach. teeth clattering):
hachin-ya: 'to bray' (cf. hachin hacinin hachin, a donkey braying):
ilw-ya: '(of the sky) to be clear' (cf. liw, sound of wind blowing) (One must realize that
 the wind blows the clouds away. leaving the sky clear.)
pultog-ya-chi:
'to stir the water (to make it say "pultog")' (cf. pultoq sound of water when it is
stirred vigorously).

3. -ya: may occur between a substantive which does not end in a short vowel and -sha 'participle'
to indicate that the object referred to by the substantive is put on (i.e., put onto the body as
dress).\textsuperscript{46} (Note, this is different than when the verbalizer attaches to the substantive referring
to the part of the body which is covered; see 3.2.2 below.)

\begin{verbatim}
Qillqa-q ka-yka-n asul pantalun-ya-sha... 78
male-def be-impv-3 blue pants-beq-prtc
'The man has on blue pants (lit. is blue-panted).'
\end{verbatim}

When the substantive ends in a short vowel, -sha 'participle' attaches directly to the substantive:

\begin{verbatim}
Chay warmi-kuna yana mantilla-sha yoraq paaha sumruru-sha. 79
that woman-plur black shawl-prtc white straw hat-prtc
'Those women have on black shawls and white straw hats.'
\end{verbatim}

One suspects that some verbs with a final long vowel derive from a substantive followed by -ya: 'become'. For example, qasa: 'to be cold. to calm down (of a dispute)' could be derived from a verb

\textsuperscript{45} Compare (yor'qa-) 'to pale' as discussed in section 23.8.

\textsuperscript{46} In Llata (Huanuco) Quechua, this function is carried out by -nti rather than by -ya: see Sola [35], pg. 56, paragraph 46.
qasi 'peaceful' (see such an entry in Adelaar [1]). This is consistent with the final long vowel and its meaning.

In contrast to -ya: 'become', -pa: and -ta: 'become' have rather limited productivity: e.g.:
piyur-pa- 'to become worse' (cf. piyur 'worse'); e.g., piyur-pa:-chi-ku-
(worse-bec-caus-refl) 'to aggravate (to make a situation or condition of health worse').
qarwash-ta:-chi-
'to cause to become yellow' (cf. qarwash 'yellow').
looku-ta: 'to go crazy' (cf. looku 'crazy').
yyu-ta: 'become thin' (cf. yyu 'thin').

3.2.2. -(ka)kU 'put onto'
Attached to a substantive which refers to some part of the body, the suffix -(ka)kU means 'to take onto' that part of the body; e.g., from maianka 'shoulder' comes matan-(kakU) 'to take upon the shoulder' (not to wear, but to carry on the shoulder). A further example:
Apa-sha uma-kaku-ru-r.
take-3PERF head-put:upon-asp-adv

'Having put it upon his head (to carry it there) he took it.'

3.2.3. -paku 'verbalizer'
The suffix -paku (which may be the combination of -pa and -(k)U) makes of a substantive the action characteristic of that object: e.g., from qongor 'knee' comes qongor-paku- 'to kneel'.

3.2.4. -chakU 'verbalizer'
The suffix -chakU is of limited productivity. It makes substantives into transitive verbs. As the following show, the contribution of -chakU to the meaning of the verb so formed is not very predictable:
hatan-chaku-n
'He enlarges it (e.g. his field)' (cf hatun 'big').
maki-chaku-
'to steal from repeatedly (petty theft)' (cf maki 'hand'),
wamra-chaku-
'to adopt' (cf. wamra 'child').

3.2.5. -cha: 'make'
The suffix -cha: 'make' is roughly equivalent to 'cause to become'; e.g., compare 81a and 81b:

---

47 This is said of a plant which has been made yellow by being near certain weeds which cause adjacent plants to become yellow.
-cha: 'make' [3.2.5]

Nina qushpu-
  fire curly
  -cha-ya
  make-impfv

\{ -cha-ya-chi \\ doing-impfv-caus \} n aqcha-n-ta.

' The fire is making his hair curly.'

Other examples are:

llanu-cha:- 'to make thin/fine (as when spinning)' (cf. llanu 'thin (of long, cylindrical things)').

llawehi-cha:-
  'sharpener' (cf. llawehi 'sharp (having a pointed end)').

-cha: 'make' seems to have limited productivity. It is discussed in more detail in section 9.6.4.

3.2.6. -ra: 'exhibit'

Applied to a substantive which indicates some property, -ra: 'state' forms a verb meaning 'to exhibit' that property: e.g., applied to yana 'black', the verb yana-ra:- means 'to exhibit the property "black"'.

Other examples follow:

ima-ta: hawpa-yki-chaw yana-ra-ya-n?
what-?? side-2P-LOC black-state-impfv-3

'What is that black thing beside you?' (literally, 'What beside you exhibits blackness?')

Ayllu-ra:-mu-n.
herd:together-state-afar-3

'They (at a distance) appear to be herded together.'

Paqla-ra:-mu-n.
bald-state-afar-3

'He (at a distance) appears to be bald.'

Aycha-ra:-mu-n.
meat-state-afar-3

'It (at a distance) appears to be meat.'

3.2.7. -na: 'desiderative'

-na: 'desiderative' is used with a very restricted set of substantives to mean 'to want x' where x is the thing referred to by the substantive: e.g.,

yaku-na:- 'to be thirsty, to want water' (cf. yaku 'water'),

warmi-na:- 'to lust, to want to have sexual relations with a woman' (cf. warmi 'woman').

Further discussion of -na: 'desiderative' as suffixed to verbs is in section 9.8.1.

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48 Perhaps -ra: was an independent auxiliary verb which took substantival complements in the same way that ko- 'to be' takes complements today. -ra: would then be the result of a reduction of the word boundary to a suffix boundary.

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4. SUBSTANTIVE ELEMENTS

4.1. Classes of Substantives

This section introduces the large, open class of noun-adjectives (section 4.1.1., the open (but not large) class of sounds (section 4.1.2.), and other small, closed classes which must be distinguished (classes of pronouns, demonstratives, interrogatives and quantifiers). No attempt will be made at this point to demonstrate the morpho-syntactic necessity for distinguishing these subclasses; their utility should be amply evident below.

4.1.1. Noun-Adjectives

The largest subclass of substantives will be referred to as NOUN-ADJECTIVES. This class is large and open-ended. It includes what in other languages would be distinguished as nouns and adjectives. These are regarded as a single class in HgQ because there is insufficient evidence of a strictly morpho-syntactic nature for distinguishing them (as lexical categories). Let us consider some evidence for this claim.

A priori, one might wish to consider hatun 'big' to be an adjective and rumi 'stone' a noun. But consider the range of morpho-syntactic environments which these share.

1. Both may be a major sentential constituent (subject, object...) followed by the appropriate case marker: e.g.:

   Rumı-ta rıkaa.
   stone-ACC I:see
   'I see a/the stone.'

   Hatun-ta rıkaa.a
   big-ACC I:see
   'I see a/the big (one).'

2. Both may be used as prenominal modifiers: e.g.:

   rumı wası
   stone house
   'stone house'

   hatun wası
   big house
   'big house'

3. Both may be the complement to ka- 'be' in a predicate nominal/adjective construction, e.g.:

   Taqay rumı ka-yka-n.
   that stone be-IMPFV-3
   'That one is stone/a stone.'

   Taqay hatun ka-yka-n.
   that big be-IMPFV-3
   'That one is big/a big one.'

4. Both may be followed by one of the (de-substantival) verbalizers, e.g.:
Data such as these lead to the conclusion that HgQ morpho-syntax does not distinguish between nouns and adjective.\(^{49}\) This is not to deny that there may be some grounds for distinguishing nouns and adjectives. For example, \textit{ruma} 'man' is more likely to refer, and thus behave like a noun, whereas \textit{hatun} is more likely to modify, and thus behave like an adjective; but this is due to their semantic value rather than to their lexical or morpho-syntactic category.

### 4.1.2. Sounds

\textsc{Sounds} is an open subclass of substantives. It comprises words which are in imitation of some (perceived) sound. For example \textit{qech} (sound of door opening), \textit{chun} (sound of silence), \textit{pan} (sound of firecracker exploding), \textit{puleq} (sound of water--or other liquid--gurgling) \textit{hachin} (sound of donkey braying) etc. As discussed in 3.2.1. the result of suffixing \textit{ya}: to these words is a verb expressing the corresponding action to produce that sound; e.g., \textit{panya}:- 'to explode', \textit{hachinya}:- 'to bray' etc.

### 4.1.3. Personal Pronouns

The \textbf{personal} pronouns are as follows:

\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{noga} & \text{‘I’} \\
\text{gam} & \text{‘you’} \\
\text{pay} & \text{‘he’} \\
\text{noqanchi} & \text{‘we (inclusive)’}
\end{array}\]

Plural forms\(^{50}\) may be formed with \textit{-kuna ‘plural’}:

\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{noqakuna} & \text{‘we (exclusive)’} \\
\text{gamkuna} & \text{‘you (plural)’} \\
\text{paykuna} & \text{‘they’}
\end{array}\]

These pronouns are seldom used because the referents are usually clear from the verbal person marking. One could say \textit{94}, but it says no more than the verb alone:

\[\text{Pay noqanta rika-ma-n.}\]
\[\text{he me-OBJ see->1-3}\]

‘\text{He sees me.}’

It seems that pronouns are sometimes used simply to support suffixes. For example, there is

\[\]

\(^{49}\) Two criteria which might be thought to distinguish adjectives from nouns are the following:

1. \textit{sumaq ‘very’} may precede “adjectives” but not “nouns”;
2. \textit{-Nam ‘superlative’} may follow “adjectives” but not “nouns”.

However, both tests “leak”.

\(^{50}\) Note that \textit{noqanchi: ‘we (inclusive)’} is handled as a sort of fourth person rather than as a plural.
4.1.4. Emphatic Pronouns

Historically kiki 'self' was a reflexive pronoun. It is now used more as an "emphatic" pronoun. It is inflected for the person of the referent:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kiki-</td>
<td>'Me! myself'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiki-ki</td>
<td>'You! yourself'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiki-n</td>
<td>'Him! himself'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiki-nchi</td>
<td>'We(incl)/ourselves(incl)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiki-kuna</td>
<td>'We(excl)/ourselves(excl) alone'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

Kiki-n-ta wam-wa-ku-sha.
self-3P-OBJ die-cause-refl-3PERF

'He killed himself.'

Kiki- ra-ra-.
self-1P do-past-1

'I did it.' (Emphasising that it was I who did it.)

4.1.5. Demonstrative Pronoun-Adjectives

1. of proximity:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kay</td>
<td>'this(one)/here' (proximate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chay</td>
<td>'that(one)/there' (medial)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taga</td>
<td>'that(one)/over there' (distal)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

kay is sometimes used as a cataphoric pronoun (forward-referring). chay is frequent as an anaphoric pronoun (referring back to something previously mentioned). Taga is only used to refer to some tangible object (usually in view) of the real world.

2. of altitude relative to the speaker (or to the "point of reference" of a narrative):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ura</td>
<td>'below/lower'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>han</td>
<td>'above/upper'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wash</td>
<td>'roughly at the same altitude'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. of altitude on some slope with respect to some object (as indicated by an optional genitive phrase and an obligatory possessive suffix). The hyphen indicates that the vowel /a/ has been lost: a strong transition vocoid (symbolized phonetically as [ə] and orthographically an apostrophe) remains, and nasal assimilation does not apply to han-qa-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ur-gaa</td>
<td>'below me'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ur-gayki</td>
<td>'below you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ur-gan</td>
<td>'below him/it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ur-ganchii</td>
<td>'below us(incl)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>han' gaa</td>
<td>'above me'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wash' gaa</td>
<td>'on the other side of me'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are used as in the following:

Ur-gayki-chaw ka-yka-.
below-2POSS-LOC be-1mpfv-1

'I am down the hill from you.'
4.1.6. Interrogative-Indefinite Pronoun-Adjectives

*pi
ima
may
ayka
mayga+POS~mayqani+POS
imay
imayka

These have various uses:

1. Interrogative when followed by question markers -taq or -raq e.g., Pi-taq chay?-(who/- that)

   'Who is that?'. Other examples:

   "Mayqani-ki-taq rura-sha? which-2P-?? do-3PERF
   'Which one of you did it?'

   "May-man-taq aywanki? where-GoAL-?? you:are:going
   'To where are you going?'

2. Indefinite followed by -pis’indef e.g.,

   "Pi-ta-pis willa-y, who-ACC-indef tell-2IMP
   'Tell anyone/whoever.'

3. Negative-indefinite when preceded by mana ‘no’ or ni ‘nor’ and followed by -pis e.g.,

   "Mana pi-pis sha-mu-sha-chu.
   not who-INDEF come-afar-3PERF-NEG
   'No one came.'

4. With embedded questions e.g.,

   "Mana musya:chu pi chayamushan-ta-pis.
   not 1:don’t:know who his:arriving-ACC-INDEF
   'I do not know who came.'

5. With correlative relative clauses (see Weber[39], section 3.3).

   "May-pa-mi chiri-n ka-sha: chay-lla-pa muru-paku-n.
   where-GEN-DIR fertilize-3 be-3PERF that-just-GEN plant-distr-3
   'They only plant around wherever it has been fertilized.'

These words may be modifiers of other noun-adjectives; e.g.,

- [May runa]-taq chay?
  where man-?? that(1)
  'Where is that person from?'

- [Imay oora]-na-taq?
  when moment-now-?
  'What time is it?'

99
4.1.7. Quantifying Noun-Adjectives

Two classes of quantifying substantive will be distinguished: indefinite and numeral.51

4.1.7.1. Indefinite quantifying noun-adjectives

\[\begin{align*}
\text{llapan} & \quad \{ \text{all (of)} \} \\
\text{lipa} & \quad \text{lapani} \\
\text{pullan} & \quad \{ \text{half (of)} \} \\
\text{pullanna} & \quad \text{pullalla} \\
\text{achka} & \quad \{ \text{many/much} \} \\
\text{huk} & \quad \{ \text{another (with respect to)} \} \\
\text{huki} & \\
\text{wakin} & \quad \{ \text{others (with respect to)} \} \\
\text{waki} & \\
\text{wakini} & \\
\end{align*}\]

The use of these is discussed in section 12.4.1. Some examples follow:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{llapan} & \quad \text{sha-mu-sha.} \\
\text{all} & \quad \text{come-afar-3PERF} \\
\text{'} & \text{All (of them) came.} \\
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
a & \quad \text{llapani-ki-ta.} \\
\text{all-2P-OBJ} & \\
\text{\{a.} \\
\text{Qo-yku-shayki} & \quad \text{give-impact-1=>2FUT} \\
\text{\}b. } & \quad \text{llana-yki-} \\
\text{\text{\text{ta.}} & \quad \text{all-2P-OBJ}} \\
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{'} & \text{I will give to all of you.} \\
\end{align*}\]

4.1.7.2. Numerals

This class is comprised of the names of the numbers: \textit{huk} 'one', \textit{ishkay} 'two', \textit{kimsa} 'three', \textit{chusku} 'four'..., \textit{chunka} 'ten': \textit{pachak} 'hundred', and \textit{waranga} 'thousand'. (Perhaps number expressions formed from these should also be included in this class: see section 12.5.)

Possessed numbers behave as pronouns, ones indicating both number and grammatical person: see table 4-1. Although this is productive and could conceivably be extended to any number, generally such pronouns are formed only with the smaller numbers.52

---

51 Some members of both subclasses (and no other substantives) occur with -\textit{q} 'human'. This suffix indicates some collection of humans. e.g. \textit{acika-q (many-human) many (persons)'; ishka-q (two-human) the two (persons)'; ayka-q (many-human) how many (persons)'. See section 4.2.1.10.}

52 Perhaps it is limited to numbers which can be expressed as one word, so that \textit{pachakniki} 'one hundred of you' is acceptable, but \textit{pachak huki} 'one hundred and one of you' is not.
Table 4-1: NUMERAL PRONOUNS

The use of these is discussed in sections 12.4.1.1 and 12.4.1.2.

4.2. Suffixes which Apply to Substantives

The suffixes discussed in this section apply to substantives. Some of these are derivational (discussed in sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2) and some are inflectional (discussed in 4.3).53

4.2.1. Suffixes which Derive Substantives from Substantives

This section deals with substantives which are derived from other substantives.

The first three suffixes to be discussed in this section may be regarded as a subclass because of semantic commonality. They all have to do with possessing some object or characteristic: -yoq means ‘having’ (in 4.2.1.1), -sapa means ‘having much’ (in 4.2.1.1), and -ynaq means ‘without’ (in 4.2.1.3). The other suffixes discussed in this section do not seem to form any particular subclasses.

4.2.1.1. -yoq ‘having’

-Niyoq is -yoq following short vowels and -niyoq elsewhere. It means roughly ‘(one) having’, where there is considerable latitude as to what “have” means. Several will be illustrated. First, one thing may “have” a characteristic: e.g. a plant can be described as:

muru-yoq ‘seed bearing’ from muru ‘seed’.
kasha-yoq ‘having thorns’ from kasha ‘thorn’.

One thing may “have” another in the sense of owning it; e.g.:

wasi-yoq ‘landlord, one who has a house’ from wasi ‘house’.
pikapa-yoq-kuna ‘those who have record players’ from pikapa ‘record player’.54

A container may “have” its contents, e.g.:

53 The distinction between derivational and inflectional suffixes is not as clear-cut as the text may sound: the distinction is used merely as an expository convenience.

54 Most persons who own record players hire out to provide music for fiestas or processions: these people are known as pikapa-yoq.
...ka-yka-n achka botella-kuna awrindi-\textit{yog},
be-\text{impfv} many bottle-plur fire:water-have
\textit{'...there are many bottles of fire water'}

A person "has" a birthday, and a saint "has" a day on which it is to be commemorated; e.g.:

\textit{Diya-\textit{yog} santu-ta tuma-chi-n...}
day-have saint-OBJ go:about-cause-3
\textit{'They parade the saint whose day it is...'

Something may "have" authority; e.g.:

\textit{Eskirbaaun Ilapan fistu-kuna-wan muna-y-\textit{niyoog},}
scrivener all fiesta-plur-\text{COM want-inf-have}
\textit{'The scrivener has all the fiesta under his authority.'}

Persons and things "have" an age; e.g.:

\textit{...asta kimsa wata-\textit{yog} ka-na-n-yaq}
until three year-have be-sub-3\text{F-LIM}
\textit{'...until he is three years old'}

A paper may "have" an image; e.g.:

\textit{Huk papel ka-yka-n bonitu dibuhi-\textit{yog}},
one paper be-\text{impfv-3 pretty picture-have}
\textit{'There is a paper which has a pretty picture.'}

Or one may "have" guilt; e.g.:

\textit{Mayqa-nchi:-taq hucha-\textit{yog} ka-nchi?}
which-12P-?? guilt-have be-12
\textit{'Which of us is guilty?'}

Something "has" its parts, so e.g., a cup may be said to be \textit{maki-\textit{yog}} (hand-have) 'having a handle'.

Another example:

\textit{Chay kapilla ishkay punku-\textit{yog}.}
that chapel two door-have
\textit{'That chapel has two doors.'}

A person "has" his kin; e.g.:

\textit{Chay runa-\textit{yog} warmi-kuna...}
that men-have women-plur
\textit{'Those married women...'

The final example is a little strange in that \textit{yog} is not usually used for things which one has temporarily. For example, if someone takes a knife in hand, it would be unusual to refer to him as \textit{kuchillu-\textit{yog}}. But the person referred to in 118 is presented as one whose most salient characteristic is his wielding a knife:

\textit{...huk kuchillu-\textit{yog} runa ka-yka-n.}
one knife-have man be-\text{impfv-3}
\textit{'...there is a man with a knife.'}
4.2.1.2. -sapa 'having much'

-sapa (one) having much' is restricted to having some physical characteristic: e.g., one can say aqcha-sapa ‘hairy, one who has much hair’ from aqcha ‘hair’, or of a sheep one can say milwa-sapa ‘woolly, having much wool’. But one cannot say *wamra-sapa for ‘having many children’ (from wamra ‘child’).\(^{55}\)

4.2.1.3. -ynaq 'not having'

-Niynaq is -ynaq following short vowels and -niynaq elsewhere. It means 'not having'.\(^{56}\) As with -yoq above, considerable latitude is possible in the sense of "have". e.g. some characteristic, some object, etc.

1. The following illustrate lacking some characteristic:

aqcha-ynaq ‘hairless, one who is hairless’ from aqcha ‘hair’.
aala-ynaq ‘without wings’ from aala ‘wing’.

lacking a point:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>llawchi</th>
<th>punta-ynaq</th>
<th>lapaq</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sharp</td>
<td>point</td>
<td>without pencil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'a dull pencil' (i.e. without a sharp point)

2. A collection may lack some expected component: e.g. one can say that a pile of potatoes is without any big ones with haitun-niynaq ‘without big ones’ (from haitun ‘big’).

3. A person may lack some possession:

wasi-ynaq-kuna (house-without-plur) 'the homeless'
without clothing:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>llachapa-ynaq</th>
<th>qara-lla</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>clothes</td>
<td>without skin-just</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'absolutely naked, without a stitch of clothing'

4. Something may lack some associated person/thing:

A chicken may be without a mate:

Chipsa mana pashta-n-chu gaallu-ynaq wallpa ka-ppti-n. 121
chick not burst-3-NEG rooster-without chicken be-adv-3P

'No chicks will hatch if the chicken is without a rooster.'

A corpse may be without a coffin:

Kahun-niynaq-lla pampa-kp-ppti-n...
box-without-just bury-refl-adv-3P

'If they are going to bury him without a coffin...'

---

\(^{55}\)One would rather say aqcha wamra-yq (many, child-have) 'having many children'. Perhaps -sapa is not possible with count nouns (i.e., meaning 'having many') but this would be a bit surprising since the language generally does not show any sensitivity to count-mass distinctions.

\(^{56}\)Ynaq 'without having' probably originated as a substantivization by *-q of *-yiq (which gave rise to the present suffix *in the state of* not having been/done: see 13.2.3). (The fact that */n/ is posited where /a/ is currently found is not an obstacle: any high vowel occurring in a suffix which has */q/ has become */a/.) Support for this claim is yaku-yiq-shqa-qa 'sin agua [without water]' (from Sola [35], pg. 37) which shows *yiq substantivized by -shqa 'participle'.
4.2.1.4. -saq and -karay with hatu- ‘big’

-saq ‘plural’ and -karay ‘huge’ only occur frozen with hatu- ‘big’. The only combinations in which hatu- survive are the following:

- hatu+n+karay ‘huge’ (cf. hatu+n ‘big’)
- hatu+saq ‘big ones (of a collection)’
- hatu+lla+saq ‘just the big ones’ (cf. hatu+lla+n ‘somewhat big’).

4.2.1.5. -y ‘vocative’

-y ‘vocative’, very common in other Quechua languages, is essentially non-existent in HgQ. A rare example occurs in folk tales (where perhaps it is simply repeated as heard): e.g., tiyur y kondor (uncle-voc condor) ‘Uncle condor’.

4.2.1.6. -ylla ‘just’

-ylla is not a productive suffix: it occurs in a few words. among then the following:

- hinaylla ‘just like that’
- huknaylla ‘just one’
- ichiknaylla ‘tiny’

4.2.1.7. -y (no gloss)

-ishka- ‘two’ occurs with -y to express the quantity ‘two’. (Ishka- ‘two’. also occurs with possessive suffixes (see 12.4.1.2) and with -q ‘human’ (see 4.2.1.10.).

4.2.1.8. -q with hana

-hana ‘above’ occurs with a -q in the combinations hana+q ‘upper part (directly) above’: -q change the meaning from ‘above (relative to something)’ to ‘upper part (relative to that thing)’. What hana+q refers to is relative to some point of reference. E.g., relative to a house, hana+q refers to the second story: relative to a “mixto” (i.e. a truck-bus vehicle) hana+q refers to the part over the cab and passenger-seating area: hana+q can refer to the sky or to space, see example 876.

hana+q can simply mean ‘(somewhere) up high’ as in 123 and 124:

123

nirkur hana+q-man warku-nchi then high-GOAL hang-12

Then we hang it up high.’

124

...hata-r1-chi-sha hana+q-yaq. stand-pnct-caus-3PERF high-LIM

...They made it very high.’

4.2.1.9. -sh with hana

Similar to the use of -q described in section 4.2.1.8, sh may occur on hana: hana+sh ‘above (on the slope)’. e.g.:
-sh with hana [4.2.1.9]

4.2.1.10. -q 'human'

-qt 'human' is used with numbers and quantifiers to refer to people. -qt 'human' may occur with any number ending in a vowel:

ishka-q 'two persons' (cf. ishka- 'two'),
kimsa-q 'three persons' (cf. kimsa 'three'),
with chusku 'four' and pichqa 'five'; e.g.:

...minka-kun chusku-g-ta o pichqa-g-ta.
ask-for:help-refl-3 four-hum-OBJ or five-hum-OBJ

...he asks four or five persons to help him
(in a reciprocal labor exchange).

chunka-q 'ten persons' (cf. chunka 'ten'),
chusku waranga-q 'four thousand persons' (cf. chusku waranga 'four thousand'),

-qt 'human' may occur with a quantifier:57

achka-q 'many persons' (cf. achka 'many/much'),
ayka-q 'how many persons' (cf. ayka 'how many'), e.g.:

Ayk-q-niki-tag aywa-n?
how:many-hum-2P-?? go-3

'How many of you are going?'

4.2.1.11. -la: 'side'

-la: 'side' (derived from Spanish lado 'side') is used as in the following:
kay-la:-pa (this/here-side-GEN) 'around here'
wak-la: kay-la: (there-side here-side) 'thither and yon'
ishka-n-la: 'the two sides'; e.g.:

Ishka-n-la-pa hira-shun.
two-3P-side-GEN sew-1ZMP

'Let's sew it up on both of its sides.'

4.2.1.12. -Nnin 'superlative'

-Nnin 'superlative' is -nin following short vowels and -nin elsewhere. -Nnin derives the superlative of a substantive which can be interpreted as a degree modifier (e.g. hatun-nin 'the biggest' from hatun 'big', and altu-nnin 'the highest' from altu 'high') and is also used to form certain time expressions (see the final paragraph of this section). Examples follow:

Mehur-nin-ta-raq-shi wa'u-RI+yku-chi-n uysha-n-ta.
better-sup-OBJ-yet-IND die-sud-caus-3 sheep-3P-OBJ

'He killed the very best of her sheep.'

---

57 The only quantifiers which occur with -qt 'human' in my corpus are ayka 'how many' and achka 'many'.
'Having chosen the best...'

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{Alli-nnin} \textit{papa-yki-ta} \textit{rantiKU-ma-y}.
\textit{good-sup potato-2P-OBJ sell}==\textit{1-2IMP}
\item \textit{Alli-nnin} \textit{ni-ki-ta} \textit{rantiKU-ma-y}.
\textit{good-sup-2P-OBJ sell}==\textit{1-2IMP}
\end{enumerate}

a. 'Sell me your very best (potatoes).'

Example 132b is like 132a except that the head (\textit{lasaq} 'heavy (one)') has been omitted; \textit{-Nnin} ends up on the pre-adjective \textit{sumaq} 'very':

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{Sumaq lasaq-nin-ta} \textit{apa-mu-nki}.
\textit{very heavy-sup-OBJ take-affar-2IMP}
\item \textit{Sumaq-nin-ta} \textit{apa-mu-nki}.
\textit{very-sup-OBJ take-affar-2P}
\end{enumerate}

a. 'Bring me the very heaviest.'

b. 'Bring me the very-est.'

(i.e., the very heaviest. the very best. the very fullest...)

From this I would draw the conclusion that \textit{-Nnin} is not necessarily a derivational suffix.

The superlative formed with \textit{-Nnin} may occur discontinuously from the substantive it modifies: \textit{58} e.g. compare 131a with 133:

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{Papa-yki-ta} \textit{rantiKU-ma-y} \textit{alli-nnin-ta}
\textit{potato-2P-OBJ sell}==\textit{1-2IMP good-sup-OBJ}
\end{enumerate}

'Sell me your best potatoes.'

When \textit{-lla} 'just' occurs with \textit{-Nnin} 'sup.', it does not precede or follow \textit{-Nnin}; see 134a,b.

Rather, it occurs before the final /n/; see 134c. Its presence there may suppress the /ni/ occurring in that morpheme; see 134d. \textit{59}

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{*alli-lla-nnin}
\item \textit{*alli-nnin-lla} \textit{papa-ta} \textit{qua-ma-y} \textit{akra-y+lla+pa.}
\item \textit{alli-nni-lla-n} \textit{potato} \textit{give}==\textit{1-2IMP choose} \textit{adv}
\item \textit{alli-n-lla-n}
\end{enumerate}

c. d. 'Give me just the best potatoes, choosing them.'

(i.e., I do not want the small ones, the damaged ones...)

To say 'the best of you' one cannot say \textit{*alli-nni-kit}: this shows that the final /n/ of \textit{-Nnin} is not a possessive suffix. One must say rather rephrase as follows:

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{Qam-kuna-pita} \textit{mas} \textit{alli-n(nilllan-ta pusha-shaq}.
\textit{you-plus-ABL more good-sup=just-OBJ lead-1fut}
\end{enumerate}

'I will take the best of you.'

\textit{-Nnin} is used in certain "relative" time expressions in much the way described for \textit{-ntin} (see

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\textit{58} This is subject--of course--to the requirement that the discontinuous parts be marked with a common case marker: this is true of modifiers generally: see section 12.1.

\textit{59} See 19.1.1.1 concerning the general property of \textit{-lla} "invading" other morphemes.
The addition of -Nnin shifts the time referred to by one day; e.g., uta means 'morning/early', and refers to the morning of the day on which it is spoken but tuta-nnin means 'on the following morning'.

4.2.1.13. -ntin ‘together with’

-Nntin ‘together with’ (glossed ‘tog’) is -ntin following short vowels and -nintin elsewhere. In HgQ -ntin ‘together’ is a single, non-inflecting suffix.

There are two main uses of -ntin: with time expressions ) and with couplets. (The gloss ‘together with’ fits the couplets much better than the time uses of -ntin.) The couplets may be of two kinds: those which share some special relationship because of physical proximity, use or culture), and those which are coupled because of a transitory situation).

Time use of -ntin

When -ntin occurs on wara ‘tomorrow’ or qanyan ‘yesterday’, the word so formed refers to the next day farther removed from that to which wara or qanyan alone would refer; e.g.:

- qanyan  'yesterday'
- qanyantin  'day before yesterday'

- wara  'tomorrow'
- warantin  'day after tomorrow'

- wara-ntin-pa  wara-ntin-nin
- tomorrow-tog-GEN  tomorrow-tog-3P

'the day after tomorrow's day after tomorrow'
(e.g., if today is Tuesday, this would refer to Saturday)

This temporal use of -ntin is very similar to the use of -Nnin ‘superlative’ discussed in section 4.2.1.12 below.

Stable couplets

-ntin may be used when there is a close relationship (at least perceived) between the referent of the substantive bearing -ntin and its co-ordinate referent. This relationship may have its basis in physical proximity, by virtue of being used together, or some such stable factor. For example, in

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60 Indeed, in other dialects -Nnin is used to form e.g., wara-nnin 'day after tomorrow' rather than being formed as in HgQ wara-ntin.

61 That is, unless it is modified in some way (as by saying luni tuta 'Monday morning').

62 In e.g. the Quechua of Northern Junín it is -nt- and is obligatorily followed by a possessive suffix. Even in HgQ one can get assent to sentences like the following (with perhaps a little arm-twisting), but they are not very natural:

- Llapant-ni-ta wañu-chi-ma-nqa  warmi-nti-::ta  wamra-nti-::ta.
- all-1P-OBJ  die-caus-->1-3FUT  woman-tog-IP-OBJ  child-tog-IP-OBJ

'It will kill us all, including my wife and children.'

63 Expressions such as salt'n pepper, needle'n thread, null and void...
'ntin 'together with' [4.2.1.13]

139 'pick' and 'shovel' are coupled, since they are used together (unlike e.g. 'hammer' and 'shovel'). Note that there is only one instrumental case marker ('wan 'COM'), this having within its scope both the coupled elements:

```
Aru-: [paala piku-ntin]wan.
work-1 shovel pick-tog-COM
'I work with a shovel and pick.'
```

In 140 'coca' and 'lime' are coupled because coca is chewed along with lime powder:

```
Kay-chaw ka-yka-n kuka isku-ntin.
here-LOC be-impfv-3 coca lime-tog
'Here is (some) coca and lime.'
```

141 is from a description of how to butcher a sheep: 'neck joint' and 'spinal cord' are coupled because of physical proximity:

```
Y kunka mogo-n-ta paasa-chi-nchi toqsho-ntin-ta.
and joint-3P-OBJ pass-caus-12 brain-tog-OBJ
'And we make it (the knife) pass through the neck joint and spinal cord.'
```

142 is from a description of how to shear a sheep. The coat is shorn first on one side and is gathered along the top of the back. Then the sheep and coat are flipped over together (the sheep and his partially shorn coat forming a couplet):

```
Nirkur uysha-ntin-ta marqe-rku-r tikra-nchi.
then sheep-tog-OBJ take:in:arms-asp-adv turn-12
'Then taking it (the partially shorn coat of wool) along with the sheep into the arms, we turn it over.'
```

In 143 'ntin indicates that the fingers of one hand are grouped together (i.e. they are not inserted one by one, nor are they the fingers of more than one hand):

```
...hati-n deeru-n-kuna-ntin-pis...
insert-3 finger-3P-plur-tog-even
'...he even sticks in his fingers...'
(the fingers of one hand all together)
```

```
Uysha kawallu-ntin tallu-sha miku-rka-yka-n.
sheep horse-tog mix-prtc eat-plur-impfv-3
'The sheep and horses are eating, mixed together.'
```

```
Sipra-ntin-ta mikur:
peel-tog-obj eat-1
'I eat it together with its peel.'
```

Transitory couplets

'ntin may be used to indicate coupling of elements brought about by some special situation or circumstance. The elements coupled are not related in any special way outside of that situation or circumstance (and thus cease to be coupled when that circumstance changes).

For example, chamana and mulli are two types of plant; they bear no special relationship to each other. But when boiled together to make a medicine, they are coupled. (Note that in this case both bear 'ntin.)
"ntin 'together with' [4.2.1.13]

...timpu-sha-n chame-an-ntin mulli-ntin...
boil-sub-3P (plant)-tog (plant)-tog
"...the boiled chame and mulli..."

A familiar motif in HgQ folk tales is this: The protagonist sleeps on a plank/door lodged high up (in a tree, in a second story). In moving about in the night (usually to relieve himself), he unbalances the plank/door and falls with it to the ground (startling the protagonist out of his wits). In this situation, the plank/door and the protagonist are always coupled. In 147 the focus is on the lamb, who is said to fall along with the plank, whereas in 148 the focus is on the plank, which is said to fall together with the stooge:

Y kuyu-rku-sha-n chaw-shi tabia-ntin yeqa-kU-mu-n
move-asp-sub-3P-LOC-IND plank-tog fail-refl-afar-3
muku pampa-man,
lamb ground-GOAL
'And moving about, the lamb falls to the ground together
with the plank.'

Chawra punku-qa amiyeka-ku-r
so door-TOP pivot-impfv-refl-adv fail-refl-down-3PERF
yqa-kU-rpu-sha

pampa-man-shi. Upa-ntin-shi
so ground-GOAL-IND stooge-tog-IND fail-3
heqa-kU-n.
'So the door, having pivoted, falls down to the ground.
It falls together with the stooge.'

In 149 the priest is circumstantially related to the others by virtue of having led the expedition:

Chawra chay-chaw 1lapan kuura-ntin-shi ilqa-sha.
so that-LOC all priest-tog-IND perish-3PERF

'So they all perished there along with the priest.'

In 150 'you' are related circumstantially to others by virtue of saying what they say:

Qam-ntin ni-ma-nki.
you-tog say-e>1-2

'You as well say it to me.'

4.2.2. Suffixes which Derive Substantives from Verbs

Verbs are nominalized by -na, -y, -q (the major nominalizers) and -chi and -pa (highly restricted). A type of participle is formed by -nti.

4.2.2.1. Substantivizations with -na

For a verb which refers to an action performed with some tool, the substantivization with -na refers to that tool. In HgQ these are almost always accompanied with -kU 'refl'; e.g., picha-ku-na 'broom' from picha- 'to sweep', aru-ku-na 'tool' from aru- 'to work', tapya-ku-na 'a large box (assembled on a wall, into which earth is rammed to form another block)' from tapya- 'build a rammed earth wall'.

These substantivizations may be used to refer (as in 151) or to modify (as in 152 and 153):

Taka-ku-na ka-n hatun geru-pita.
hit-refl-sub be-3 big wood-ABL
'There is a tamper, (made) from a big piece of wood.'
Substantivizations with -na [4.2.2.1]

Ka-n awa-ku-na qeru.
be-3 weave-refl-sub wood
'There is a weaving stick.'

Chay-wan tiñi-nchi hacha, tiñi-ku-na hacha.
that-COM dye-12 plant dye-refl-sub plant
'We dye it with that, a plant, a plant for dyeing.'

In 154 the element referred to (a doorway) is a place with respect to which the action is carried out:

punku yayku-ri-na-chaw
door enter-punct-sub-LOC
'in the doorway'

4.2.2.2. Substantivizations with -y

Among the uses of -y 'infinitive' its use to form simple (lexical?) substantives such as the following:

miku-y 'food' from miku- 'eat'  
yapa-y 'again, another time' (from yapa- 'to add to, to repeat') e.g., yapay-shi kontesta-n sapa...  
(again-IND answer-3 frog...) 'Again the frog answered...'

In the following, ushpaakuy refers to a baptism and qaray refers to food:

Chay usha-paaku-y-chaw qasta-n achka-ta tesurseuru llapan
that baptize-diffuse-inf-LOC spend-3 much-OBJ treasurer all

mayuraas-a-n kuns-ta atindi-r qara-y-nin-ta qu-shpa-n.
mayuraa-3P-OBJ attend-adv feed-inf-3P-OBJ give-adv-3P

'The treasurer spends a lot in that baptismal ceremony,  
attending to his mayuraas's. giving (them) food.'

In the following aruy refers to work:

imay-taq usha-n-ki aru-y-niki-ta...
when-?? finish-2 work-inf-2P-OBJ

'When will you finish your work...'

In the following ayway refers to a trip:

Kondor kada aywa-y-nin yaku puyuu-n-te mana kacha-yku-q.
condor each go-inf-3P water jug-3P-OBJ not leave-impact-NRP

'Every time the condor went he did not leave his water jug behind.'

In the following chayamuy refers to an arrival:

...pištła-shu-n-ki qam-ta kumpaarrri-n chaya-mu-y-nin-ta.
slaughter-2.2.2 you-OBJ compadre-3P arrive-afar-inf-3P-OBJ

'...they will slaughter you upon their compadre's arrival.'

In the following kuyay is referential: it refers to one who is loved:

Mayqani-:-taq mas kuya-y-niki ke-?: which-1P-?? more love-inf-2P be-1

'Which of us (excl) do you love more?'

In the following, kuyay is a modifier; it means 'beloved':

64See 13.3.2.2 for infinitival uses of -y.
Substantivizations with -y [4.2.2.2]

Ay Padre Santo, kuya-\(w\) wawe-yki-pa huti-n-chaw 160
Oh father holy love-inf child-2p-GEN name-3P-LOC
chay-lla-ta-mi maña-ku-\(i\)
that-just-OBJ-DIR ask-refl-1

'Oh Holy father, I ask just that in the name of your beloved son.'

In the following, usunkay refers to the sensation of a limb which has gone to sleep:

Usunka-\(w\) paasa-pti-n shiri-n. 161
without:sensation-inf pass-adv-3P tingle-3

'When its being asleep (a limb) has passed, it tingles.'

In the following pallay refers to a harvest:

Chey-chaw aru-shka-\(i\) tee palla-y-chaw. 162
there-LOC work-perf-1 tea gather-inf-LOC

'I worked there in the tea harvest.'

In the following riuuy refers to a session of cutting hair:

Aqcha rutu-y ka-n. 163
hair cut-inf be-3

'There is hair-cutting going on.'

In the following churakuynin refers to manner of dress:

Warmi-kaq lomismo chura-ku-y-nü-\(i\) woman-def same:way put-refl-inf-3P...

In the same way, what the woman has put on... (i.e., her clothing)...

In the following chakay refers to 'dark/night' (derived from chaka- 'be dark') and qasa-\(y\) refers to 'the cold' (derived from qasa: 'to be cold'):

...chaka-\(y\) qasa-\(y\)-wan soorrul mana awanta-sha-chu. 165
be:dark-inf be:dark-INF-COM fox not resist-3PERF-NEG

'...the fox was not able to stand the night cold.'

Chawra-qa chaka-\(y\)-pa seena-\(y\) usha-\(y\)-na-qa... 166
so-TOP be:dark-inf-GEN eat:supper-inf finish-inf-now-TOP

'So that night upon having finished supper...

yarpa-y (think-inf) may refer to 'thought, the faculty of thought' and yarpa-\(y\)-POS to the 'center of emotions and thought, x's thoughts?': e.g.:

Piru yus-ninchi-\(i\)-qa yarpa-\(y\)-ta qo-yku-pti-n-qa... 167
but god-12P-TOP think-inf-OBJ give-impact-adv-3P-TOP

'But if our God gives him faith...
(1st. 'give him the thought' ?)

Other examples:

pacha wara-\(y\)
(firmament dawn-inf) 'the twilight of dawn' from wara:- 'dawn'

warmi ashi-\(y\)
(woman search-NOM) an engagement practice in which a suitor and his relatives go to the home of the girl being sought

picha-pakuy-\(y\)
'the yearly cleaning of the irrigation canals'

51
4.2.2.3. -q ‘substantivizer’

-q is used to form "agentive" nominalizations; e.g.:  
*pishat'akuq ‘slaughterer’ from *pishta(ku) ‘to slaughter’
*anapakuq ‘day laborer, one who works for hire’ from *aru ‘to work’
*rantikuq ‘salesman’ from rant'i+kU ‘sell’; e.g.:  
   Rantikuq-a-lla ka-shka: tyenda-chaw.
   sell-sub-just be-perf-1 store-loc
   ‘I was just a salesman in the store.’

4.2.2.4. -(:)chi ‘one who does excessively’

-chi is a non-productive suffix meaning roughly ‘one who does excessively’; e.g.:
*tapu(;)chi ‘one who asks too many questions. a busybody’ from *tapu ‘to ask’,
*chirimana-:chi

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65 A direction for further study is to explore what constraints there are on what sort of circumstance may be indicated by an infinitive: e.g. the following is not acceptable:

*Maqa-ma-y-niki-wan maqa-shka--:
hit-3P-INF-2P-COM hit-perf-1

‘With the circumstance that you hit me, I hit you.’

66 Cusihuaman [12] (pg. 232) shows that in Cuzco Quechua *ti ‘characterizer’ is a productive suffix: e.g., *waga-ti ‘cry-baby’ from *waga ‘cry’. Certainly Cuzco Quechua *ti is cognate with HgQ -()chi. -()chi corresponds somewhat to the Spanish suffix *-tan: e.g., compare tapu(;)chi with preguntion ‘one who asks too many questions’.

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'one who has pants too tight' (perhaps from *chiri* 'tight')

\( a:yara:chi \) 'one who stands around with his mouth open' from \( a:yara \) 'yawn, have the mouth open' and \(-ra\) 'stative'

4.2.2.5. -\( pa \) 'substantivizer'

-\( pa \) 'substantivizer' is restricted to a few verbs; it is not a productive suffix.

\( willapa \) 'news' (cf. *willar* 'to tell')

\( qasapa \) 'frost' (cf. *qasa:* 'be cold')

4.3. Inflectional Suffixes which Apply to Substantives

The inflectional suffixes which apply to substantives will be discussed in what is (roughly) their order of occurrence in the formation of a word:

1. Possessive (section 4.3.1).
2. Number (section 4.3.2).
3. Case (section 4.3.3).
4. Other (section 4.3.4).

4.3.1. Possessive Suffixes

The FIRST person possessive (glossed '1P') is -\( : \) following short vowels and -\( ni: \) elsewhere. Here.

-\( : \) represents a combination of three effects:

1. lengthening of the preceding vowel.
2. attraction of stress when -\( : \) '1P' occurs word final\(^67\) and
3. (optional) lowering (to a highly variable degree) of a high vowel to mid, i.e. /i/ to [e] or /u/ to [o].

The first person is the person of the SPEAKER: e.g.:

\( uma: (\text{pronounced } [u\mathring{m}:]) \) 'my head' (cf. *uma* 'head')

\( wasi: (\text{pronounced } [wa\mathring{s}:]) \) or [wa\( \mathring{s}:\)] 'my house' (cf. *wasi* 'house')

\( mayurnii: (\text{pronounced } [ma\mathring{yur}:]) \) 'my older (sibling)' (cf. *mayur* 'older (one)')

The SECOND person possessive (glossed '2P') is -\( ki \) following /i/. -\( yki \) following other short vowels, and -\( niki \) elsewhere. The second person is the person of the HEARER (interlocutor); e.g.:

\( wasiki \) 'your house'

\( umayki \) 'your head'

\( mayurniki \) 'your older (sibling)'

The THIRD person possessive (glossed '3P') is -\( n \) following short vowels and -\( nin \) elsewhere. The third person is the person of some person/object other than the SPEAKER or HEARER; e.g.:

\( uman \) 'his head'

\( mayurnin \) 'his older (sibling)'

The FIRST PERSON PLURAL INCLUSIVE possessive (glossed '12P') is -\( nchi : \) following short vowels and -\( ninchi : \) elsewhere. The length of /i/ is realized only in open, non-final syllables. The first

---

\(^67\) Otherwise the penultimate syllable will be stressed: see 23.7.
person plural inclusive is a person which includes the SPEAKER and HEARER; e.g.:

- umanche 'our (incl) heads'
- mayurninch 'our (incl) older sibling/siblings'
- wasinchiman 'to our (incl) house(s)'

The FIRST PERSON PLURAL EXCLUSIVE possessive (glossed '1IP') is ':kuna following vowels and
- n:kuna elsewhere. The first person plural exclusive is a person which includes the SPEAKERS
(plural) or the SPEAKER and some other person, but excludes the HEARER; e.g. Diosniikuna
'our(excl) God' would refer to a God in which the speaker--but not the hearer--believes.

Various uses of the possessive suffixes are given in 12.3.2.

### 4.3.2. Number

The only suffix in this class is -kuna 'plural'. It is used for all pluralization of substantives. An
eample follows:

Wasi:n-kuna-ta  rika-:.  173
house-3P-plur-OBJ see-1
'I see his houses'.

### 4.3.3. Case and Case-like

The case marking suffixes indicate the relationship of the substantive to which they are suffixed
to the verb of the clause in which that substantive is a member. A full discussion of each of these is
given in chapter 10; what follows is intended as a cursory survey:

-Ø 'NOMinative' e.g.,

    Warmi:ki-Ø  ka-n-chu?
    woman-2P-NOM be-3-YN?

    'Do you have a wife?'

-ta 'OBJect'

accusative. e.g.,

    Achka-ta ranti-shka-:.  175
    much-OBJ buy-perf-1

    'I bought lots.'

dative. e.g.,

    Wamra:-ta  go-yku-nki.
    child-1P-OBJ give-impact-2

    'Give it to my child.'

direction. e.g.,

    Llakun-ta  aywa-yka-n.
    LlacoN-OBJ go-impfv-3

    'He is going to LlacoN.'
\[-yaq-\textit{kama} \text{`LIMitative'^{68}} \text{e.g.,} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Punta} & \quad \text{\{ a. } -yaq \text{ LIM } \\
\text{peak} & \quad \begin{align*}
\text{b. } & \quad -kama \text{ LIM } \\
\text{aywa-shaq.} & \quad \text{go-1FUT} \\
\end{align*}
\end{align*}
\]

\text{a,b. 'I will go to the ridge.'}

\[-\textit{man} \text{`GOAL'} \text{ e.g.,} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Wasi-\text{-man} } & \quad \text{sha-mu-nki!} \\
\text{house-1P-GOAL} & \quad \text{come-afar-2} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'Come to my house!'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Karu-man} & \quad \text{aywa-sha.} \\
\text{far-GOAL} & \quad \text{go-3PERF} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'He went far (away).'

\[-\textit{chaw} \text{`LOCative', e.g.:} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Chay-chaw} & \quad \text{ka-ku-chun!} \\
\text{there-LOC} & \quad \text{be-refl-3IMP} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'Leave it there!' (lit. 'May it be there!')

\[-\textit{paq} \text{`PURposive'} \text{ benefactive, e.g.:} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Qam-paq} & \quad \text{rura-nqa.} \\
\text{you-PUR} & \quad \text{do-3FUT} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'He will do it for you.'

\[-\textit{purposive} \text{ e.g.:} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mik.:\-na-yki-paq} & \quad \text{ranti-shka-\text{-}:} \\
\text{eat-sub-2P-PUR} & \quad \text{buy-perf-1} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'I bought it for you to eat.'

\[-\textit{pita} \text{`ABLative', e.g.:} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Liakun-pita} & \quad \text{sha-mu-shka-\text{-}:} \\
\text{Llacon-ABL} & \quad \text{come-afar-perf-1} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'I have come from Llacon.'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Qeru-pita} & \quad \text{rura-sha.} \\
\text{wood-ABL} & \quad \text{make-3PERF} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'He made it from wood.'

\[-\textit{rayku} \text{`SAKE', e.g.:} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Tamya-sha-n-rayku} & \quad \text{keeda-ra-n.} \\
\text{rain-sub-3P-SAKE} & \quad \text{stay-past-3} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'They stayed because of the rain.'

\[-\textit{naw} \text{`SIMilarity' and } -\textit{niraq} \text{`like', e.g.,} \]

\[\text{68} \text{Despite considerable effort I have been unable to find a difference in meaning between } -\text{yaq} \text{ and } -\text{kama.} \]
Case and Case-like [4.3.3]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Pay miku-n kuchi he eat-3 pig} & \quad \text{\{ } \quad a. \text{-niraq} \\
& \quad \text{\{ } \quad b. \text{-naw} \\
& \text{SIM}
\end{align*}
\]

\[a.b. \text{'He eats like a pig.' or 'He eats as though he were a pig.'}
\]

\[\text{Rumi-naw-ya-n.} \quad \text{188}
\text{stone-SIM-become-3}
\]

\[\text{'It is becoming like (a) stone.' / 'It is becoming stone-like.'}
\]

-\text{wan 'COMitive'}

\text{instrument, e.g.:}

\[\text{Illapa-wan wañu-chi-sha.} \quad \text{199}
\text{rifle-COM kill-caus-3PERF}
\]

\[\text{'He killed it with a rifle.'}
\]

accompaniment \text{e.g.:}

\[\text{Pay-wan aywa-y.} \quad \text{190}
\text{he-COM go-2!}
\]

\[\text{'Go with him.'}
\]

-\text{pa 'GENitive'}

\text{through, e.g.:}

\[\text{Llakun-pa paasa-shka-.} \quad \text{191}
\text{Llaco-GEN pass-perf-1}
\]

\[\text{'I passed through Llaco.' or 'I came by way of Llaco.'}
\]

to, e.g.,

\[\text{Llakun-pa aywa-.} \quad \text{192}
\text{Llaco-GEN go-1}
\]

\[\text{'I go to Llaco.'}
\]

\text{of, e.g.:}

\[\text{Juan-pa uma-n hatun.} \quad \text{193}
\text{John-GEN head-3P big}
\]

\[\text{'John's head is big.'}
\]

-\text{pura 'AMONG', e.g.:}

\[\text{Ishka-n qellay-ta chura-n pullan-pura.} \quad \text{194}
\text{two-2P money-OBJ put-3 half-AMONG}
\]

\[\text{The two of them pay the money half and half (i.e., they split the bill).'}
\]

Case markers are also used on substantivized clauses to indicate various other "adverbial" notions; see section 13.4 below, or chapter 5 of Weber [39]. For example:

\text{TIME, e.g.:}

\[\text{Aywa-sha-n-kama puklla-shun.} \quad \text{195}
\text{go-sub-3P-LIM play-12IMP}
\]

\[\text{'Let's play while he's gone (i.e. until he returns).'}
\]

56
4.3.4. Other Inflectional Suffixes

Various suffixes apply to substantives and verbs alike; these, with the sections in which they are discussed, are the following:

- *-pa‘GEN’ in its use in the genitive construction (see section 12.3).
- *-churaq ‘dubitive’ (see section 16.1) and *-chag ‘surely’.
- the question markers *-chu‘YN?, *-tiaq and *-rāq ‘??’ (see chapter 16).
- and the suffix *-qa‘TOP’ (see chapter 20), and
- the evidential suffixes *-mi‘DIR’, *-shi‘IND’. and *-chi‘CNJ’ (see chapter 21).

Other inflectional suffixes which apply to substantives are discussed in chapter 12: see sections 12.6, 12.7 and 12.8.
5. ADVERBS

This section treats:
- adverbs of time (section 5.1).
- adverbs of degree (section 5.2).
- sentential adverbs (section 5.3).
- pre-adjetives (section 5.4).
- manner and means adverbs (section 5.5), and
- derived adverbs (section 5.6).

5.1. Time Expressions

This section deals with time adverbs. The discussion centers on substantives which refer to
time rather than on simple lexical adverbs. This is because, while these words belong to the syntactic
category of substantive, they are used primarily as time adverbs. (Other sections relevant to time
adverbs are: 19.4, which deals with -naq 'yet, still, not until', and 12.3.2.4, which deals with temporal
expressions formed with the genitive construction.)

Adverbial clauses are often used to indicate time (see section 14.2) e.g.:

...karnabal-paq simaana pishi-yka-pu-n.
carnival-PUR week lack-impfv-adv-3

'...one week before carnival.'

These will not be discussed further in this chapter.70

5.1.1. Named Times

Some units of time have names, e.g. the days of the week have names borrowed from Spanish:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dumingu</td>
<td>'Sunday'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luris</td>
<td>'Monday'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marris</td>
<td>'Tuesday'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mirkulis</td>
<td>'Wednesday'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hurvis</td>
<td>'Thursday'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burvis</td>
<td>'Friday'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sabalu or sabaru</td>
<td>'Saturday'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The months have names (borrowed from Spanish):

69 Thus they undergo processes typical of substantives, as e.g. pluralization with -kuna, case marking, modification by other
substantives, etc.

70Snow [34] (pg. 63) cites examples like the following, his number 47, but I found nothing like this in HgQ:

Y upya-nqa-n punu-ka-sk1-naq.
and drink-sub-3p sleep-passasp-narpst

'And having drunk, he dozed off.'
Examples:
February month begin-sub-sub-just-LOC-now 'at the beginning of February'

'usha-q fibreeru-chaw finish-sub February-LOC 'at the end of the month'

Chay-ta rura-n sabaru kallisu tardi that-OBJ do-3 Saturday afternoon
'They do that the afternoon of Saturday "kallisu."'

Chay-ta ni-n baara taapan-y ru cheque that-OBJ say-3 staff keep:vigil-inf cross night
'They call that the night of "baara taapan rus".

5.1.2. Time Expressions and Case Markers
Virtually all the case markers have some use in forming time expressions. These are discussed fully in Weber [39], section 5.1, and briefly in chapter 10 here. The following is a very brief summary:

' -ta 'OBJ' may indicate 'time lapsed' (See 10.3); e.g.:
  picha hunaq-ta 'five days hence (from now)' (Sp. 'a los cinco dias')

'chaw' 'LOC' may be used to express 'while, during the time' (See 10.4); e.g.:
  Mas mas aywa-yka-sha-n-chaw-na-shi... more more go-impfv-sub-3P-LOC-now-IND
  'As they are going along...'

  Puñu-sha huk puñu-sha-lla-n-chaw. sleep-3PERF one sleep-sub-just-3P-LOC
  'He slept one sleep through... (e.g. from the day before yesterday to yesterday)

'paq 'PUR' may be used to indicate a length of time which is to elapse or to express 'by the time that' (see section 10.8.6); e.g.:
  ...kontratu-ta rura-shun pusaq hunaq-paq. contract-OBJ make-12IMP eight day-PUR
  '...let's make a contract for eight days from now.'

  ...chay-a-na-n-paq aywa-ku-sha-na. arrive-sub-3P-PUR go-refl-3PERF-now
  '...by the time he arrived, he had already gone.'
-**man** 'GOAL' may be used to indicate 'in a minute' (See 10.6); e.g.,
*mas raatu-man* 'in a minute'

-**pita** 'ABL' may be used to express 'since' or 'after' (See 10.5.7); e.g.:

  Karnabal fiesta usha-sha-n-pita birnis-il-la-n-na...
carnival fiesta finish-sub-3P-ABL Friday-just-3P-now
  'On the first Friday after the end of Carnival...'

  Puñu-yka-sha-n-pita chakay...
sleep-impfv-sub-3P-ABL night
  'in the night after they were sleeping...'

-**yaq** or **kama** 'LIM' may be used to express 'until' (See 10.7.2); e.g.:

  Qachwa-n pacha wara:-na-n-kama.
dance-3 firmament dawn-sub-3P-LIM
  'They dance until dawn.'

-**pa** 'GEN' may occur in expressions like tardi-pa (afternoon-GEN) 'in the afternoon'.

---

### 5.1.3. Units of Time

The following are some of the substantives that refer to units of time:

- **hunaq** 'day'
- **killa** 'month'
- **oora** 'moment'
- **raatu** 'moment' (*mas raatu-man* 'in a moment')
- **tuta** 'morning'
- **wara** 'year'
- **wichay** 'era, period' (fits here?)

Examples of their use:

  marsu **killa** qalla-yku-g-chaw
  March month begin-impact-sub-LOC
  'at the beginning of March'

  pullan **killa-chaw**
  half month-LOC
  'mid month'

These words may be the heads of relative clauses: e.g.:

  Tapa-sha-n **kusa** almusa-y oora-naw...
  keep:vigil-sub-3P morning breakfast-int time-SIM
  'On the morning after they have kept vigil, about breakfast time...'

---

### 5.1.4. Times of Day

The system of telling time by hours has been borrowed from Spanish; e.g.:

- **laguna** '1:00 PM' (from Sp. la una)
- **lasdosi** '2:00 PM' (from Sp. las dos)
- **lasdoosi** '12:00 AM (noon)' (from Sp. las doce) e.g.:

---

71 These are rare. I wonder if perhaps they are loan translations from Spanish por la tarde.
Kasi lasdoosi-na-shi tarin...
almost noon-now-IND find-3
'When it was almost noon, they find...'

las sinko '5:00 PM' (from Sp. las cinco)
Other expressions for the time of day follow:

*pullan paqas*
'mid day, noon'

*taarri* 'evening', e.g.:
...dumingu taardi nochii-chii-n...
Sunday evening pass:night-caus-3
'...Sunday evening they make them pass the night...'

*tuta* 'morning', e.g.:
...miki-shkaa-! taarri tuta...
eat-perf-1 evening morning
'...we ate every morning and every evening...'

The following expressions for times are based on the customary time of daily events:

*kuchi pishtaq*
'hour/time when a particular star (named kuchi pishtaq) rises'

*chaqcha ini* 
'time of mid morning coca break'

*mallway oora* 
'time of mid afternoon coca break'\(^{72}\) *kanan mallway* 'this afternoon'

*rimer wallpa waqay*
'first rooster crow'

The following expressions for times are based on the shift between night and day, light and dark:

*pacha waraa-na-n-kama* (firmament dawn-sub-3P-LIM) 'firmament to dawn, i.e., of the sky, to get light' *pacha wara-sha* (firmament dawn-prtc) 'when it has become completely light (about 6:00 a.m.)'

*tuta* 'morning, early,'

*chakay* 'dark, night'

In the example, time is expressed in terms of the position of sun; it refers to the evening after the sun has set but it is still light:

inti pasa-ri-ti-n ilantu-lia-ta
sun pass-pnct-adv-1P shade-just-0BJ
'when the sun is past, in the shade'

\(^{72}\)In some areas two there are two such breaks, *hanun mallway* 'large break' (around 4:30') and *naksha mallway* 'small break (around 2:30')
5.1.5. Deictic Time Expressions

The time referred to by following expressions depends on the time at which they are spoken:

\textit{mas chaka-y-li-a-man} (more be:dark-inf-just-GOAL) ‘later at night’ or ‘later on that night’.

\textit{kanan} ‘now, today’, \textit{kanan tuta} ‘this morning’,

\textit{mayna} ‘already’.

\textit{naqa} ‘long ago’.

\textit{ñana+y+ta+rəq} ‘some time later’ (see 19.4).

\textit{ńawpata} ‘before, long ago’.

\textit{qanyan} ‘yesterday’. \textit{qanyantin} ‘the day before yesterday’,

\textit{qepata} ‘sometime before’,

\textit{tuta} ‘(this) morning’, \textit{tuta-nnin} ‘next morning’.

\textit{unay} ‘much time hence (either past or future)’,

\textit{wara} ‘tomorrow’.

\textit{wara-nnin} ‘the day after tomorrow’.

\textit{waran+POSx} ‘the next day with respect to x’.

\textit{wara-nnin hunaq} (tomorrow-super day) ‘on the following day’.

\textit{mas wara-nnin} (more tomorrow-super) ‘two days hence’.

\textit{watan} ‘the next year’.

\textit{-kuna} ‘plur’ can be added to certain time expressions (either deictic or-measure) to indicate a general time period:

\textit{kay hunaq-kuna} (this day-plur) ‘one of these days’

\textit{kay killa-kuna} (this month-plur) ‘one of these months’

\textit{wara-kuna} (tomorrow-plur) ‘one of the next days’ (\textit{warakuna} would be sooner than \textit{kay hunaqkuna}).

In a narrative, the time reference of these expressions does not depend on the time of speaking, as the cases just discussed, but rather on the "time frame" of the narrative. For example, the first time expression in 217 (\textit{mas pacha waraymannaq}) establishes the time frame as very early in the morning, before it is light. The second time expression (\textit{tutannin}) is by reference to that time frame: it indicates a time later that morning when it was fully light.\textsuperscript{73}

\begin{verbatim}
Nirkur mas pacha wara-y-man-na−qa sooruru wañu-sha. 217
then more firmament dawn-inf-GOAL-now-TOP fox die-3PERF
Tutannin wara-mu-sha hapa-lia-n kundur. morning-super dawn-afar-3PERF alone-just-3P condor
‘Then more along toward dawn the fox died.
The following morning the condor came into a new day alone.’
Chay-chaw puñu-sha wara-nnin yapay kuti-mu-na-pag. that-LOC sleep-3PERF tomorrow-super again return-afar-sub-3-PUR
‘They slept there (planning) to return the next morning.’
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{73}See the discussion of possessive suffixes with time words in section 12.3.2.4, and the use of \textit{Nnin} ‘superlative’ in 4.2.1.12.
Deictic time expressions can be conjoined, e.g.:

Kanan-chu or wara-chu?
today-YN? or tomorrow-YN?
'Today or tomorrow?'

-na 'now' may be used with such deictic expressions for time to make more explicit that they should be understood with respect to the present time (of speaking): e.g.:
Unay-na
sirbi-ma-shka-nchi
time:distant-now serve-ABL-perf-1

'He served us long ago.'

5.1.6. Denoting Periods of Time

A period of time may be denoted by quantifying the name of a time period; e.g.:
Chay-chaw kushi-sha qoya-shka-: kimsa killa.
that-LOC be:happy-3PERF pass:time-perf-1 three month

'I remained there happily for three months.'

It may be expressed with the name of a time and a case marker, -pita 'ABL' to refer to the initiation of the time period and -man 'kama' 'LIM' to refer to the end of it:
lunis-pita hwybis-kama
monday-ABL thursday-LIM

'from Monday to Thursday'

There are also lexical items which refer to time periods:74 qoyati 'all day long' (see example 223), warati 'all night, till dawn'75 and may oora 'for a long time' (i.e. several minutes). For example,
... ripara-sha chay hunaq, qovati.
prepare-3PERF that day all:day:long

'...they prepared it that day, all day long.'

5.1.7. Other Time Adverbs

These are some simple time adverbs:
chay-lla-raq
'momentarily'76

tuta-lla 'early'
raatu-lla 'just for a moment'
huk-lla 'right away, immediately'
tempraanuyallaq
(< tempraanu-yaq-lla ?) 'very early'

---

74 These are distinct from expressions for the measure of a time period such as wara 'year' and hunaq 'day'.

75 Parker [27], section 3.8, pg. 103 posits -*r 'Complete State (de-verbal nominalizer)' as a proto-Quechua B suffix: among others, he cites the following examples: wara 'all night long, till dawn', ushkar 'till it ends'.

76 Pronounced [chayllarä] or [chayllarä:]
5.2. Degree Adverbs

All degree adverbs are derived.

*fiyupa* means 'very much, a lot':

- **Fiyu-па** maqa-ma-sha.  
  bad-adv hit--->1-past-3PERF
  
  'He hit me really hard.'

- **Fiyu-па** yarqa-yka-.  
  bad-adv be:hungry-impfv-1
  
  'I am very hungry.'

*achkata* means virtually the same as *fiyupa*: it probably originated in expressions like 227a where *achka* was an object: it can now be used in cases where *achka* cannot be construed as an object, such as 227b and c:

- **Achka-та** qo-ma-ra-n.  
  much-OBJ give--->1-past-3
  
  a. 'He gave me a lot.'

- **Achka-та** maqa-ma-ra-n.  
  much hit--->1-past-3
  
  b. 'He hit me a lot.'

- **Achka-та** puñu-ra-n.  
  much sleep-past-3
  
  c. 'He slept a lot.'

*pasaypa* means 'excessively'

*ushaqaq* means 'completely'  

---

77 *ushaqaq* is derived from *usha* 'finish' and *-qaq* 'result'; see Weber [39], section 5.5.
allaapa is occasionally used as a degree adverb, but its principle use is as a pre-adjective: see section 5.4 below.

5.3. Attitudinal Adverbs

Attitudinal adverbs express the speakers attitude toward the content. They apply to the propositional content of the entire sentence.

*ichan(qa)* 'certainly, probably'

*mi̱ hur* 'better (that)' (from Sp. *mejor*), e.g.:

\[
\text{Mihur wañu-yqa-chi-shun. Allaapa-na Ńaka-chi-ma-nchi.}
\]

better die-impact-caus-12IMP too:much-now suffer-caus-->1-12

'Better that we kill him. He makes us suffer too much.'

*rasun pa* 'really, certain', e.g.:

\[
\text{Rasun-pa goykushayki.}
\]

Really give-dir-1s>2FUT

'I will really give it to you.' (i.e., I tell you truthfully...)

*simri* seems to be used to animate the hearer to concede to some request made by the speaker:78 e.g.:

\[
\text{Simri willa-ma-y imanir-taq qam...}
\]

still tell==>1-2IMP why?? you

'Still tell me why you...'

\[
\text{Aywa-ku-shun simri.}
\]

go-refl-12IMP still

'Still, let's go!'

5.4. Pre-Adjective

The pre-adjetives are *allaapa, sumaq, pasaypa* and *fiyupa*.79

*allaapa* 'very, excessively' occurs before adjectives to amplify the property indicated by the adjective:

\[
\text{Tagay allaapa awkis-na.}
\]

that too old-now

'That one is too old now.'

*sumaq, pasaypa* and *fiyupa* all mean 'very'

Suppose one is speaking of tables with smooth tops: he may say 233a, referring to the very smoothest table. On the assumption that the hearer knows he is speaking of tables, he may say 233b, leaving out *meesa* 'table'. And remarkably, on the assumption that the hearer knows that the speaker is concerned about the smoothness of the given tables, he may say 233c, leaving out *ilushway* 'smooth' as well.

78 We might call *simri* as an adverb of "solicitation".

79 The class of pre-adjetives and degree adverbs overlap somewhat: e.g. *pasaypa* and *fiyupa* are both degree adverbs and pre-adjetives. Further, *sumaq* is also used as a manner adverb meaning 'very well': see examples 235-237.
5.5. Manner and Means Adverbs

*hinalla/hinaylla 'like that'. e.g.:

Yaku hina-lla-raq niti-ra-yka-n allpa-ta. 234
water like:that-just-yet press-stat-impfv-3 ground-OBJ
'The water still covered the ground like that.'

sumaq 'well', e.g.:

Sumaq chari-ra-ː-mu-y!
well grab-stat-afar-2IMP
'Hold it well (over there)!

Sumaq fiiha-y may-chaw ka-sha-n-ta-pis!
well establish-y where-loc be-sub-3P-OBJ-indef
'Establish precisely where it is.'

...karga-chaw sumaq sirbi-ku-ptri:
carrying-LOC well serve-refl-adv-IP
'...although I served well in carrying.'

mana alli 'badly', e.g.:

...mana alli rima-sha ka-r-pis.
not good speak-prtc be-adv-indef
'...although I was spoken of badly.'

Adverbs of MEANS, i.e., adverbs expressing the means to achieving/accomplishing some goal, are formed by -naw-pa. A consideration of 239 shows that -naw+pa makes "means" adverbs and not "manner" adverbs: "knowing" is not something that can be done in various manners, but one can come to know something by different means, so 239b is acceptable whereas 239a is not:

a. *Chay-naw
   that-SIM
   }
   239
   musya-ra-n,
   know-past-3

b. Chay-naw+pa
   that-SIM+GEN

b. 'In that way (by that means) he knew.'

Note too that adverbs formed by -naw+pa are very distinct from the similes formed by simple -naw (discussed in 10.11.2).

80 It has referential force and bears suffixes typical of substantives.
5.6. Derived Adverbs

5.6.1. Adverbs Derived from Substantives

5.6.1.1. The de-substantival adverbializer -ta

-ta is not a productive adverbializer in HgQ, but there are a few adverbs derived from substantives with it. For the most part these are cases which started as objects of transitive verbs: when they became adverbs they could then be used with intransitive verbs too. For example, from achka 'much, many' one gets achkata. Here are some others:

**DEGREE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aru-yka-n</td>
<td>mas-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work-impfv-3</td>
<td>more-ADV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'He works more.' or 'He continues to work.'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chanin-ta</td>
<td>kubra-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expensive-ADV</td>
<td>charge-3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'He charges a lot.'

In 242 mas achka-ta cannot be the object of yayku- 'enter' because yayku- is an intransitive verb:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>...mas</td>
<td>achka-ta yayku-na-n-paq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more-ADV</td>
<td>enter-sub-3P-PUR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'...so that more will enter.'

**DIRECTION**

In 243 the adverb hanaqa gives the direction of jumping:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chawra</td>
<td>hanag-ta hanag-ta hanag-ta-na-shi rinka-yka-n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So up-ADV</td>
<td>up-ADV up-ADV now-IND jump-impfv-3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'So she jumped up and up and up.'

In 244 the adverb ruri-ta gives the direction of digging:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chawra mas</td>
<td>ruri-ta oqti-r oqti-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so more inward-ADV</td>
<td>dig-adv dig-adv dig-adv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aru-rka-yka-sha-n-chaw-shi...</td>
<td>work-plur-impfv-sub-3P-LOC-IND</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'So while they are working, digging deeper and deeper...'

In 245 mamanpa gepanta gives the direction of going:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>...mamanpa</td>
<td>gepanta aywa-ku-sha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother-3P-GEN</td>
<td>behind-3P-ADV go-refl-3PERF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'...he followed his mother.'

(lit. 'he went to his mother's back(side)')

**TIME**

In 246, hunaqa paqasta is a temporal adverbial phrase:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Panas-ta</td>
<td>hunaqa aywa-ku-yka-.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night-ADV</td>
<td>day-ADV go-refl-impfv-1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'I go by night and day.'
The de-substantival adverbializer -ta[5.6.1.1]

The spatial use of qepanta illustrated in 245 has been extended to a temporal use: qepantaraq 'latter' (i.e. following behind in time).

REASON

Aywa-nki-taq+chu tama-ta-o,
go-2-NEG rain-ADV-TOP

'Don't go because it is raining.'
(approximately, 'How could you consider going? It's raining!'.)

5.6.1.2. The de-substantival adverbializer -pa

This section discusses adverbialization with -pa.81 In section 10.9 the case uses of -pa were discussed; there is no clear distinction between the use of -pa as an adverbializer and as a case marker.

A wide range of adverbs are derived from substantives by -pa; e.g.: e.g.:

Shamu-shka-
come-perf-1

{ a. chaki-pa. (foot-ADV) means
  b. chakay-pa. (night-ADV) time
  c. sasa-pa. (difficult-ADV) manner
  d. rasun-pa (real-ADV) truth

'I came

{ a. on foot.
b. by night.
c. with difficulty.
d. really.

The following are some of the various functions of adverbs derived by -pa:

MEANS:

Noqa chaki-lle-pa aywa-ku-shka:- Piliku-kama.
I foot-just-ADV go-refl-perf-1 Piliku-LIM

'I went just on foot as far as Piliku.'

PERTAINING TO TRUTH:

Rasun-pa o llula-ku-nki?
real-ADV or lie-refl-2

'Really, or are you lying?'

Rasun-pa-mi muna:-
real-ADV-DIR want-1

'I really want to.'

...tapu-n llapan kasta-n-kuna moosu-ta rasun-pa ni-sha-n-ta
ask-3 all clan-3-plur man-OBJ real-ADV ask-sub-3P-OBJ

'...all her clan ask her if she really said it to the young man.'
(i.e., agreed to marry him)

---

81 Two other relevant sections are 14.4 and 10.12: the former discusses adverbs derived from verbs by -y=lla+pa; the latter discusses (among more case-related uses) the manner adverbials formed with -raw- pa.
...sabran kapitaana rasun-pa rima-naku-qa-naw
sabra-Com kapitaana real-ADV speak-recip-sub-SIM

iwal iwal rima-naku-n.
together together speak-recip-3

"...the sabra and the kapitaana argue with each other
as though they were really arguing."

DEGREE:

...tukuy shongo:-pa yus-ta maña-ku:
all heart-1-ADV God-OBJ pray-refl-1

"...I pray to God with all my heart."

Chawra warmi-pa tayta-n mana-n fiyu-pa rabya-n...
so woman-GEN father-3P mother-3P bad-ADV enrage-3

"So the woman's parents become very angry..."

DIRECTION or ORIENTATION:

Nirkur rur-i-pa allpa-ta uchku-n.
then downward-3P-ADV ground-OBJ dig-3

"Then he digs downward into the ground." (describing a beetle)

Uma-lla-n-pa ichi-ra-n.
head-just-3P-ADV stand-past-3

"He stood on his head."

TIME:

Hunaq-pa puñu-shka-:
day-ADV sleep-perf-1

"I slept by day."

chakay-pa (night-ADV) 'by night' from chaka+y (be:dark+inf) 'night':

Chakay-pa yayku-yu-ru...
night-ADV enter-impact-adv

"Entering by night..."

Chakay-lla-pa chay rusun-ta rura-n.
night-just-ADV that procession-OBJ do-3

"They have that procession just by night."

taarri-pa (afternoon-ADV) 'late in the afternoon'

paqas-pa (night-ADV) 'by night'

OTHER:

Alli buluntaa-pa parla-n ishka-n-pa kasta-n-kuna-pis.
good will-ADV converse-3 two-3P-GEN clan-3P-plur-even

"The clans of those two converse with good will."

arde:-pa 'on purpose' from arde 'purpose'

---

82 See section 10.9.2.
5.6.2. Adverbs Derived from Verbs

5.6.2.1. By substantivization and then adverbalization

De-verbal adverbs may be derived from verbs by first substantivizing it and then forming an adverb with one of the de-substantival adverbializers discussed in section 5.6.1. Particularly common are those formed with -y-(lla)-pa (see section 14.4), i.e. first infinitivalization (by -y 'inf'), optionally adding -lla 'just' and finally adverbalization with -pa (as discussed in section 5.6.1.2).

5.6.2.2. Adverbs derived by -q

One sort of adverb derived by -q, that involved in the purpose-motion construction, is discussed in section 13.4.4.2. This section will show another use of -q to form adverbs. It seems to limited to few cases (and thus, I doubt that it is productive).

*tumariq* is an adverb meaning 'all around'. derived from the verb *tuma-* 'circulate, go about' and -q; e.g.:

\[
\text{...inteerru kantu-n-pa tumari-q adurnu-wan adurna-n.} \quad 263
\]

\[
\text{entire edge-3P-GEN circle-adv ornament-COM adorn-3}
\]

\[
\text{...they adorn it with ornaments all around the edge.'}
\]

\[
\text{Chay-ta hana-lla-n-pa kuchu-nchi tumari-q}
\]

\[
\text{that-OBJ top-just-3P-GEN cut-12 circle-adv}
\]

\[
\text{ruri-n-kag-ta mana daaña-yallapa.} \quad 264
\]

\[
\text{inside-3P-def-OBJ not damage-adv}
\]

\[
\text{\textit{We cut the surface of that all around, being careful not to damage the inside.'}}
\]

\[
\text{Mana [X ]-pis pishi-q \textit{all X without exception}}
\]

\[
\text{...llapan kumun aru-q aywa-n mana huk-pis pishi-q.} \quad 265
\]

\[
\text{all community work go-3 not one-indef lack-sub}
\]

\[
\text{...all the community goes to work, not lacking one.'}
\]

\[
\text{...lìstu ka-na-n llapan mana ima-pis pishi-q.} \quad 266
\]

\[
\text{ready be-sub-3P all not what-indef lack-sub}
\]

\[
\text{...everything should be ready without a thing lacking.'}
\]

\[
\text{---}
\]

\[
\text{[39] There is a fuller discussion in Weber [39], section 5.4.2.}
\]

\[
\text{70}
\]
6. OTHER WORD AND SUFFIX CLASSES

This chapter deals with
- word classes other than substantives verbs and adverbs (section 6.1), and
- suffixes which apply to substantives, verbs, and other classes, (section 6.2).

6.1. Other Word Classes

Verbal, substantival and adverbial elements have been discussed in the preceding chapters. This section deals with some small classes: negatives, interjections, intersentential connectives ("links") etc.

6.1.1. Negative

There are but two words in this class:

*ama* 'neg' is used with imperatives and conditionals; e.g.:

\[
\text{Ama sha-mu-y-chu} \\
\text{not come-sfar-zIMP-NEG} \\
\text{'Don't come!'}
\]

\[
\text{Ama chay-naw-qa ka-chun-chu} \\
\text{not that-SIM-TOP be-zIMP-NEG} \\
\text{'May it not be that way!'}
\]

\[
\text{Ama rura-pa:ma:shwan} \\
\text{not do-ben->1-12COND} \\
\text{'He might not do it for us.'}
\]

*mana* 'no/not' is used elsewhere, e.g.:

\[
\text{Mana rura-shka:-chu} \\
\text{not do-perf-1-NEG} \\
\text{'I did not do it.'}
\]

\[
\text{Sumaq chari-shka:- mana qeshpi-na-n-pag} \\
\text{well grab-perf-1 not escape-sub-3P-PUR} \\
\text{'I held it well so that it would not escape.'}
\]

6.1.2. Interjections

There are two sorts of interjection. The first express reactions:

*achachaw* in reaction to something frightful, or
*akachaw* in reaction to heat
*ananaw* in reaction to pain
*allaliw* in reaction to cold

The second are expressions of emotion:

*achiyya* to express pleasure
*wawitu/wawitu* to express pity
6.1.3. Interactionals

The following are useful to successful interpersonal interaction:

**pakillaa** 'thank you (upon receiving a gift)' (derived from Sp. Diós se lo pague)

**ammill(a)** 'thank you (upon accepting an invitation or receiving help or some service)'

**ka:** 'Here!' (i.e. take it!)

**katay** 'Here, take it' (from Sp. Acá está?)

**kaylla** 'Here' (when returning something)

**ha:** 'Huh?' (i.e. Say again!)

**imaa** 'What' (to respond when being addressed or called)

**ma:** 'Let's see!' *ma:* generally co-occurs with a verb in the imperative e.g.:

\[
\text{Ma: koorri-shun. run-12IMP}
\]

'Let's run!' (to see which of us will win)

\[
\text{Ma: deeru-yki-ta hati-y. finger2P-OBJ put-in-2IMP}
\]

'Stick your finger in.' (into its eyes, to verify that it is dead)

\[
\text{Ma: yupa-pa:ma-y. count-ben->1-2IMP}
\]

'Count them out for me.' (so that I can verify that there are as many as you say)

**kuyraa** 'Be careful (not to). watch out (that not)' (from Sp. cuidado); e.g.:

\[
\text{Kuyraa tuni-r. be:careful fall-ADV}
\]

'Be careful not to fall.'

6.1.4. Links

**Links** are words which occur (generally) as the first word of a non-initial sentence in a narrative. Links function as boundary markers between sentences, and indicate--to a very limited degree--the relation of the second sentence to the first. The most common links are:

**Chawra(s)** 'so. then' is derived from chay oora(s)'that time'.

**chaypita** 'thereafter. then' is chay 'that' and -pita 'ABL', and **nirkur/nikur/niykur**

'thereupon. then' is derived from ni 'say', a pretransition suffix, and then -r 'adverbial clause, same subject'.

All three are glossed simply as 'then'. Of the three, chawra is the most neutral. Nikur 'thereupon' and chaypita 'thereafter' differ roughly in the time lapse indicated between the two events. Nirkur

---

84 This "verb" takes two kinds of complements: if the subject of the complement is the addressee, then it is made an adverbial clause with -r as in example 275. If the subject of the complement is not the addressee, then the complement is substantivized with -na followed by -wan 'INST': e.g.:

\[
\text{Kuyraa kiru-yki-ta paki-na-n-wan. be:careful teeth-2P-OBJ break-SUB-3P-COM}
\]

'Be careful that it doesn't break your teeth.'
indicating a short lapse and *chaypi*ta indicating a potentially long lapse. A more complete discussion and examples are given in section 18.4.

6.2. Suffixes Not Restricted to Class

Previous sections have introduced suffixes which apply just to substantives and suffixes which apply just to verbs. The suffixes discussed in this section (sometimes “independent” suffixes) may apply to words of any category except to some of the small, closed classes such as interjections, interactional (imperatives) and links (discussed in section 6.1). Except as they co-occur one with another, these suffixes always occur word final. Their use is to some extent determined by discourse-related factors; since no small amount of discussion would do them justice, I will attempt none here. Various subclasses can be distinguished.

6.2.1. Shading Suffixes

The following are referred to as SHADING suffixes because they add fine shades of meaning:

- *lla* ‘just. diminutive’. e.g.:

- *miku*-lla-\*ta
  
  toasted:corn-just-OBJ eat-1

  'I just eat toasted corn.'

- *pis*-si ‘even. also. indefinite’ (glossed ‘indef’ throughout. even when the meaning is clearly "even." "also." etc.): e.g.:

  a. *Noqa*-si aywa-shaq.
  
  1-indef go-IFUT

  b. *Noqa*-pis aywa-shaq.
  
  1-indef go-IFUT

  a.b. 'I too will go.'

- *na* ‘now. already’. e.g.:

  
  arrive-afar-3PERF-now

  'He has already arrived.'

- *rag* ‘still. yet’. e.g.:

- *Pu*-yka-o-rag.
  
  sleep-impf-3-still

  'He is still sleeping.'

*lla and *pis are temporally oriented while *lla and *pis have much more to do with the speaker’s attitude toward what he is communicating. The shading suffixes are discussed in great detail in chapter 19.

6.2.2. Evidential Suffixes

These primarily indicate the source of information (first hand, second hand, conjecture): secondarily they may indicate the degree to which the speaker believes the sentence to be true. Generally only one occurs per sentence. They do not co-occur with each other but do co-occur with
the shading suffixes.

-\textit{mi} \quad 'direct information, assert'
-\textit{shi} \quad 'indirect information'
-\textit{chi} \quad 'conjecture'
-\textit{chaq} \quad 'surely'

These are discussed in chapter 21. A suffix much related to this class is -\textit{qa} 'topic';\textsuperscript{85} this suffix is discussed in chapter 20.

\subsection{6.2.3. Question-Negative}

-\textit{chu} \quad 'negative' or 'yes/no question marker'; e.g.

\begin{quote}
Aywa-nki-\textit{chu}?
g0-2-YN?
\end{quote}

'Are you going?' or 'You are not going.'

-\textit{taq} \quad question marker for WH questions: presupposes the addressee knows answer to the question.

\begin{quote}
Pi-\textit{taq} chaya-mu-sha?
who-?? arrive-afar-3PERF
\end{quote}

'Who arrived?'

-\textit{raq} \quad question marker for WH questions: does not presuppose that the addressee knows answer to the question.

\begin{quote}
Pi-\textit{raq} chaya-mu-sha.
who-?? arrive-afar-3PERF
\end{quote}

'Who might have arrived?'

\footnote{\textsuperscript{85} There is some evidence that -\textit{qa} belongs to the same distributional category as the evidentials: like the evidentials, it follows the shading suffixes, and does not co-occur with negation. It never co-occurs in the same word with one of the evidential suffixes (with a few exceptions).}
7. WORD FORMATION

7.1. The Structure of the Verbal Word

HgQ verbs have four parts, the first and third of which are obligatory, the second and fourth of which are optional:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{root/stem} & \text{pre-transition} & \text{transition} & \text{post-transition} \\
(\text{obligatory}) & (\text{optional}) & (\text{obligatory}) & (\text{optional})
\end{array}
\]

Table 7.1: The Structure of the Verbal Word

For example, the parts of \textit{maqaykama:nanpaq} 'in order for him to hit me' are as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{stem} & \text{pre-transition} & \text{transition} & \text{post-transition} \\
\text{maq-} & \text{-yku} & \text{-ma:nan} & \text{-paq}
\end{array}
\]

The transition is a complex of suffixes which function together to indicate the person of the object and subject, and the tense/subordination relationship; see section 8.1.2. A brief summary of pre-transition, transition, and post-transition suffixes will now be given.

7.1.1. Introduction to Pre-Transition Suffixes

The \textit{pre-transition} suffixes are discussed fully in chapter 9 below. They have sometimes been referred to as "derivational suffixes,"\(^{86}\) and include various diverse kinds of suffix: aspeical suffixes, derivational suffixes, deictic markers, etc. The order of these suffixes is somewhat variable: see 7.2. The following is a summary list of the pre-transition suffixes:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{:-ri} 'plural (subject or object)' occurs following a directional suffix (-\textit{yku}, -\textit{rkU}, -\textit{rpU} or -\textit{rqU}), the reflexive suffix -\textit{kU}, or a reciprocal suffix -\textit{nakU}, e.g., \textit{aywa-rkU:-ri} (i.e., /\textit{aywarka:ri}/) 'They having gone'
\item \textit{:-shi} 'to help/accompany;' \textit{aru:-shi} (work-help) 'to help work'
\item \textit{-cha:} 'make, cause to become' (an old causative form) e.g., \textit{wamra-cha:-} (child-make-) 'to adopt, lit. to make (one's) child'
\item \textit{-chaku} 'repeatedly' \textit{maki-chaku:} (hand-repeatedly-) 'to steal repeatedly (petty theft).
\item \textit{-chi} 'causative' \textit{wañu-chi-sha} (die-cause-3PERF) 'He killed him.'
\item \textit{-ka:} 'passive' e.g., \textit{alcha-ka-sha} (fix-passive-3PERF) 'He got well' (lit. 'he was fixed'), \textit{maqa-ka-sha} (hit-passive-3PERF) 'He was hit.'
\item \textit{-ka:ku} 'completely' e.g., \textit{wañu-ka:ku-sha} (die-complete-3PERF) 'He died.' (The verb \textit{wañu}-is sometimes used to refer to unconciousness.)
\item \textit{-ku} 'reflexive' This extremely common suffix has a diffuse meaning, roughly 'for the benefit of self'.
\item \textit{-lla:} 'polite'
\item \textit{-mu} 'cis/trans-locative' see discussion in section 9.3.
\end{itemize}

\(^{86}\) These suffixes have been the object of several studies: for Huaraz (Ancash) Quechua see Larsen [18]. Parker [28], and G. Swissenheim's study in Pantoja [25]: for Northern Junín Quechua see Sayk [32].
-na: 'desiderative' miku-na: (eat-desid-) 'to want to eat'
-nakU 'reciprocal' e.g., maq-araka: (hit-recip) 'to hit one another'
-pa (non-productive) 'benefactive'
-pakU 'verbalizer' gongor-paku: (knee-verbalizer-) 'to kneel'
-pa: 'benefactive' e.g., maq-araka:ma-n (hit-ben-=1-3) 'He hit him for me (i.e. to my benefit or detriment).
-pakU: 'plural' e.g., aywa-pa:ku-n (go-plur-3) 'They (all together) go.'
-pu 'benefit'
-ra: 'state' e.g., puñu-ra:yka:n (sleep-stat-impfv-3) 'He is sleeping.'
-ri 'punctual'
-rka 'plural' occurs only before -yka: 'impfv' aywa-rka:yka:n (go-plur-impfv-3) 'They are going.'
-rkU 'up, thereupon' chaya-rukur willamasha (arrive-thereupon-ADV he:told:me) 'Upon arriving he told me.'
-ropa 'plural state' This suffix occurs where -ra: 'state' would occur in the singular: e.g., corresponding to the singular 283a is the plural 283b:
   a. Punku kicha-ra:yka:n, door open-state-impfv-3
   a. 'The door is open.'
   b. 'The doors are open.'

-rqU 'out'
-yka: 'imperfective' e.g., aywa-yka:n (go-impfv-3) 'They are going.'
-ykacha: (c) 'vacillating' e.g., purri-ykacha:n (travel-vacil-3) 'He wanders (aimlessly) about.'
-ykU 'directly'

7.1.2. Introduction to the Transitions

The transition is a complex of suffixes which function together to indicate the person of the object (if any), the person of the subject (possibly by reference to some other clause), and the tense (for finite verbs) or subordinator (for nonfinite verbs). Chapter 8 deals with the transitions in depth, describing how they are formed. At this point it will suffice to list them; see tables 7-2 and 7-3. The columns of table 7-2 contain different tenses (PRESENT, FUTURE...), and the columns of 7-3 contain different subordination possibilities (ADVERBIAL and SUBSTANTIVE). The rows contain combinations of subject and object person. The notation x=>y indicates that the subject is x-person (i.e., first person if 1, second person if 2, third person if 3, and first person plural inclusive if 12) and that the object is y-person (i.e., first person if 1, etc.). Thus, 3=>1 indicates a third person subject and a first person object. The 3=>1 PRESENT transition would be used as in rika-man (see-3=>1PRES)87 'He sees me'. The x=>3 transitions (where x is 1, 2, 3, or 12) are used for

87 Note how this transition is glossed. with x=>y TENSE where x is the person of the subject, y is the person of the object and TENSE is the tense or subordinator. This sort of glossing will be used occasionelly when glossing the entire transition, rather than the morphemes of which it is composed.
intransitive verbs. when X is the person of the subject.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRESENT</th>
<th>PAST</th>
<th>PERFECT</th>
<th>FUTURE</th>
<th>IMPERATIVE</th>
<th>CONDITIONAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2&gt;&gt;1</td>
<td>-manki</td>
<td>-marayki</td>
<td>-mashkanki</td>
<td>-manki</td>
<td>-manki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3&gt;&gt;1</td>
<td>-man</td>
<td>-maran</td>
<td>-masha</td>
<td>-maqa</td>
<td>-maachun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3&gt;&gt;2</td>
<td>-manchi</td>
<td>-maranchi</td>
<td>-maashkanchi</td>
<td>-maashun</td>
<td>-maashun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3&gt;&gt;3</td>
<td>-shunki</td>
<td>-shurayki</td>
<td>-shkashunki</td>
<td>-shunki</td>
<td>-shunki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3&gt;&gt;3</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-ran</td>
<td>-sha</td>
<td>-nga</td>
<td>-chun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2&gt;&gt;3</td>
<td>-nki</td>
<td>-rayki</td>
<td>-shkanki</td>
<td>-nki</td>
<td>-y/-nki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12&gt;&gt;3</td>
<td>-nchi</td>
<td>-ranchi</td>
<td>-shkanchi</td>
<td>-shun</td>
<td>-shun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&gt;&gt;3</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>-shka</td>
<td>-shaq</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&gt;&gt;2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>-shka</td>
<td>-shayki</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7-2: NON-SUBORDINATING TRANSITIONS OF HGQ

In addition to the transitions given in 7-2, there are various compound tenses:

narrative past (see sections 8.13 and 8.14), e.g.:

Macha-sha ka-y-ni-wan, alkaldi-ta maqa-nag ka-.
drunk-prc be-inf-p-COM mayor-OBJ hit-narpst be-l

'Being drunk, I hit the mayor.'

Uysha-ta suwaku-g.
sheep-ACC steal-3NARPST

'He would steal sheep.'

imminent. (see section 8.11) e.g.:

Tuni-na-nag ka-yka-n.
fell-sub-3-PUR be-impv-3

'It is about to fall.'

habitual. (see section 8.9) e.g.:

Kuka chaqcha-g ka-.
chew:coca-sub be-1

'I used to chew coca.'

conditional. (see section 8.7) e.g.:

Alli ka-mman ka-ran.
good be-3=3COND be-3=3PAST

'It would have been good.'

Simple transitions and compound constructions that result in finite verbs have been discussed. We will now consider transitions which form non-finite verbs, typically used in subordinate clauses.
## Table 7-3: SUBORDINATING TRANSITIONS OF HGQ

The clauses subordinated by -\(p\i\) are adverbial clauses whose subject is not coreferential to the subject of the superordinate clause (i.e., the one to which the -\(p\i\)-clause is subordinated): e.g.:  

\[
\text{Maqa-}p\text{\(\i\)ki} \quad \text{haytashunki.} \\
\text{hit-2>3ADV he:will:kick:you} \\
\text{'After/Since/If you hit him, he will kick you.'}
\]

The clauses subordinated by -\(r\) and -\(shpa\) are adverbial clauses whose subject is coreferential to the subject of the superordinate verb/clause: e.g.:  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Maqa-} & \quad \{ \\
\text{hit-} & \quad \{ \\
\text{a.} & \quad -\text{mar} \\
\text{3>1ADV} & \quad \ldots \\
\text{b.} & \quad -\text{mashpan} \\
\text{kick-3>2FUT} & \quad \\
\text{hit-} & \quad \{ \\
\text{3>1ADV} & \quad \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\text{a.b. 'When/After he hit me, he kicked you.'}
\]

The clauses subordinated by -\(sha\), -\(na\) and -\(q\) are used as relative or nominalized clauses:  

\[
\text{Maqa-} \quad \text{runa haytashunki.} \\
\text{hit-3>1SUB man he:will:kick:you} \\
\text{'The man who hit me will kick you.'}
\]

\[
\text{Maqa-} \quad \text{musya-n.} \\
\text{hit-3>1SUB-OBJ know-3>3} \\
\text{'He knows that he hit me.'}
\]

\[
\text{Aywa-} \quad \text{hunaq chayan.} \\
\text{go-3>3SUB day fit:arrives} \\
\text{'The day arrives on which he is to go.'}
\]

\[
\text{Aywa-} \quad \text{munaa.} \\
\text{go-3>3SUB-OBJ l:want} \\
\text{'I want him to go.'}
\]
7.1.3. Introduction to the Post-Transition Suffixes

The post-transition suffixes include:
- the case markers (*-ta, -chw, -paq, etc.) follow substantivized verbs; see chapter 10.
- the pluralizer -*kuna.
- the "shading" suffixes -*illa 'just', -*pis--si 'even', -*na 'now', and -*raq 'still'; see chapter 19.
- evidentials -*mi, -shi, -chi; see chapter 21.
- the so-called "topic" marker -*qa; see chapter 20.
- -*paq 'future' follows future transitions to make explicit that the event indicated is to happen sometime in the future; e.g., aywa-*nki can mean 'you go' (present), 'you will go' (future) or 'Go!' (imperative) but aywa-*nki-*paq can only mean 'You will go.'
- -*chur-ag 'dubitive' (perhaps the two suffixed -*chur-ag (LYN?--yet)) is used to express a yes-no question for which the hearer is not presupposed to know the answer e.g.,
  tamya-ngu-*churag (rain-3=3FUT-dubit) 'Might it rain?'
- -*man 'conditional' (see 8.7) e.g., aywa-*man (go-1=3PRES-COND) 'I should go.'

7.2. Suffix Order

The suffixes of HgQ generally occur in a fairly fixed order; in some cases, however, the order is remarkably free. There are basically three groupings: pre-transition, transition, and post-transition. The order of transition suffixes is discussed in detail in chapter 8. The order of pre-transition suffixes is discussed in section 7.2.1. and the order of post-transition suffixes in section 7.2.2.

7.2.1. The Order of Pre-transition Suffixes

The greatest variation in orders is found in the pre-transition zone. Section 7.2.1.1 discusses some generalities about the order of these suffixes. Section 7.2.1.2 shows that alternate orders are possible, that some correlate with differences in meaning and that others do not seem to. Section 7.2.1.3 shows that the same suffix may occur more than once in the pre-transition zone. Finally, section 7.2.1.4 discusses some specific constraints.

7.2.1.1. Generalities in the order of pre-transition suffixes

There are some general tendencies concerning the order in which pre-transition suffixes occur:
1. Order is largely dictated by what one intends to say. Generally suffixes have in their "scope" all that precedes in the word (and perhaps more to the left), i.e., the meaning of a sequence of n morphemes is the meaning of the first n-1 as modified by the n-th. Examples are given in section 7.2.1.2 below.
2. Suffixes which derive verbs from substantives precede other pre-transition suffixes. Consider 295. -*chi and -*cha: both mean roughly 'cause'. -*cha: occurs far left in 295b because it derives a verb from the substantive. On the other hand, -*chi must follow -*ya: in 295a because -*ya: derives the verb:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Nina qoshpu-} & \{ \text{a. -ya-yka; -chi-n} \} \\
\text{fire curly} & \{ \text{b. -cha-yka-n} \} \\
\text{aqcha-n-ta} & \text{hair-3P-OBJ}
\end{align*}
\]

'The fire made his hair curly.'
Generalities in the order of pre-transition suffixes [7.2.1.1]

Of course, derivational suffixes may be preceded by other derivational suffixes:  

- **a. hucha-yag-ya:-chi**
  - guilt-have-become-cause-

- **b. qeshya-gu-ya:-chi**
  - be:sick-sub-become-cause-

- **c. miyu-niraq-ya:-**
  - eat-nom-just:like-become-

  a. 'cause to become guilty'
  b. 'to make sickly (i.e. cause to become a sick person)'
  c. 'become just like food'

3. The suffixes which undergo morphophonemic lowering tend to occur early in the pre-transition "zone" (i.e., they tend leftward); suffixes which cause morphophonemic lowering tend to occur late in the pre-transition zone (i.e., they tend rightward). Thus -chi and -mu generally occur far right since they cause lowering, the directionals tend to occur far left since they undergo lowering, and -rl 'plural' generally occurs in between since it both undergoes and causes lowering: /hama-ylU:rl-chi-rl/ [hamayka:ráčhir] 'seating them'.

4. Aspectual suffixes tend rightward (as though they were trying to reach the position of a tense marker). For example, -yk': 'imperfective' tends to rightward. (In fact, it may occur following the object marker with habitual meaning: **maqa-ma-yka-n** (hit-=>1-impf-v-3) 'he habitually hits me."

5. Suffixes which modify the lexical meaning of a verb tend to occur close to that verb (i.e. tend leftward); suffixes which relate to a larger context tend rightward (since they naturally have wider scope). For example, -ykU may be used to indicate that a verb is carried out forcefully, modifying the sort of action indicated by the verb. In this case it tends leftward. But -ykU may also be used to indicate politeness. In this case it tends rightward (see 502 below).

7.2.1.2. **Alternate order of suffixes**

The order of suffixes is sometimes dictated by what one intends, and alternate orders of suffix correlate with differences in meaning. Generally, the meaning of the whole is a product of the last suffix applied to the meaning of what precedes it. Consider 297:

- **a. Asi-chi-naku-nchi,**
  - laugh-caus-recip-12

- **b. Asi-pa: -naku-chi-ma-nchi,**
  - laugh-ben-recip-caus-’=1-12

  a. 'We make each other laugh.'
  b. 'He makes us laugh at each other.'

In 297a the meaning of **asi-chi-naku-** is the result of modifying the meaning of **asi-chi-** 'cause to laugh' by -naku' reciprocal'. In 297b the meaning of **asi-pa:-naku-chi-** is the result of modifying the meaning of **asi-pa:-naku-** 'laugh at each other' by -chi 'cause'. Thus, the order of -chi and -nakuU are dictated by what one intends rather than an absolute ordering convention.  

---

88 I would regard -yaq, -q, -niraq and -ya as all being derivational suffixes.

89 For Huarray (Ancash) Quecha. Parker [28] says that -chi 'cause' may come between the -na and -kU of the reciprocal; this is not possible in HqQ.
Alternate order of suffixes [7.2.1.2]

Another example is 298, with alternate orders of -chi 'cause' and -shi 'accompany':

   work-caus-help>S2>S2
b. Aru-ςhi-ςhi-shu-nki
   work-help-caus>S2>S2

c. 'He will make another to work for you.'
   d. 'He will make you help another work.'

(A further example is 502, in section 9.2.4.)

Not all suffix ordering is determined by semantic scope; e.g., -mu is always placed as far right as possible (in the pre-transition zone). To see this, consider example 299:

qati-ςhi-mu-shu-na-yki-paq
   herd-accom-afar=>2-sub=>2IMP

'in order to help you herd them (to here)'

From a semantic point of view, one would expect -mu to immediately follow qati- 'herd' to say 'herd toward here', but such is not the case. This is because of -mu's firm ordering convention, which overrides the tendency for order to reflect semantic scope.

In some cases alternate orders of pre-transition suffix makes little appreciable difference (although I suspect that it always makes some difference). Consider the bit of text in 300; in 300a -chi 'causative' precedes -ρ1 'punctual' and in 300c it follows.90

   dog-12P eat-sub-3P-PUR die-caus-ben-punct-12IMP
b. Wārə apa-nki washa pama-pa.
   tomorrow take-2IMP over:there plain-GEN
c. Chay-chaw waŋu-ρ1-ςchi-mu-nki.
   that-LOC die-punct-caus-afar-2IMP

a. 'Let's kill it for our dogs to eat.'
   b. 'Tomorrow take it to that plain.'
   c. 'Kill it over there.'

Example 301 shows alternate orders of -ρ1 'causative' and -kU 'reflexive', again without the sort of correlation with semantic scope seen above:

   incur:guilt-refl-caus=>2>S2
b. Waŋu-ςchi-ku-sha.
   die-caus-refl-3PERF

a. 'He makes you incur guilt (to yourself).'
   b. 'He killed himself.'

7.2.1.3. Multiple occurrences of a suffix

90 The order in c. has nothing to do with -mu: the same speaker uses (in another text) waŋu-ρ1-χi-naq 'he had killed them'.

81
Some suffixes may occur more than once per word. The multiple occurrences are not necessarily adjacent.

\[ \text{Wa}νu\text{-chi-chi-nqa.} \]
\[ \text{die-caus-caus-3FUT} \]
\[ '\text{He will have him kill him.}' \]

\[ \text{Ma}νa\text{-ku-kyu-sha.} \]
\[ \text{ask-refl-impact-refl-3PERF} \]
\[ '\text{He asked (him).}' \]

### 7.2.1.4. Specific constraints on the order of pre-transition suffix

There are a number of specific constraints. A brief list follows:

1. `-mu 'afar' tends as far right as possible in the pre-transition zone: e.g.

\[ \text{Sha-rI-mu-nki.} \]
\[ '\text{Come back in just a moment.}' \]

\[ \text{Sha-rqU-mu-nki.} \]
\[ '\text{You just came a moment ago.}' \]

\[ \text{Sha-yka:-nu} \]
\[ '\text{He is coming.}' \]

\[ \text{Sha-yka:-chi-mu-n.} \]
\[ '\text{He is making him come.}' \]

2. `-rka 'plural' must directly precede `-yka: 'imperfective': see section 9.4.

3. The pluralizer `-rI' must follow a directional suffixes (`rU-up', `-ykU 'in', etc.) or `-kU 'reflexive' or `-nakU' reciprocal': see example 305b. and the discussion in section 9.4.

4. `-rI and `-ra: precede `-ykU and `-yka: (respectively); see section 9.5.3.

5. `-pa: precedes the directional suffixes:

   a. AfIa-pa-riku-shu-nki.
   \[ \text{sharpen-ben-up} => 2-2 \]

   \[ \text{go-ben-impact-plur} => 1-3FUT \]

   a. 'He will sharpen it for you (in a bit);'
   b. 'They will go directly for my benefit.'

   `-pa: also precedes `-ra: 'state':

---

91 Some cases, like the following, are due to the fusion of the suffix as part of the root, and do not constitute real examples of this phenomenon:

| a. ya+vyu-kyu- (enter-impact-2IMP) |
| b. hita+rI-rI-kyU-mu-n (throw+pnct-impact-afar-3) |

   a. 'come in!'
   b. 'he throws them (down to the ground)'

92 The following is an apparent counter-example:

\[ \text{Sha-mu-chi-ma-sha.} \]
\[ \text{come-afar-caus} => 1-3PERF \]

'He made me come here.'

Seemingly, `-chi may follow `-mu. But this is because `sha- and `-mu are becoming a single lexical item: `sha-mu: 'come'. (In other dialect (e.g. Huaraz, Ancash) `sha- and `-mu have become fused into a single, inseparable unit.) Evidence of this is that this word has both `-mu 'afar' and `-ma: '=>X', which generally do not co-occur.
Specific constraints on the order of pre-transition suffix [7.2.1.4]

Chari-pa-ra-shayki.
grab-ben-state-1=2FUT
'I will be holding it for you.'

7.2.2. The order of Post-transition Suffixes

7.2.2.1. The order of post-transition suffixes for substantives

The order of post-transition suffixes for substantives is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>possessive</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>case</th>
<th>shading</th>
<th>evidential</th>
<th>[post-positions]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Table 7-4: THE ORDER OF POST-TRANSITION SUFFIXES FOR SUBSTANTIVES

For example:

```
wamran-n-kuna-pita-pis-shi
child-3P-plur-indef-IND

'even from their children (it is said)'
```

This order would also apply to the suffixes following substantives derived from verbs (e.g. derived by suffixes such as -sha 'sub' and -q 'sub'):

a. aywa-yka-sha-n-kuna-chaw-na-ga
   go-impfv-sub-IP-plur-LOC-now-TOP
b. rigi-q-kuna-mac-ga
   believe-sub-plur-PUR-TOP

a. 'now as we were going along'
b. 'for those who believe'

A certain amount of variation in order is possible. For example, -kuna 'plural' may precede or follow -pa 'genitive'; the order depends on what is pluralized:

a. qam-pa-kuna-ta (you-GEN-plur-OBJ)
b. qam-kuna-pa-ta (you-plur-GEN-OBJ)

a. 'to those which belong to you'
b. 'to the one which belongs to you (pl)'

-now 'similarity' may precede or follow other case markers with no difference in meaning:

a. runa-man-naw (man-GOAL-SIM)
b. runa-naw-man (man-SIM-GOAL)

a,b. 'as though to a man'

```
Ishka-n tikra-sha huknaylla two-3P turn-3PERF one
```

a b. -man-naw.
GOAL-SIM
SIM-GOAL

a,b. 'Both became as though one.'

7.2.2.2. The order of post-transition suffixes for verbs

The order of suffixes following the transition is as given in table 7-5. The transition supplement comprises the suffix -paq 'future' and -man 'conditional'. The shading suffixes are those discussed in chapter 19. The post-positions are kama 'respective', kaq 'definite', and pacha 'ever'. The class
labeled "evidential" is broader than the class of evidential suffixes discussed in chapter 21, including (among others) the negative and interrogative markers.

Table 7-5: THE ORDER OF POST-TRANSITION SUFFIXES FOR VERBS

Examples follow:

- Aywa-shaa-paa-mi.
  go-1FUT-future-DIR
  'I will go.'
- Rura-ka-n-man-mi.
  do-pass-3-cond-DIR
  'it might be done'

7.2.2.3. The order of post-transition suffixes for adverbs

The order of post-transition suffixes for adverbs is as in table 7-6. These adverbs may be either lexical adverbs or adverbs derived with e.g. -r or -pti.

Table 7-6: THE ORDER OF POST-TRANSITION SUFFIXES FOR ADVERBS

Examples follow:

- aywa-yka-ptp-n-na-shi
  go-impfv-adv-3P-now-IND
  'now as he was going along'
- miku-rku-r-aa-mi
  eat-up-adv-yet-DIR
  'yet after I eat'

7.3. Suffix-as-Operator Morphology

One way to view word-formation processes is to treat suffixes as operators over categories. The categories used here will be pairing two elements:

1. The CLASS. is V (verb), S (substantive), or R (adverb) exactly as used elsewhere in this thesis.
2. The VALENCE, is 0, 1, or 2.

---

93 The following does not fit because -raaq is a shading suffix and -tqaq and -chu would be evidentials or post-positions: I have no explanation.

- Puñu-yka-n-tan-raaq-chu?
  sleep-impv-S-??-yet-VN?
  'He couldn't still be sleeping?'

94 Assuming that the categories are simple pairs <class, valence> is a heuristic convenience. Allowing them to be clusters of features adds considerable power to this approach.
The **valence** of x is the number of referents (individuals or sets of individuals) the grammatical person of which must be indicated by affixes attached to x in order for the composite to be well-formed. For example, in Quechua an intransitive verb stem has valence 1 because it lacks a suffix to indicate the person of the subject: *aywa-* 'go' is not a well-formed word but *aywa-n* (go-3SUBJ) 'he goes' is. A transitive stem has valence 2 because both the person of the subject and of the object must be indicated; *maqa-* (hit) is not a well-formed word, nor is *maqa-ma-* (hit-1=1) 'hit me', but *maqa-ma-n* (hit-1=1-3) 'he hits me' is a well-formed, speakable word. Thus, *maqa-* has valence 2, *maqa-ma-* has valence 1, and *maqa-ma-n* has valence 0.

Two things should be noted about this definition:

1. Valence is not the number of affixes needed to indicate the referents. For example, a single affix may indicate both the subject and object. The Quechua suffix -*shayki* indicates first person subject, second person object, and future tense: *maqa-shayki* (hit-1=2FUT) 'I will hit you'; nevertheless, the valence of *maqa-* is 2.

2. "Referent" is not intended to mean the number of participants. The valence of *sleep* in 'Seven million Chinese are sleeping' is 1 and not seven million! A plural category counts as one referent, e.g., the valence of *maqa-* in *maqa-paaku-n* (hit-PLURAL-3) 'they hit him / he hits them / they hit them' is still 2.

Valence plays an important role in Quechua morphology because 1) suffixes may change valence, and (2) the occurrence of a suffix may be conditioned by valence. For example, returning to *maqa-ma-n* 'he hits me', each of the suffixes reduces the valence by one:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>Valence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>maqa-</em></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>maqa-ma-</em></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>maqa-ma-n</em></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that *-ma-* '1' reduces the valence to 1 and must follow a stem of valence 2: Notationally this will be represented as follows:

\[
\text{[[[maqa]\_V\_1\_n\_V\_0]]} \quad \text{or simply } \text{maqa}\_V\_1\_n\_V\_0 \quad \text{'hit'}
\]

\[
\text{[[[maqa\_V\_1\_n\_V\_0]]} \quad \text{or simply } \text{maqa}\_V\_1\_n\_V\_0 \quad \text{'hit me'}
\]

Some some suffixes affect neither valence or category. e.g., see -*yka:* and -*mi* in example 316:

\[
\text{Aywa}\_V\_1\_yka\_V\_1\_n\_V\_0\_m\_V\_1\_yka\_V\_1\_n\_V\_0 \quad \text{(go}\_V\_1\_impf\_V\_1\_3\_V\_0\_1n\_V\_0)
\]

316

'He is going.'

Not all valence changing affixes indicate the person of the referent (like those shown to this point). Some, like a passive, reflexive and reciprocal, simply reduce the valence while aspectuals and tense simply pass it on unchanged: e.g.:

\[
\text{Maqa}\_V\_2\_ka\_V\_1\_n\_V\_0 \quad \text{(hit}\_V\_2\_pass\_V\_1\_past\_V\_1\_3\_V\_0)
\]

317

'He was hit.'

\[
\text{Maqa}\_V\_2\_ra\_V\_1\_n\_V\_0 \quad \text{(hit}\_V\_2\_recip\_V\_1\_3\_V\_0)
\]

318

'They hit each other.'

Some affixes, (e.g. behaffecte and causative) increase the valence; e.g.:

\[
\text{Aywa}\_V\_1\_ra\_V\_2\_n\_V\_1\_n\_V\_0 \quad \text{(go}\_V\_1\_be}\,\text{n}\_V\_2\_3\_V\_1\_3\_V\_0)
\]

319

'He goes for me.'

\[
\text{Aru}\_V\_1\_n\_V\_2\_n\_V\_0 \quad \text{(work}\_V\_1\_cause\_V\_2\_3\_V\_1\_3\_V\_0)
\]

320

'You make him work.'

85
It is possible to classify each suffix for its operational effect. In table 7-7, suffixes are given as operating from the category listed at the left to the category listed at the top. (The categories used combine the classes V (verb), S (substantive) and R (adverb) with the valence (0, 1 or 2).) For example, -pa in the third box of the top row operates on S0's to yield R0's. Because space did not permit all the suffixes to be listed in the table, some labels refer to classes of suffixes which are listed directly below table 7-7: e.g. EVD is a class including -mi, -shi, etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S0</th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>R0</th>
<th>R1</th>
<th>V0</th>
<th>V1</th>
<th>V2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EVD CASE</td>
<td>POS</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-pa</td>
<td>-koq</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHD</td>
<td>PD</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-kuna</td>
<td>-yi</td>
<td>-cha</td>
<td>-pa(ku)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tqa</td>
<td>-raq</td>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>-kaq</td>
<td>-cha</td>
<td>-pa(ku)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAVE LIKE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1 POS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R0</td>
<td>EVD SHD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>POS</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>V0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EVD</td>
<td>SHD</td>
<td>-paq</td>
<td>-man</td>
<td>-lila</td>
<td>-nu</td>
<td>-shp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kuna</td>
<td>-cha</td>
<td>-pa(ku)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V1</td>
<td>-y</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-shp</td>
<td>-cheyk</td>
<td>-shyqsnk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sha</td>
<td>-n3</td>
<td>-yll+a+pa</td>
<td>-pti</td>
<td>-shp</td>
<td>-cheyk</td>
<td>-shyqsnk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-chI</td>
<td></td>
<td>-lila</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-shkashunk</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 7-7: THE OPERATIONAL EFFECT OF SUFFIXES

Abbreviations are used in table 7-7 for classes of suffix; they are as follows:

**PRTTRN** (PRE-TRANSITION):
- plural: -rl, -pa:kU, -rka, -rpa
- aspect: -yka, -rl, -ra, -ka:kU
- direct: -yku, -rukU, -ruP, -rku
- other: -kU, -chu:U, -lila, etc.

**LIKE:**
- -na, -niraq

**HAVE:**
- -pa, -sapa, -ynaq, -yoq

**POS:**
- -y, -yki, -n, -nchi:

**PERSON:**
- -nki, -n, -nchii, -shwan, -naq, -sha, -y, -shun, -shun, -shaq, -nqa

**OBJECT:**
- -ma, -shu

**CASE:**
- -ta, -yaq, -kama, -wan, -man, -chaw, -paq, -pita, -pa

**SHD:**
- -na, -raq, -pis, -si, -lila

The following list of analyzed suffix combinations is included to illustrate suffix-as-operator
morphology.
- R0llaR0naR0
- S0·S0miS0
- S0chaWS0pisS0
- S0kisS0kunaS0wanS0
- S0kunaS0paqS0
- S0laiS0
- S0llaS0tasS0
- S0llaS1nS0wanS0miS0
- S0·S0chaqS0
- S0nS0kunaS0tasS0pisS0
- S0·S0tasS0
- S0nawS0chuS0
- S0nchiS0miS0
- S0nisiS0paR0
- S0ninS0paS0
- S0·paR0shiR0
- S0pitaS0taqS0
- S0·taS0navS0
- S0yaV1nkiV0
- S0ykiS0manS0
- V1V0chaqV0
- V1chaV1naS1nS0paqS0
- V1chiV2∅V1naS1sS0kunaS0paqS0
- V1chiV2∅V1naS1nS0
- V1chiV2∅V1shQaS1nS0pitaS0
- V1chiV2∅V1shaV0qaV0
- V1chiV2∅V1yS0tasS0
- V1chiV2ma:V1naq1nS0paqS0

(-just-now)
(-1P-DIR)
(-LOC-indef)
(-2P-plur-COM)
(-plur-PUR)
(-side)
(-just-OBJ)
(-just-3P-COM-DIR)
(-3P-surely)
(-3P-plur-OBJ-indef)
(-3P-OBJ)
(-SIM-NEG)
(-12P-DIR)
(-∅-3P-GEN)
(-sup-GEN)
(-GEN-IND)
(-ABL-??)
(-OBJ-SIM)
(-bec-2P)
(-2P-GOAL)
(-1-surly)
(-conc-sub-3P-PUR)
(-caus=⇒3-sub-1P-plur-PUR)
(-caus=⇒3-sub-3P)
(-caus=⇒3-sub-3P-ABL)
(-caus=⇒3-3PERF-TOP)
(-caus=⇒3-inf-OBJ)
(-caus=⇒1-sub-3P-PUR)

This is included with apologies to the casual reader. But I expect it to serve the reader who really wants to understand Quechua morphology. The list represents approximately every 16th combination from a list derived from a computer-generated word list of several texts.
Suffix-as-Operator Morphology [7.3]

\[ \cdot v_1 ku_1 v_1 n_a_s_1 n_s_0 c_ha_w_s_0 \]
\[ \cdot v_1 ku_1 v_1 p_u_1 t_i_p_s_0 \]
\[ \cdot v_1 ku_1 v_1 k_u_1 v_1 s_h_a_0 \]
\[ \cdot v_1 ku_1 v_1 h_u_1 n_v_0 \]
\[ \cdot v_1 ku_1 v_1 y_s_0 t_a_0 \]
\[ \cdot v_1 m_u_1 v_1 n_v_0 c_h_u_0 \]
\[ \cdot v_1 m_u_1 v_1 n_a_s_1 n_s_0 p_a_q_s_0 \]
\[ \cdot v_1 m_u_1 v_1 s_h_a_0 c_h_u_0 \]
\[ \cdot v_1 m_u_1 v_1 s_h_k_a_0 v_1 v_0 k_u_n_a_0 \]
\[ \cdot v_1 n_v_0 p_i_s_v_0 c_h_u_0 \]
\[ \cdot v_1 n_s_0 m_a_n_s_0 \]
\[ \cdot v_1 n_a_s_1 n_s_0 p_i_t_a_0 \]
\[ \cdot v_1 n_a_s_1 n_s_0 p_a_q_s_0 q_a_s_0 \]
\[ \cdot v_1 p_a_2 v_2 o_v_1 t_a_2 v_1 v_0 n_v_0 \]
\[ \cdot v_1 p_a_2 v_2 o_v_1 t_a_1 s_p_a_0 s_0 p_i_s_0 \]
\[ \cdot v_1 p_a_2 v_2 m_a_v_1 n_q_a_0 \]
\[ \cdot v_1 p_a_2 v_2 n_a_k_u_1 t_a_1 v_1 v_0 n_v_0 \]
\[ \cdot v_1 p_a v_1 q_s_0 k_a_q_s_0 t_a_0 \]
\[ \cdot v_1 p_a v_1 k_u_1 v_1 n_v_0 s_h_i_0 \]
\[ \cdot v_1 p_i t_s_1 p_s_0 \]
\[ \cdot v_1 q_s_0 s_a_0 \]
\[ \cdot v_1 q_s_0 k_u_n_a_0 q_a_0 \]
\[ \cdot v_1 f_s_0 p_i_s_0 \]
\[ \cdot v_1 f_s_0 s_h_i_0 \]
\[ \cdot v_1 f_1 v_1 v_1 U_1 v_1 m_u_1 q_s_0 t_a_0 \]
\[ \cdot v_1 f_a v_1 q_s_0 \]
\[ \cdot v_1 f_a v_1 s_h_a_0 \]
\[ \cdot v_1 f_a v_1 v_1 k_a_v_1 q_s_0 m_a_n_s_0 \]
\[ \cdot v_1 f_i v_1 k_u_1 v_1 f_s_0 \]
\[ \cdot v_1 f_i v_1 n_s_0 \]
\[ \cdot v_1 f_i v_1 f_s_0 q_a_0 \]
\[ \cdot v_1 f_i v_1 s_h_a_0 s_s_0 \]

(-ref-sub-3P-LOC)
(-ref-adv-3P)
(-ref-up-3PERF)
(-ref-12FUT)
(-ref-inf-OBJ)
(-afar-3-YN?)
(-afar-sub-3P-PUR)
(-afar-3PERF-YN?)
(-afar-perf-1P-plur)
(-3-indef-NEG)
(-sub-3P-GOAL)
(-sub-3P-ABL)
(-sub-3P-LIM-TOP)
(-ben-=%3-past-3)
(-ben-=%3-sub-1P-PUR-indef)
(-ben-=%1-3FUT)
(-ben-recip-past-3)
(-ben-sub-def-OBJ)
(-ben-dir-3-IND)
(-adv-3P)
(-sub-now)
(-sub-plur-TOP)
(-adv-indef)
(-adv-IND)
(-asp-dir-afar-sub-OBJ)
(-state-sub)
(-state-3PERF)
(-state-impf-sub-GOAL)
(-pncrt-ref-adv)
(-pncrt-sub)
(-pncrt-adv-yet)
(-pncrt-sub-12P (-pncrt-sub-12P)
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8. TRANSITIONS AND TENSE

This chapter treats the formation of the transitions and uses of the various tenses that result. Section 8.1 presents various preliminaries. The following sections treat one by one, the various transitions; the order of presentation is roughly (1) simple finite tenses, (2) compound finite tenses, (3) non-finite transitions, first those that substantivize and then those that adverbialize.

8.1. Preliminaries

8.1.1. Person

The person markers are by far the most frequent morphemes in HgQ. There is a fundamental difference\(^{96}\) in Quechua between those which are used on verbs and those used on non-verbs, the latter including nominalizations, relative clauses, adverbial clauses, and of course, simple nouns. Those used for verbs will be referred to as PERSON markers and those used for non-verbs will be referred to as POSSESSIVE suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+VERBS</th>
<th>-VERB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>-kuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>-nchi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-nki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(**See section 23.8.9.)

Table 8-1: PERSON MARKERS

Examples follow:

- aywa-: 'I go'
- aywa-kuna: 'we(excl) go'
- aywa-nchi: 'we(incl) go'
- aywa-nki: 'you go'
- aywa-n: 'he goes'
- uma-: 'my head'
- uma-kuna: 'our(excl) heads'
- uma-nchi: 'our(incl) heads'
- uma-yki: 'your head'
- uma-n: 'his head'

In HgQ, -kuna (-1-plur) is fusing in HgQ to form a new person marker -kuna 'first person plural exclusive (11)'. It is most common in the perfect tense, e.g. aywa-shka-kuna (go-perf-11) 'we(excl) went'. It occurs in other tenses as well, e.g., in the present: puri-rka-yka-kuna (travel-plur-impfv-11) 'we(excl) are going'. It also occurs as a possessive suffix, e.g. runa-na-kuna-paq (do-sub-11P-PUR) 'in order that we(excl) do it'.

\(^{96}\)It appears that the only difference between these two sets of person markers is in the second person. However, the possessive suffixes all have allomorphs beginning with -ni, used following consonants and long vowels. In some Quechua languages (particularly in the A branch) there are more distinctions than in HgQ, e.g., in the first person -ni for verbal and -y for non-verbal.
8.1.2. Introduction to the Transition

In section 7.1.2 the transitions were introduced as a single, unanalyzed complex. This section initiates discussion about the internal structure of the transition: it should be studied carefully, as the discussions of the various transitions in the following chapters will presuppose an understanding of the basics presented here.

The structure of the transition is basically as follows:

```
         object marker | tense marker/subordinator | subject marker
```

For example, the parts of *maqaykama:nanpaq* 'in order for him to hit me' are as follows:

```
  stem | pre-transition | transition | post-transition
     maqa- |         -yku | -ma: | -na | -n | -paq
```

The transitions are best understood as follows. Suppose that
- person markers (for subject) are represented 1, 12, 2, and 3,
- object markers are represented =$\Rightarrow$1 and =$\Rightarrow$2 for first and second person respectively,
- and any suffix marking first person subject and second person object is represented as 1 =$\Rightarrow$2.

Then the system is as follows:

```
1
  12  
  2   
  3

1
  12  
  2   
  3

1
  12  
  2   
  3

1
  12  
  2   
  3

1
  12  
  2   
  3
```

Table 8-2: THE BASIC TRANSITION SYSTEM

Note that:
1. A third person object is indicated by the absence of an overt object marker: consequently transitive verbs with third person objects are marked just like intransitive verbs.
2. In HgQ, reflexives (''he hit himself''), reciprocals (''they hit each other''), and plurals (''we hit him'' ''they hit us'') are not indicated in the transition. They are indicated by pre-transition suffixes: see sections 9.4 and 9.7.
3. In the 3 =$\Rightarrow$12 and 3 =$\Rightarrow$2 forms the subject slot suffix reflects the person of the object rather than of the subject. This anomaly (which I refer to as the ''subject marking anomaly'') affects all tenses and subordinate transitions.\(^{97}\) Example 322 provides convincing evidence that the use of a second person subject marker following a second person object marker is simply the language's mechanism to indicating a third person subject.\(^{98}\)

---

\(^{97}\) And it seems that some reflex of the subject marking anomaly is found in virtually every Quechua language.

\(^{98}\) I do not know why Quechua has this anomaly: I have no explanation for it.
a. Maqa-shu-y-ta muna-n.  
hit-2=INF-OBJ want-3

b. Maqa-y-ta muna-shu-nki.  
hit-INF-OBJ want->2-2

a, b. 'He wants to hit you.'

In 322b the object suffix of the infinitive complement is moved into the main verb. But this has caused the subject marking must be adjusted: in 322a it is -n 'third person' but in 322b it becomes -nki 'second person'. This is because of the subject marking anomaly: to indicate a third person following -shu '→2' requires a second person suffix.

8.1.3. Agreement: Subject and Object Person Marking

Two facts about the use of the transitions are important.

1. Intransitive verbs and transitive verbs with a third person object are indicated by the same transition, namely the x=⇒3 transition, where x is the person of the subject. This is because intransitive verbs have no object while third person objects (of transitive verbs) are indicated by the absence of an object marking suffix. For example, maqa-n (hit-3=⇒3PRESENT) 'He hits him' and aywa-n (go-3=⇒3PRESENT) 'He goes' using the same transition, in this case simply the third person subject marker -n.

2. Indirect objects are marked in preference to direct objects. For example, in pay qam-ta qu-maran (he you-ACC give-3=⇒1PAST) 'He gave you to me' the transition is 3=⇒1 because the indirect object is first person: the transition does not indicate the person of the second person direct object since it is superseded by the indirect object.

8.1.4. Auxiliary Suppression

This section is necessary to understand some of the transitions which are or were compound tenses, i.e., which involve the auxiliary ka- 'be'.

The auxiliary ka- is suppressed when it is third person and present, and
- it is not used existentially,
- it is not needed to support some other suffix (e.g. as an aspeptual suffix).

Thus, when one would expect ka-n (be-3), there is nothing. The paradigm that results (under just these conditions) is:

```
   1   ka-:   'I am'
   11  ka:-kuna  'we (excl) are'
   12  ka:-nchi  'we (incl) are'
   3   ka:-nki   'you are'
      Ø      'he is'
```

For example:

99. This is fairly universal in the languages of the world, and is rooted in the fact that indirect objects are typically more animate than direct objects.
8.2. Present

The present tense is indicated by the absence of an overt tense marker.\textsuperscript{100} The transitions are as follow:

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
 & S & 1 & 2 & 3 & \\
\hline
OBJ E CT & --- & --- & : & : & \\
\hline
SUBJ E CT & -manki & --- & --- & -nki & \\
\hline
1 & --- & --- & --- & --- & \\
2 & --- & --- & --- & --- & \\
3 & --- & --- & --- & --- & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{PRESENT TENSE TRANSITIONS}
\end{table}

The present tense is used:
1. to speak of events or situations holding at the time of speaking,
2. in a narrative, after establishing the time as past, the text may continue in the "historical" present.
3. in describing procedures (i.e. "how to do" texts) and explanations of events/situations which either hold at the moment of speaking or do not relate to actual historical events (either past or projected).

8.3. Simple Past

The simple past tense is formed with the suffix -ra 'past'. This suffix foreshortens (because it is derived from the proto-Quechua form */rqa/ by the loss of /q/). In the second person, it takes the non-verbal person marker -yki instead of the verbal -nki.\textsuperscript{101}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
 & S & 1 & 2 & 3 & \\
\hline
OBJ E CT & --- & --- & : & : & \\
\hline
SUBJ E CT & -marayki & --- & --- & rayki & \\
\hline
1 & --- & --- & --- & --- & \\
2 & --- & --- & --- & --- & \\
3 & --- & --- & --- & --- & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{SIMPLE PAST TRANSITIONS}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{100} This reflects a universal tendency for the present tense to be the least marked.

\textsuperscript{101} I have not the foggiest idea why.
The simple past tense is giving way to the perfect as the "everyday" past tense, and is becoming more of a historical tense. E.g. 'he went' would ordinarily be said as in example 324a, and 324b would be more common in narrating some actual, past event:

a. Aywa-sha. (go-3PERF)
   b. Aywa-ra-n. (go-past-3)
   a,b. 'He went.'

8.4. Future Tense

For the future tense there are different person markers:

```
FUTURE
1  -shaq
12 -shun
3  -nqa
2  -nki
1=>2 -shayki
```

Table 8-5: FUTURE PERSON MARKERS

The second person future is the same as the second person present. Thus a sentence like aywanki is ambiguous between 'you go' and 'you will go.' These future person markers function in the expected way in forming the transitions:

```
OBJE C T

1   12   2   3
S
1
B 12
J
ECT 2
    -manki   -shun
3
    -manqa   -ma:shun
```

Table 8-6: FUTURE TRANSITIONS

It is possible to indicate an exclusive first person plural by adding -kuna 'plural' to -shaq '1FUT': e.g. Aywa-shaq-kuna-paq. (go-1FUT-plur-fut) 'We (excl) will go.'

The future transitions may be followed by -pag 'future'. This suffix indicates (roughly) 'at some future time'. For example, miku-shun-na (eat-12FUT-now) means 'Let's eat now.' but Miku-shun-pag-na (eat-12FUT-fut-now) projects our eating into the future, and means 'We are going to eat right away (i.e. in just a few moments)' Other examples:

"Dimanda-shayki-pag-mi"  ni-ma-sha.
"I will denounce you (to the authorities)."

---

102 This is somewhat parallel to the situation in dialects to the east in which a recent tense has been innovated, and the simple past tense becomes the remote past tense.
Future Tense [8.4]

Maqa-ma:-shun-paq tayta-yki.
hit-->>1-12FUT-fut father-2P

'Your father will hit us (when he returns from work).'

"Ama hita-ri- ma-y-chu" n1-nki. Y chawra mana
not throw-asv-->>1-21IMP-NEG say-21MP and then not

hita-ri-shu-nki-paq- chu.
throw-asv-->>2-2-FUT-NEG

'Say, "Don't throw me over!" Then he won't throw you over.'

Noga-ta mana-m nunka-pis usha-ma-nki-nqa-chu.
me-OBJ not-DIR never-indef finish-->>1-2-FUT-NEG

'You will never be able to finish me off.'

The future tense indicates future time. It may be used to indicate:

1. **polite imperatives** (see 8.5 below); e.g.:

go-ben-impact-->>1-21IMP house-1P-OBJ spy-impact-affar-21IMP

   'Please go for me. Please spy on my house (and then come back).'

2. **conjectures**

   Taka- chaw runa- mi tiya-nqa.
   there-LOC man-DIR live-3FUT

   'Perhaps people live there.'

   Willa-ku-pi-:- kapas muna-nqa-mi.
tell-refl-adv-1P perhaps want-3FUT-DIR

   'If I tell him (about them) perhaps he will want (some of them).'

   Kana-n hunaq tamya-nqa- churaq?
today day rain-3FUT-dubit

   'Do you think it might rain today?'

3. **a challenge with ma**: see 8.5 below.

4. **a threat with -chu 'YN?':** e.g.:

   Yapay-shi ni- mu-n kundinaadu "Tuni-mu- shao- chu?"
   again-IND say-affar-3 condemned:one fall-affar-3FUT-YN?

   'Again the condemned spirit says "Shall I fall down?"'
   (The dismembered spirit falls in pieces, gathers himself together, and fights the hero.)

8.5. **Imperative**

In addition to the typical second person imperatives (e.g. "Give it to me!"), Quechua has third person imperatives (e.g. "May he give it to me!"). The person markers are different for imperatives. (There are, of course, no first person singular imperatives.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IMPERATIVES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.7: IMPERATIVE PERSON MARKERS
These function in the expected way, except that the 3=2 form is */-shu-nki/* where one would expect */-shu-y/* (which is attested in other dialects).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBJECT</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SUBJECT</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-ma:chun</td>
<td>-ma:shun</td>
<td>-shunki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8-8: IMPERATIVE TRANSITIONS

In HgQ, many commands that could be given in the second person are given as third person or as first person plural inclusive: this is much more polite than the corresponding second person imperative. For example, 334b is much more polite than 334a; both mean ‘Come with me!’:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Noga-wan} & \quad \text{me-COM} \\
\{ & \quad \text{a. aywa-ku-y.} \\
& \quad \text{go-refl-1ZIMP} \\
& \quad \text{b. aywa-ku-shun.} \\
& \quad \text{go-refl-12ZIMP} \\
\end{align*}
\]

a. ‘With me, (you) come!’
b. ‘With me, let’s go!’

To say ‘Leave it there!’ rather than use a second person imperative, it is much more polite to use a third person imperative, as in 335:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Chay-1la-chaw} & \quad \text{ka-ku-yka:-chun.} \\
\text{there-just-LOC} & \quad \text{be-refl-impv-3IMP} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Leave it right there!’
(lit. ‘May it be just there.’)

Negative imperatives are formed with *ama ‘not’ rather than *mana ‘not’; e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ & \quad \text{ama ‘not’} \\
\text{maqa-ma:-chun-chu!} & \quad \text{hit=31-ZIMP-NEG} \\
\text{b. Ama} & \quad \text{not} \\
\end{align*}
\]

a. ‘(I hope that) he doesn’t hit me.’
b. ‘Let’s be so (like that). Let’s not pressure anyone.’

This is true as well for imperatives formed with -nki; e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ama} & \quad \text{qepa-yki-pa-qa} \quad \text{rikcha-kU-mu-nki-chu!} \\
\text{not back-2P-GEN-TOP} & \quad \text{look-refl-afar-2UT-NEG} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Don’t look behind you (to where you have come from!’

Imperatives often occur with *maa as a challenge to carry out some action; e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Maa} & \quad \text{pay-ta-raq tapu-y.} \\
\text{challenge he-OBJ-yet} & \quad \text{ask-ZIMP} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘(I challenge you to) ask him!’

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The future tense can be used as a polite way to give commands:

- **Pampa-ta**
  - a. picha-y!
    - sweep-2IMP
  - b. picha-nki!
    - sweep-2FUT

'Sweep the floor.'

If what is being ordered is to be done in the future (and not right at the moment), then -nki '2FUT' is used in preference to -y '2IMP'; e.g. in 342 *kutimunka* is much better than *kutimuy:

- **Chaka-y**
  - oora kuti-mu-nki.
  - be:dark-INF time return-after-2IMP

'Come back when it gets dark.'

Consequently, -nki '2FUT' is more appropriate for a general prohibition than -y; e.g. 343a would mean 'Don't eat it right now', 343b would mean 'Don't eat it right now or in the future' and 343c would mean 'Don't eat it in the future':

- a. Ama miku-y-chu!
  - not eat-2IMP-NEG
- b. Ama miku-nki-chu!
  - not eat-2FUT-NEG
- c. Ama miku-nki-paq-chu!
  - not eat-2FUT-fut-NEG

a. 'Don't eat it (now).'</n
b. 'Don't eat it (in the future).'

c. 'Don't (at any time in the future) eat it.'

8.6. Participles

Participles are transitions, but since there is little to say about their composition—-they are always third person—and much to say about their use, they are discussed in section 13.2.

8.7. Conditional Tense

The so-called "conditional" tense is formed by adding -man to the simple present tense form. There is one exception: the first person plural inclusive (12) form is *-shwan.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject (1)</th>
<th>Object (2)</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 3          | -manman    | -mashwan | -shunkiman | -man

Table 8-9: CONDITIONAL TRANSITIONS

The conditional is basically a compound tense. The forms given in table 8-9 do not have the auxiliary
verb ka-n 'be-3' because in the most common case the auxiliary is third person present, and thus does not occur. When the auxiliary bears tense, it does occur; e.g.:

Shu-mu-nki-man ka-ra-n.
come-affer-2-cond be-past-3
'You should have come.'

When a verb bearing conditional tense is negated, ama 'not (prohibition)' is used rather than mana 'not' and -chu 'neg' follows the conditional verb rather than the auxiliary; e.g.:

Ama sha-mu-n-man-chu ka-ra-n pay.
not come-affer-3-cond-NEG be-past-3 he
'He should not have come.'

The conditional tense expresses various modalities, such as possibility, obligation, and necessity. These do not form distinct categories in Quechua as they do in English. (Some of these concepts are also expressed by a compound construction; see section 8.10.) They will now be illustrated.

In the following, the conditional is used to express possibility (including ability) or impossibility; e.g.:

Ima-naw-pa-taq sunsu-ta wa-nu-chi-:-man.
what-SIM-GEN-?? stooge-OBJ die-caus-1-cond

'How might/could I kill the stooge?'

Rura-yta puvi-:-man-churach.
do:INT-OBJ be:able-1-cond-dubitive

'I might be able to do it but maybe not.'

Mana huk-wan warmi-:-ka-n-man-raq-chu.
ot other-COM wife-IP be-3-cond-yet-NEG

'It couldn't be that my wife is (having an affair) with another.'

Qam chaki-chi-nki-man-chu kay yaku-ta upu-yillapa.
you be:dr-cause-2-cond-WM? this water-OBJ drink-adv

'Could you dry this water up by drinking it.'
(a challenge to drink a lake dry)

Listu-ta rura-shwan fiesta-kuna-pa-ta.
list-OBJ make-1COND fiesta-plur-GEN-OBJ

'We could/should make a list of the fiestas.'

The conditional is used to express obligation and necessity; e.g.:

Wamra ñerda, qam pu-nu-nki-man.
child (expi) you sleep-2-cond

'Child (expletive), you should be asleep!'

Porr-ambiluosu-chu rura-ma-shka-nki.
out:of:jealousy-surely do-=1-perf-2

Wawa-yki-ta-qa ni-nki-man ka-ra-n.
child-2P-OBJ-TOP say-2-cond be-past-3

'Out of jealousy you did it to me.
You should have told your child.'

(See also examples 344 and 345.)

The conditional is used to express expectations; e.g.:
Conditional Tense [8.7]

Todito hinan-chaw ushaqpag kacha-ykU-ma-n-man
everything like:that-LOC completely leave-impact-IMP=1-3-cond

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ka-ra-n disgrasya-chaw.
be-past-3 misfortune-LOC

'Everything would have been left completely like that. in
misfortune.'

A conditional tense with an adverbial clause is used to express one's attitude toward the
possibility of an event (e.g. its desirability); e.g.:

Tamyu-pty-n alli ka-n-man.
rain-adv-3P good be-3-COND

'it would be good if it were to rain.'

Mana-mi qam-wan tiya-:i-man-chu.
not-DIR you-COM live-1-COND-NEG

'I would not live with you.' (refusing a proposal of marriage)

If the conditional is in the past, the adverbial clause is counter-factual; e.g.:

Sha-mu-pty-k1 alli ka-n-man ka-ra-n.
come-ataf-adv-2P good be-3-COND be-past-3

'It would have been good if you had come.'

Chay-naw ka-pty-n alli ka-n-man ka-ra-n.
that-SIM be-adv-3P good be-3-COND be-past-3

'It would have been good had it been like that.'

(See also example 344.)

8.8. Perfect Tense

The perfect tense will be discussed in two sections, the simple (present) perfect, and the
compound perfect.

8.8.1. The Simple Perfect

An earlier stage of the perfect is given in table 8-10:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBJECT</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S 1</td>
<td>-shqa ka-</td>
<td>-shqa ka-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUB 12</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J 2</td>
<td>-shqa ka-nki</td>
<td>-shqa ka-nki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECT 3</td>
<td>-shqa ka-shu-nki</td>
<td>-shqa ka-shu-nki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8-10: PREVIOUS STAGE OF THE SIMPLE PERFECT TENSE

Note the following:
- Where one would expect ka-n (3e-3) in the 3=1 and 3=3 forms, it does not occur. This is
  because of the systematic absence of ka-n in certain environments; see section 8.1.4.
- -shu occurs following ka- whereas -ma: directly follows the verb which bears the participle
  marker, i.e., -ma:-shqa ka- but -shqa ka-shu.
The simple perfect came about by the collapse of */-shqa ka-/ to */-shka/. Because the third person present of ka- (i.e. ka-n) was not present, the collapse did not occur in the 3=><1 and 3=><3 forms; because */q/ has dropped from all forms of PQ */-shqa/ 'participle', the forms are simply -ma-sha and -sha (respectively). The forms that resulted are given in table 8-11:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S U B J E C T</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-shka:</td>
<td>-shka:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-mashkani</td>
<td>-shkani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-masha</td>
<td>-shkanchi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O B J E C T</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-masha</td>
<td>-shkashuki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>-sha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>-sha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8-11: PRESENT PERFECT TENSE TRANSITIONS

The simple perfect is used either as a perfect or as a simple past tense. In fact, the simple perfect is rapidly displacing -ra 'past' as the most common past tense. For example, the most common way to say 'he went' is aywa-sha (go-3PERF). Examples abound in the examples given below. (Note that -shka is glossed as 'perf' whereas the participle marker -sha is glossed '3PERF'.)

8.8.2. Compound Perfect

The compound perfect is formed with the "participle+auxiliary" construction, i.e., the participle marker -sha followed by the auxiliary verb ka-\(^\text{104}\). In table 8-12, the numbers <1>, <2>, <3> and <12> indicate a suffix of that person, possibly accompanied by a tense marker (or portmanteau with it). (If <3> would be simply -n '3', then ka-n 'be-3' is 'absent', in accordance with the rule discussed in section 8.1.4.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S U B J E C T</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-sha ka-(1)</td>
<td>-sha ka-(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-mashka-(2)</td>
<td>-sha ka-(12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-mashka-(3)</td>
<td>-sha ka-(12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O B J E C T</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-masha</td>
<td>-sha ka-(12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>-sha ka-(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>-sha ka-(3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8-12: COMPOUND PERFECT TENSE TRANSITIONS

The result of inflecting the auxiliary as a present tense is either a simple perfect or a past anterior (see section 8.8.1): with a past tense, a past anterior (see section 8.8.2.2), and with future tense, a future perfect (see 8.8.2.3). The compound perfect may also be used in subordinate clauses (see section 8.8.2.4).

To form the negative or yes-no question of a compound perfect, the suffix -chu 'neg. YN?' usually follows the participle; see examples 359 360, 361 and 366. Example 366 shows that this is not

\(^{103}\) The simple past tense formed with -ra 'past' is becoming a tense of "historical fact": see section 8.3.

\(^{104}\) Thus, the compound perfect is structurally identical to the syntactic passive construction (see section 11.2.)

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always the case.

8.8.2.1. Compound present perfect

Occasionally the present perfect occurs as a compound perfect (i.e. uncollapsed):

\[ \text{Wamra-ga puńu-kă:ku-sha-lla-mi ka-yka-n.} \]
child-TOP sleep-compl-prtc-just-DIR be-impfv-3

'The child has just fallen fast asleep.' or
'The child has gone (soundly) to sleep.'

But when a past perfect verb forms the basis of a question, the -chu 'YN?' follows the main verb:

\[ \text{Utį-ka-sha-chu ka-yka-nki?} \]
tire-pass-prtc-YN? be-impfv-2

'Have you tired?' (i.e., 'Are you tired?)

In some cases there is ambiguity between passives and perfects, and one must decide between them principally on the basis of what has become of the (logical) object of the verb, and in some cases on the context alone. For example, 360 is ambiguous. Example 361 is clearly past perfect because (i) the logical object survives as a surface object and (ii) the verbal subject marking does not agree with the object. However, as an answer to 361, 360 should be interpreted as a perfect.

\[ \text{Mana-mi qara-sha-chu ka-ä:-} \]
not-assert feed-prtc-NEG be-1

'I have not fed (him).' or 'I am not fed.'

\[ \text{Qara-sha-chu ka-nki taqay runa-ta?} \]
feed-prtc-NEG be-2 that man-OBJ

'Have you fed that man?'

8.8.2.2. Past perfect

The past perfect tense is a compound tense formed by -sha 'participle' and ka- 'be' inflected in the past tense. Examples follow: the compound construction is underlined so as to avoid confusion with the simple perfects which occur in these examples:

\[ \text{Mayna haru-ma-sha ka-sika-nki.} \]
already step-\Rightarrow 1-prtc be-perf-2

'You had already stepped on me.'

\[ \text{Pi-taq apa-sha ka-sha.} \]
who-?? take-prtc be-3PERF

'Who had taken it?'

\[ \text{...maña-ku-yku-sha ka-sha kampana-ta tuka-na-n-pag,} \]
ask-refl-impact-prtc be-3PERF bell-OBJ ring-sub-3P-PUR

'...he had been asked to ring the bell.'

\[ \text{Unay runa-kuna tiya-sha ka-ra-n chay pacha-qa.} \]
long-ago man-plural live-prtc be-past-3 that place-TOP

'Long before, people had lived in that place.'

To negate a past perfect, the -chu 'neg' follows the auxiliary:
...mana maqa-sha ka-shka-nki-chu.
not hit-prtc be-perf-2-NEG

'...you had not hit her (before she died).'
(i.e., she didn't die as a result of your hitting her)

Or -chu 'neg' may follow the participle: e.g.:
Mana puvi-sha-chu ka-sha.
not be:able-prtc-NEG be-3PERF

'He had not been able (to do it).'

In example 368, the verb is passivized by the suffix -ra: 'state' and then the tense is indicated as past anterior by the compound perfect:
Achki-qa rika-ra:-mu-sha ka-sha bintaana-pa-st.
light-TOP see-state-atfar-prtc be-3PERF window-GEN-IND

'The light had been seen through the window.'

8.8.2.3. Future perfect

The future perfect is exceedingly uncommon. It is formed like the uncollapsed form of the present perfect, except that the auxiliary bears future tense marking. Examples follow:
Aywa-ku-sha ka-qa.
go-refl-prtc be-3FUT

'He will have gone' (by the time you get there)

Just as futures may be used in a "dubitative" sense (see 8.4), so the future perfect may be used:
Pay-kua rura-sha ka-naa maygan-pis.
they-plur do-prtc be-3FUT which-indef

'One of them must have done it.'

8.8.2.4. The compound perfect in subordinate clauses

The compound perfect tense may be used in subordinate clauses, e.g. in an adverbial and relative clauses as well as complements. It indicates past anterior time, as the examples below will demonstrate:
Achka-q-ta allcha-ka:-chi-sha ka-pita-n...
many-hum-OBJ fix-pass-caus-prtc be-adv-3P

'Because he had healed many...'

...tari-ra-n puña-ka-sha ka-yka-q-ta.
find-past-3 sleep-pass-prtc be-1mpfv-sub-OBJ

'...he found that they had fallen asleep.'

...huk karni-ta shata-chaw wata-sha ka-yka-q-ta.
one lamb-OBJ brush-LOC tie-prtc be-1mpfv-sub-OBJ

'...a lamb which was/had been tied in the brush.'

See 1465, which contains an embedded alternative question with past perfect tense.

It is not possible to have a compound perfect applied to a syntactic passive; see chapter 11. However, example 367 shows that a compound perfect is possible following a verb which is morphologically passivized with -ra: 'state' and examples 374 and 375 show the same for -ka: 'passive'.
The compound perfect in subordinate clauses \( \text{[8.8.2.4]} \)

Achka-q-ta allche-ka:-chi-sha ka-pto-n...
many-human-OBJ fix-pass-caus-prtc be-adv-3

'Because he had healed many (people)...

...allcha-ka-sha ka-yka-sha-n-ta musya-r.
...fix-pass-prtc be-impf-sub-3P-OBJ know-adv

'...knowing that she had been healed'

8.9. Habitual

The habitual is formed with the subordinator -q and the verb \( k\)ara- 'be';\(^{105}\) e.g.:

Kuka chaqqa-g ka-:
Coca chew:coca-sub be-i

'I used to chew coca.'

Chey-naw achka-ta miku-q ka-:kuna.
that-SIM many-OBJ eat-sub be-11

'In that way we used to eat many.'

(reminiscing about how as a child one would steal chirimoya)

Imay-pis rura-pux(q ka)-sha-n-naw
when-sub indef do-sub be-sub-3P-SIM

'as he had always done'

Ima-taq-shi? Ima-taq-shi?
what-ques-IND what-ques-IND

Intitiru mundu-ta hiti-g ka-yka-:
entire world-OBJ press-sub be-impf-1

Yora-tta.
white-just

'What is it? What is it?'
'I am (habitually) pressing the entire earth.'
"White." (This is a riddle, the answer to which is clouds.)

Uysha-ta suwa-ku-g
sheep-ACC steal-refl-sub

'He would steal sheep.'

Chay-naw willa-pa:-ma-g tiyu:- ranshi.
that-SIM tell-ben-->1Sub uncle-1P Francisco

'My uncle Francisco used to tell me that.'

Biyaa-ta puri-g ka-sha.
trip-OBJ travel-sub be-3PERF

'He used to go on trips.'

When a habitual is negated, -chu 'neg' comes on the main rather than the auxiliary verb; e.g.:

Mana sumaq karu-ta puri-g-chu ka-:
not very far-OBJ walk-sub-NEG be-i

'I didn't walk far.' (being only five years old at the time)

---

\(^{105}\) This must be considered a construction: the meaning is not a compositional sum of the parts.
8.10. Obligation and Intention

The construction -ra-POS ka-TNS-n (-sub-POS be-...-3), where POS indicates the person of the subject, indicates either the obligation or the intention of doing what is indicated by the verb.\textsuperscript{106}

e.g.:

\begin{verbatim}
Pillku-ta aywa-na-\ldots
Pillku-OBJ go-sub-1P
'I should/must go to Pillku.'
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Kanan noqa hayta-na-\ldots
now I kick-sub-1P
'Now it is my turn to kick.'
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Simri upu-na-vki allcha-ka-\ldots
always drink-sub-2P fix-pass-sub-2P-PUR
'You have to take (your pills) in order to get well.'
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Aru-na-nchi-\ldots
work-sub-12P-yet be-impv-3 road-OBJ-even
'We still have to work (fix) the road.'
\end{verbatim}

...ka-n baara-n-kuna ... Bindisa-ru chay-qa ka-na-n,
'be-3 staff-3P-plur bless-prt that-TOP be-sub-3P
'there are their staves. ... Those should be blessed.'

\begin{verbatim}
Karaa-conu-n-pa tuka-q nin-kuna-pis shuyni ka-na-n,
each:one-3P-GEN play-sub-3P-plur-indef apart be-sub-3P
'Each of their bands should be separate (i.e., not intermingled)'\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Aywa-shun ni-sha-n diya-paq listu ka-na-n llapan...
go-12FUT say-sub-3P day-PUR ready be-sub-3P all
'Everything should be ready for the day on which they agreed to go.'
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Fiskal kampana-ta-pis tuka-na-n tapa-y-ta
fiskal bell-OBJ-indef ring-sub-3P watch-inf-OBJ
galla-ri-sha-n-pita asta pampa-na-n-yaq.
begin-asp-sub-3P-ABL until bury-sub-3P-LIM
'The fiscal should ring the bell from the time they begin
to watch (at the wake) until they bury him.'
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{106} See also section 8.7.
In the past tense this construction indicates "unachieved intention."\(^{107}\)

Wara  puklla-na-n  ka-ram-n.
tomorrow play-sub-3P be-past-3

'They were going to play tomorrow.'
(but the game has been postponed)

8.11. Imminent

The imminent construction is formed with -\(na\)-POS-\(paq\) \(ka\)-, where POS and the person marking inflection of the auxiliary (\(ka\)) agree with the subject.\(^{108}\)

\[\text{Tuni-na-\(na\)-paq  ka-yka-n.} \]
fall-sub-3P-PUR be-impfv-3

'It is about to fall.'

\[\text{Apa-mu-na-\(na\)-paq  ka-yka-shka-\(n\).} \]
take-sfar-sub-1P-PUR be-impfv-perf-1

'I was about to bring it.'

This tense often occurs in temporal adverbial clauses; e.g.:

\[\text{Pacha  chaka-\(na\)-paq  ka-yka-pti-n...} \]
firmament be-dark-sub-3P-PUR be-impfv-adv-3P

'When it was about to get dark...'

\[\text{Chay  rura-ka-\(na\)-paq  ka-yka-pti-n...} \]
that do-pass-sub-3P-PUR be-impfv-adv-3P

'When that is about to happen...'

\[\text{Mana  musya-shka-\(n\)-chu aywa-na-\(na\)-paq  ka-yka-sha\(n\)-ta.} \]
not know-perf-1-NEG go-sub-3P-PUR be-impfv-sub-3P-OBJ

'I didn’t know that he was about to leave.'

8.12. Periphistic Future

The periphistic future is formed with -\(q aywa\)- (-sub go-); it is rapidly displacing the simple future tense as the most common way to express futurity. Examples follow:

\[^{107}\text{See S. Steele’s “Past and Irrealis” International Journal of American Indian Linguistics, Vol. 41, No. 3, page 201, quoting Hale: "it is at least sporadically universal among the world’s languages when an element which has the meaning (very approximately) intenitive occurs in the past tense, unachieved intention is implied."} \]

\[^{108}\text{This contrasts with the future relative construction (see sections 2.3.2.3 and 2.3.2.4 of Weber [39]. In the following, a. is an example of a future relative; the underlined person markers do not agree. The b. sentence an example of the imminent construction; the underlined person markers do agree. Note that they differ in meaning:} \]

\[\text{Naka-na-\(na\)-paq \{ a. ka-yka-sha\(n\)-pita} \]
\(\begin{array}{c}
\text{be-impfv-sub-3P-ABU} \\
\text{salba-yU-ma-y.} \text{save-impact=>1-2IMP}
\end{array}\)

\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{b. ka-yka-sha\(n\)-pita} \text{be-impfv-sub-1P-ABU}
\end{array}\]

a. 'Save me from that which I will suffer.'

b. 'Save me from that which I am about to suffer.'

106
Fista-ta rura-g aywa-.  
fiesta-OBJ make-sub go-1  
'I'm going to put on a party.'

May chikan-taq ka-g aywa-n.  
very huge be-sub go-3  
It will be huge!  
(may chikantaq is a frozen expression.)

Although the periphrastic future is two words (by phonological criterion), the subject marking anomaly (see section 8.1.2, page 92) spans it as though it were a single tense marker; e.g.:  
Tari-pa-ma-g aywa-nchi.  
find-3P- = >1-sub go-12  
'He will catch up to us.'

Maqa-shu-g aywa-nki / *aywa-n.  
hit- > 2-sub go-2  go-3  
'He will hit you.'

8.13. Narrative Past with -naq

The narrative past with -naq is constructed with -naq ka- 'NRP be' inflected for tense and the person of the subject. If the auxiliary would be third person and present (by far the most frequent case) it does not occur.

The narrative past is used in examples like 404 and 405 where the subject was unconscious at the time of the action.

Macha-sha ka-y-nii-wan, alkaldi-ta maqa- g ka-.  
drunk-prtc be-INF-1P-COM mayor-OBJ hit-3P be-1  
'Being drunk, I hit the mayor.'

leave-impact- > 2-sub-just-2P-LOC remain-refl-NRP be-2  
'You remained (probably unconscious) right where they left you.'

The narrative past is used in narratives for background events, particularly those which occurred prior to the time (in the narrative) at which they are mentioned,109 e.g.:  
Y mayur-nin yaku-sha. Y huk hachaasu go-sha chay  
and older-3P enter-3PERF and an axe:blow give-3PERF that
puñu-ya-sha-n-ta. Y chay-man-qa tiya-n-ta  
sleep-3P-OBJ and that-GOAL-TOP aunt-3P-OBJ
puñu-rqU-chi-naq chay sonso.  
sleep-asp-caus-NRP that stooge

'And his older brother entered. And he gave an axe blow to  
that which was sleeping. But the stooge had made his aunt  
sleep there (and so escaped death at the hand of his older  
brother).'

109 In current parlance, these are “off the event line”.

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Narrative Past with -\textit{naq} [8.13]


\textit{aywa-ku-yaq-naq}.
g\-refl-impfv-NRP

'He arrived to the river. And the river was full.'
\textit{(chaya-sha aywa-ku- 'to be full' (of a river))}

The following bit of text is told in the narrative past (with -q). I believe that this is to mark these events as of less importance to the text (i.e., push them into background) relative to what follows (the hero's rounding up the tigers and making them carry the firewood); this keeps the hero's actions foreground.

...chaya-n munti-man-shi yantaku-q. Nirkur munti arrive-3 forest-GOAL-IND cut:wood-sub then forest

kantun-man muula-n-ta wata-yku-r-shi yantaku-r ka-ku-naq.
\textit{edge-3P- Goal mule-3P- OBJ tie-impact-adv- IND cut: wood-adv be-refl-NRP}

\textit{Chaya-\textit{qa} muula-n-ta tinri wa\-nu-ri-chi-naq}. Muula-n
\textit{arrive\-sub-IND mule-3P-OBJ tiger die-pnt-caus-NRP mule-3P}

\textit{rika-q aywa-na-n-paq miku-\textit{ra}:yaq-naq muula-n-kuna-ta.}
\textit{see-sub go\-sub-3P-PUR eat-plur-impfv-NRP mule-3P-plur-OBJ}

'...he arrives to the forest to cut wood. Then having tied his mules to the edge of the forest he was at cutting wood. By the time he arrived, the tigers had killed his mules. By the time he went to see his mules, the tigers had eaten them.'

The combination -\textit{ra}-:\textit{naq} (-state-NRP) is used for a state which began some time before, but persists up to the time at which it is relevant in the event sequence; e.g.:

\textit{Chayta buurru wiya-pa-ra-naq wasi waqta-n-pita.}
\textit{that-OBJ donkey hear\-ben-state-NRP house back-3P-ABL}

'The donkey had heard that from behind the house.'

A short form of the narrative past is simply -\textit{q}; it is discussed in section 8.14.

8.14. Narrative Past with -\textit{q}

When no auxiliary verb would occur (i.e., when the auxiliary would be marked third person present) the narrative past may be indicated simply by -q (which we will gloss 'NRP'). Structurally it is identical to the habitual past discussed in section 8.9. and semantically it is quite similar in that it generally describes situations which persisted (or were habitual). However, the narrative past with -\textit{q} (in contrast to the habitual) only occurs without an auxiliary. The narrative past may be used to establish the setting of a narrative; e.g.:

Mas unay-qa runa-kuna-ta mas inutil ka-qa-ta-qa
more time:hence- TOP man-plur-OBJ more humble be-sub-OBJ-TOP

rantiku-g-shi kastillaanu rima-y-ta yacha-q-kuna-q...
sell-NRP-IND Spanish speak-inf-OBJ know-sub-plur-TOP

yunka asinda-kuna-man chay-chaw aru-na-n-paq.
jungle hacienda-plur-GOAL there-LOC work-PUR

'In times past, those who knew how to speak Spanish would sell the humbler people to the haciendas in the jungle, so they would work there.'

The narrative past is used frequently in folk tales as a mechanism for backgrounding material, usually descriptive material out of the temporal sequence in which the text is proceeding; e.g., see the second
and third sentences of 411:

Pero saapo sekroeto sumaq michi-pa-sha-na leetu-chaw ka-shpa-n.
but frog secret very be-LOC be-ADV

Kondor kada aywa-y-nin yaku puyu-n-ta mana kacha-yku-g.
condor every go-INF-3P water jug-3P-OBJ not leave-IMPACT-NRP

Hama-sha-n-kuna-chaw chura-yku-r gusto liberti-ku-g.
rest-3P-plur-LOC place-IMPACT-ADV pleasure free-REFL-NRP

'But the frog had spied on him very well, in case he might be in litigation (with him). Every time the condor went, he did not leave behind his water jug. Having placed it in a resting place, he would enjoy his liberty.'

In 412 the second and third sentences are background, describing the situation in which the bear kept the woman:

Chay-chaw achka wata-shi uywa-sha. Chay-lla-man-shi
there-LOC many year-IND raise-3PERF there-just-GOAL-IND

ashta-pa-g  llapan mikuy-te suwa-ku-ruk-r.  Llachapa-ta-pis
carry-BEN-NRP all food-OBJ steal-REFL-ASP-ADV cloth-OBJ-even

apa-g  suwa-ku-ruk-r-shi. Chay-new achka wata qoya-sha.
take-NRP steal-REFL-ASP-ADV IND that-SIM many year pass-3PERF

'He raised her there for many years. He would take all the food, having stolen it. He would also take clothes, having stolen them. In that way many years passed.'

In 413 the time is established as past in 1 and 2. Then sentences 3-12 set the problem around which a text centers (the loosing of ropes); these are all in narrative past. After 12 the text continues in the (historical) present.

Chayshi buurruru karan. Ishkay buurruru karan. Chayshi pas wataq. Kara 413

Taarrishi kimsa ishkey waskawan wataq. Pas chayraqshi wataq. Yapayshi
kachakasha waramaqu. Yapayshi kachakasha waramaqu, buurruru. "Imanashtaq kay
buurruru?" niqshi, duyynqo. Chawraqa kachakashallashi waskata ushar ushariq.
Manash chusku pqicha waskawan wataptinpis manasha naqchu. Pas warar
wararkamuq oqata uashshalla. Llapam mikuyta uashshalla
warark-wararkamuq. 12

'There was a donkey. There were two donkeys. They would tie them. Every evening they would tie them with two or three ropes. Yet they would tie them. Again they would be loose at dawn. Again they would be loose at dawn, the donkey. "What does this donkey do?" he said, the owner. Then just being loose it would finish off the ropes. Even if they tied him with four or five ropes they did not hold. Morning after morning he would have finished off the oqa. Morning after morning he would have finished off all the food.'

8.15. Substantivizing Transitions

8.15.1. Substantivizing with -q

Substantivizations with -q are used in various ways: agentive nominalizations, relative clauses, sensory verb complements, purpose-motion construction. In all uses the subject of the clause subordinated by -q is either (1) third person or (2) established by reference to the superordinate verb.
Consequently there are no forms with 1, 12 or 2 subjects.

Table 8-13: TRANSITIONS SUBSTANTIVIZING WITH \(-q\)+POSSESSIVE

Note that substantivizations with \(-q\) may sometimes be followed by possessive suffixes, these being of the person of the object. This is possible for some of the above-mentioned uses but not for others (and the situation differs from dialect to dialect). In HgQ, possessive suffixes may occur with relative clauses but not with purpose motion or sensory verb complements.

Table 8-14: TRANSITIONS SUBSTANTIVIZING WITH \(-q\)

Examples of the use of the substantivizer \(-q\) follow:

agentive nominalizations, e.g. *pisha-ku-q* (slaught-REFL-sg) 'slaughtering'

relative clauses (see section 13.1), e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{will} & \rightarrow \text{ma-q-} (\text{nill}) \rightarrow \text{runa} \\
\text{tell} & \rightarrow \text{i-sub-} (\text{IP}) \rightarrow \text{man} \\
\rightarrow \text{the man who told me}
\end{align*}
\]

sensory verb complements (see section 13.3.2.4), e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Aywa-yka-q-ta} & \rightarrow \text{rika-shka-} \\
\text{go-IMPFV-Sub-OBJ see-perf-1}
\rightarrow \text{I saw him going.}
\end{align*}
\]

purpose motion construction (see section 13.4.4.2), e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{rika-q} & \rightarrow \text{aywa-shka-} \\
\text{see-sub see-perf-1} & \rightarrow \text{I went to see him.}
\end{align*}
\]

8.15.2. Substantivization with \(-na\)

Table 8-15: TRANSITIONS SUBSTANTIVIZING WITH \(-na\)

Examples follow of some of the uses of this transition:

relative clauses (see section 13.1), e.g.:
Substantivization with -na

chaya-mu-na-n oora
arrive-atP-sub-3P time
'the (future) time he arrives'

complements (see section 13.3.2.1), e.g.:
Rika- na-n- ta mu- na-n.
see-sub-3P-OBJ want-3
'He wants to see it.'

purpose clauses (see section 13.4.4.1), e.g.:
Miku-na-no-ti-paq y.nu-ku-shka:-
eat-sub-12P-PUR cuok-refl-perf-1
'I cooked it so that we could eat it.'

8.15.3. Substantivization with -sha

8.16. Adverbial Clause Transitions

There are three adverbializers which form transitions: -pti, -r and -shpa; these will be discussed in turn. The clauses they form are discussed in chapter 14.

8.16.1. Adverbial Clause--Different Subject with -pti

The subordinator -pti is used when the subject of the adverbial clause is different than the subject of the superordinate clause; it is always followed by a possessive suffix indicating the person of the subject of the adverbial clause.
Adverbial Clause--Different Subject with \(-pti\) [8.16.1]

Table 8-17: DIFFERENT SUBJECT ADVERBIAL CLAUSE TRANSITIONS WITH \(-pti\)

For example:

Chaya-mu-\(-pti\)-\(n\) lioqsi-\(shka\)-:.
arrive-adv-\(n\) leave-perf-1

'When he arrived, I left.'

8.16.2. Adverbial Clause--Same Subject with \(-r\)

The subordinator \(-r\) is used when the subject of the adverbial clause is the same as the subject of the superordinate clause; it is never followed by a possessive suffix. This is just what one might expect, since \(-r\) indicates that the subject is the same as the subject of the superordinate clause, and thus there is no need to indicate it explicitly.

Table 8-18: SAME SUBJECT ADVERBIAL CLAUSE TRANSITIONS WITH \(-r\)

For example:

Chaya-\(-r\) miku-\(ra\):-.
arrive-adv eat-past-1

'I ate when I arrived.'

8.16.3. Adverbial Clause--Same Subject with \(-shpa\)

The subordinator \(-shpa\) is used when the subject of the adverbial clause is the same as the subject of the superordinate clause; it is always followed by a possessive suffix indicating the person of the subject.\(^{110}\)

\(^{110}\)By contrast, \(-r\) is never followed by a possessive suffix in HgQ. Just the opposite situation is found in Huaraz: \(-shpa\) is not followed by possessive suffixes and \(-r\) is.

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Table 8-19: SAME SUBJECT ADVERBIAL CLAUSE TRANSITIONS WITH -shpa

For example:

Allaapa-ta miku-shpa-vki wi ra ka-nki-paq.
much-OBJ eat-adv-2P fat be-2FUT-fut

'If you eat much/many, you will be fat.'
9. Pre-Transition Suffixes

9.1. Introduction

The pre-transition suffixes occur between the verbal root and the transition suffixes (as sketched above in chapter 3). They will be treated here in the following groups:

1. the directional suffixes, in section 9.2.
2. the suffix -mu 'afar', in section 9.3.
3. the pluralizers, in section 9.4.
4. aspectual suffixes, in section 9.5.
5. transitivizing, in section 9.6.
6. the reflexive and reciprocal suffixes, in section 9.7, and
7. other pre-transition suffixes, in section 9.8.

9.2. Directional Suffixes

The class of directional suffixes includes the following (given with their historical meanings):

-\( ^*\text{rkU} \) 'up'
-\( ^*\text{rl} \) 'down'
-\( ^*\text{rl} \) 'out'
-\( ^*\text{ykU} \) 'in'

They form a natural class because they all
- have the shape -CCV,
- undergo morphophonemic lowering.
- take -\( ^*\text{rl} \) (following) as the appropriate pluralizer.
- derive historically from suffixes with directional meanings.

Parker [28] (pg. 22ff) pointed out that certain verbs can be analyzed historically as two morphemes, where the second is one of the directional suffixes. This is illustrated for HgQ in the following:

-\( \text{ya}+\text{rkU} \) 'to go up'
-\( \text{qa}+\text{rkU} \) 'to hill (potatoes)'
-\( \text{ya}+\text{rpU} \) 'to go down'
-\( \text{qa}+\text{rpU} \) 'to throw down'
-\( \text{ya}+\text{rqU} \) 'to leave'
-\( \text{qa}+\text{rqU} \) 'to drive out'
-\( \text{ya}+\text{ykU} \) 'to enter'
-\( \text{qa}+\text{ykU} \) 'to drive into a coral'

Other patterns are less complete. e.g., \( \text{hu}+\text{rpU} \) 'to hill (tubers) a second time' and \( \text{hu}+\text{rqU} \) 'to remove': \( \text{wa}+\text{rkU} \) 'to hang over a line' and \( \text{wa}+\text{ykU} \) 'to stoke (an oven)'.

Directional suffixes tend to loose their identity, becoming co-lexicalized with other morphemes or reinterpreted as members of another class. For example:

1. \( ^*\text{ykU} \) has merged with \( ^*\text{ya} \) to form the root \( ^*\text{yayku} \) 'enter'; this verb may now be followed by another \( ^*\text{ykU} \): \( ^*\text{ya}+\text{yku}+\text{ykU} \) 'he enters'.

2. When it merges with some other morpheme, the directional suffix may lose the property of undergoing morphophonemic lowering (discussed in sections 3.1.2.2 and 23.8.11; e.g., either \( \text{horgomun} \) (lowered) or \( \text{horgomun} \) (unlowered) is possible 'he takes it out'.

3. There is a tendency for \( ^*\text{rqU} \) to be reinterpreted as an aspectual suffix; some dialects go so far as to make a tense marker of it.

Some of the directional suffixes preserve a meaning of direction to a greater extent than others; from
best preserved (-rpU) to least preserved (-ykU) the order is roughly: -rpU < -rkU < -rqU < -ykU. This is the order in which these suffixes will be discussed below.

9.2.1. -rpU ‘down’

-rpU preserves to a great degree its meaning ‘down’. Not surprisingly then, it frequently occurs on verbs which have ‘to go down’ as a component of their meaning: e.g.:

...“shallak” ni-r-shi kacha-rpu-mu-n. 426
    (sound) say-adv-IND release-down-afar-3

'... (God) releases the chain down (from heaven).'
("shallak" is the sound of the chain falling.)

...yaga-ku-rpu-sha pampa-man-shi. 427
    fall-refl-down-3PERF ground-IND

'... he fell to the ground.'

...pukutay ura-ka-rpu-mu-ra-n. 428
    cloud descend-pass-down-afar-past-3

'... the clouds came down about them.'

In some cases -rpU ‘down’ adds the meaning ‘going in a downward direction’; e.g., with kuti-‘to return’ it adds the idea that the return was down the hill. In a folk tale, the villain leaves the scene of his crime and returns down the hill to his house: then the next morning he comes back to the scene of his crime:111

Y nirkur kuti-rpu-r-qa ya warannin tuta shamu-sha. 429
    and then return-down-adv-TOP now next:day early come-3PERF

'And then, having returned down there, early the next morning he comes (back to the scene of the crime).'

In 430 -rpU ‘down’ is used to suggest that the subject leans over the top of the sack, working down:

Kustal-man yayku-rku-piti-n baaya hire-rpu-sha. 430
    sack-GOAL enter-up-adv-3P wow sew-down-3PERF

'When he (the hero) got into the sack, he (the villain) sewed him into it.'

Swisshlem [36] (pg. 497) shows that -rpU may be used in a figurative sense of ‘lower’ (e.g. with ‘be sick’ to indicate change for the worse) or ‘fall’ (e.g. with darkness falling). The only example of this kind I have come upon for HgQ is 431:

Jesus wañu-rpša-n oora... 431
Jesus die-down-sub-3P time

'Right when Jesus died...'

-rpU is frozen in the expression taksha-rpu-q ‘a bit smaller’ from taksha ‘small’; see example 1219.

---

111 The "point of reference" does not go down the hill with the villain, but stays with the hero at the scene of the crime: thus the use of shamu ‘come’ for the villain’s return.

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9.2.2. -rkU 'up'

Historically -rkU meant 'up', as evidenced by verbs like wa-rkU- 'to hang up' (see discussion above). But the synchronic uses of -rkU go far beyond this directional sense. (-rkU will nonetheless be glossed 'up'). This discussion is divided into two sections: first those cases in which -rkU occurs in finite verbs and second its occurrence in adverbial clauses.

9.2.2.1. -rkU in finite verbs

In the examples 432 and 433, -rkU means 'up' in a fairly straightforward directional sense:

Rum ichi-ku-rku-sha.
rock stand-refl-up-3PERF

'The rock stood on end/stood up.'

In example 433, a witch is climbing up a rope after a fleeing child:

...wana-ta-si aypa-rku-n-raq-shi achakay-qa.
child-OBJ-indef reach-up-3-yet-IND witch-TOP

'...the witch is yet to catch up to the child.'

In the following cases, -rkU means roughly 'to completion':

kumli-rkU- 'to come to completion', e.g.:

Kontraato diya kumli-rku-n.
contract day complete-up-3

'The day arrives on which they are to keep their contract.'

miku-rkU-rkU- (eat-refl-up-) 'to eat up, to eat to completion'
upu-rkU- and upya-rkU- (drink-up-) 'to drink to completion', e.g.:

Qam upu-rku-nki-man-chu?
you drink-up-2-COND-YN?

'Would you be able to drink it up? (i.e., to drink it all)'

usha-kU-rkU- 'to finish off', e.g.:

Kay kuru aycha-ta usha-ku-rku-n chura-ra:-chi-pty-n-qa.
this worm meat-OBJ finish-refl-up-3 place-state-caus-adv-3P-TOP

'This insect really finishes off the meat. if it is caused to be stored (for a long time).'

In some cases -rkU 'up' with imperatives indicates politeness. This use is usually carried out by -ykU 'impact'; see section 9.2.4.4. The difference seems to be that -rkU adds the idea that little is being asked of the hearer: examples 437 and 438 bear this out:

Qo-shi-rku-y taytay.
give-accom-up-2IMP sir

'Help him, sir.' (i.e., 'Help him a little')

Yapa-rku-ma-y.
add-up-2P1-2IMP

'Give me a bit more.' (lit. 'Add more to me.')

In some cases -rkU 'up' flags surprising turns of event (much as one would report a surprising act of hitting in English with "He up and hit him"); e.g.
-rkU in finite verbs [9.2.2.1]

Chaki-n-pita "haq" ni-r amu-ku-rku-n. foot-3P-ABL say-adv clench:in:teeth-refl-up-3

'Saying "haq" he bites him in the foot.'

...bensi-yka-p²i-n-na-shi gaallu kanta-rku-n. conquer-impfv-adv-3P-now-IND rooster crow-up-3

'. . .right when he was winning, a rooster crowed.'
(signalling dawn, at which the condonado who was winning would lose his strength)

Example 441 reports the happy and surprising outcome of a story:

Chay-pita kushí-sha-na runa keeda-rku-n that-ABL be:happy-prtc-now man remain-up-3
ukumarya-ta wánu-yka-chi-r. bear-OBJ die-impact-caus-adv

'Thereafter, the man was happy, having killed the bear.'

In narratives, -rkU sometimes marks proleptic allusions, i.e., events which turn out to have significant consequences later in that narrative. The following is such a case because the momentum of the stone carries the fox into the river, causing him to drown:

...chupa-n-man ruyru rumi-ta wata-ku-rku-n. tail-3P-GOAL round stone-OBJ tie-refl-up-3

'. . .the tied a round stone to his tail.'

The -rkU in example 443 marks proleptic allusion because the husband finds out about the affair his wife is having and kills her lover:

...huk-wan warmi-n tiya-ku-rku-sha, runa-wan. other-COM wife-3P live-refl-up-3PERF man-COM

'. . .his wife lived with another man.'

Another example of proleptic allusion is 580: the bear which arrives spells real trouble.

In some cases -rkU indicates the suddenness or brevity with which something happened. This is very similar to -rl-ykU 'sudden' (see section 9.5.3) and may be evidence that, in some cases, -rkU resulted from the collapse of -rl-ykU. In example 444, -rkU is added to wataqa- to indicate the momentariness of the spying, i.e., a peek rather than a prolonged look:

Chawra buurru ni-n-shi: "Watqa-rku-shaq-chu? Wakin-kuna-ga chawra then donkey say-3-IND spy-up-1FUT-YN? other-plur-TOP then
ni-n-shi: "Maa, watqa-rku-y. Chawra buurru watqa-rku-n-shi. say-3-IND challenge spy-up-infl then donkey spy-up-3-IND

'Then the donkey says, "Shall I peek?" The others then say, "Go on and peek!" Then the donkey peeks.'

In other cases, the brief lapse in time is understood as between the time of speaking and the initiation of the event, rather than the duration of the event. E.g.,

Afila-pa-rku-shu-rki. sharpen-ben-up=³2-2

'He will sharpen it for you.'
(but a bit later, not right now)

When -rkU 'up' occurs with yuri- 'to be born, to appear', the combination means 'to show up, to come onto the scene'; e.g.,
9.2.2.2. -rukU in adverbial clauses

When -rukU occurs in the verb of an adverbial clause, it may be used as in the previous cases, i.e., as an extended use of 'up'. For example, in example 450, -rukU fits the meaning 'up' in that the shearing proceeds from the feet of the sheep up to the middle of its back:

\[
\text{Rutu-y-ta gaila-ri-nchi rikra-n hans-n-pita ... pullan shnair-inf-OBJ begin-punct-12 arm-3P top-3P-ABL half loomu-n-yaq chaya-ruk-chi-r.} \\
\text{back-3P-LIM arrive-up-caus-adv}
\]

'We begin to shear it from the top of the arms ... until we cause (the path) to arrive in the middle of his back.'

However, in the bulk of cases, when -rukU occurs in an adverbial clause, it is not used in any sense of 'up': rather it means roughly that the event referred to by the superordinate clause follows directly the completion of the event referred to by the adverbial clause. i.e., if X is the event referred to by the adverbial clause with -rukU and Y is the event of the superordinate clause, then -rukU means roughly, "upon the completion of X, there followed Y."

In a body of texts which were studied, there were over 200 examples of -rukU. 83% of these occurred in the verb of an adverbial clause. And of these, 90% occurred in same-subject adverbial clauses with the subordinator -r. This distribution is consonant with the meaning sketched above: it is more likely that one event be seen (and presented) as directly following another if they have the same subject (i.e. when-typically-they are performed by the same agent/actor). Because discontinuities of subject generally involve discontinuities of time, adverbial clauses with a subject different than that of the superordinate clause seldom have -rukU. Examples 451-459 illustrate -rukU with same subject adverbial clauses:

\[
\text{Payla-wan yanu-ruk-ur kachi-ta chay-man tinku-rI+ykU-chi-r qara-naku-n. pot-COM boil-up adv salt-OBJ that-60AL boil-sud-caus-adv feed-recip-3} \\
\text{Having boiled it in a pot, having mixed salt into that, they serve it.}
\]

\[
\text{Palle-ruk-ur chaki-chi-chi.} \\
\text{pick-up adv dry-caus-12}
\]

'Upon having picked them, we dry them.'
...horqo-rku-r kuti-rku-chi-r, horqo-rku-r kuti-rku-chi-r...
remove-up-adv return-up-caus-adv return-up-caus-adv

', 'repeatedly taking it out and putting it back...

Chay-naw rura-rku-r apa-ku-n derechu initsya-man.
that-SIM do-up-adv take-refl-3 straight church-GOAL

'Having done that, they take it directly to the church.'

...apa-sha umakaku-rku-r,
take-3PERF put:on:head-up-adv

', 'they took it, having put it on his head.'

Llachapa-ta-pis apa-q suwa-ku-rku-r-shi.
clothing-OBJ indef take-NRP steel-refl-up-adv-IND

'He would also take clothing, having stolen it.'

...[kumun-ta pusha-ku-rku-r] ruqru miku-q]
community-OBJ lead-refl-up-adv ruqru eat-sub go-sub-3P-PUR

', '...to have the community go eat muko (a potato dish),
upon having been lead there.'

Chay-naw listu-ku-rku-r:ri-r
that-SIM prepare-refl-plur-up-adv go-3

'Having prepared like that, they go...'

Chay-ta usha-rku-r rutu-y-ta qalla-yku-nchi tihira-wan.
that-OBJ finish-up-adv shear-inf-OBJ begin-impact-12 scissor-COM

'Having finished that, we begin to shear it with a scissors.'

Same subject adverbial clauses with *rku* occur frequently as reduplications; e.g.:

Chawra miku-n asi-rku-r asi-rku-r.
et-3 laugh-up-adv laugh-up-adv

'Then they eat laughing and laughing.'

(See sections 15.3.1.2 and 15.3.1.3 for other examples.)

461-465 illustrate *rku* with different subject adverbial clauses:

Noqta-pis chay-naw ni-ma-sha karga-chaw sumaq sirbi-ku-pti:.
I-OBJ indef that-SIM say->=1-3PERF cargo-LOC well serve-refl-up-adv-1P

'He told me that too, although I served well in (carrying) cargo.'

Kustal-man yayku-rku-pti-n baya
sack-GOAL enter-up-adv-3P expletive sew-asv-3PERF

'hira-rpu-sha.

'When he entered the sack, he sewed it up.'

Chay-ta miku-y-ta usha-rku-pti-n ruqro-ta-qa-gara-n
that-OBJ eat-inf-OBJ finish-up-adv-3P ruqro-OBJ-now feed-3

'When they finish eating that, they then feed them muko (a potato dish).'

Tinku-rku-pti-n oosu-shi apa-ku-ra-n
meet-up-adv-3P bear-IND take-refl-past-3

'When they met, the bear took her off...'
-rkU in adverbial clauses [9.2.2.2]

Wañu-rku-pti-n ‘inan oora willa-n agenti-ta...
die-up-adv-3P very time tell-3 agent-OBJ
'When he dies, at that very time they tell the agent....'

9.2.3. -rqU ‘out’

Except as frozen in certain roots (e.g. qa+rqU- ‘to expel’) -rqU ‘out’ has lost virtually all directional meaning. It has assumed various meanings:
- (temporal) ‘having just happened’
- (aspectual) ‘having happened with remarkable speed’
- (modal) ‘unexpectedly, surprisingly’

There follow examples of these (in the listed order).

In examples 466 and 467, -rqU is used temporally:

Allitchu wara-r$qU-nki?
good-YN? dawn-out-2

'How did you dawn?'
(This would be said only soon after the person addressed got up.)

Example 467 shows an interesting temporal/aspectual contrast; in 467a, with -rqU ‘out’, the meaning is past, whereas in 467b, with -ri ‘punctual’, it is future (projected):

a. sha-r$qU-mu-nki (come-out-afar-2)
b. sha-r$i-mu-nki (come-asp-afar-2IMP)

a. ‘You have just come.’
b. ‘Come back in just a minute.’

In examples 468 and 469, -rkU is used aspectual:

Llapan-ta wañu-$rqU-ri-chi-n buurru-ga.
die-out-plur-caus-3 donkey-TOP

'The donkey kills them all (quickly).'

The condor, having flown, assumes that the frog, coming on the ground, would be far behind. When he finds the frog already at their destination, he asks 469:

Saapo, ima-naw-pa-ta?q gam sha-r$qU-mu-nki?
frog what-SIM-GEN-?? you come-out-afar-2

'Frog, how did you come so quickly?'

In examples 470-472, -rkU is used to express that something happened unexpectedly or surprisingly:

Chay kontra-nchi yana saako chukru botas asendaado that opponent-12P black coat hard boots haciaenda:owner
gaana-r$qU-ma-nchi.
beat-out=-to=1-12

'That black coat, hard boots haciaenda owner who opposes us
beat us (surprisingly, unjustly)'

\[112\] It is important that this be done right when someone dies, as it is the agent’s responsibility to come and verify that the death occurred as reported.

120

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9.2.4. -ykU 'in'

Historically -ykU meant 'in' but this meaning has been generalized to a present meaning roughly 'with force, impacting upon, with intensity'. There are three major divisions in the use of -ykU. The first is its aspectual use in conjunction with -ri in the combination -ri+.ykU; this is discussed in section 9.5.3. The second and third uses differ in terms of the object to which the force/impact/intensity is perceived to be directed. In one class of cases it is directed toward some goal or object of the action referred to by the verb to which -ykU is suffixed. For example, maqa- means simply 'hit', but maqa-ykU- means 'to hit forcefully'. Such uses are discussed in sections 9.2.4.1, 9.2.4.2, and 9.2.4.3. In the second class of cases, the force is directed toward the hearer of the utterance. In this case -ykU is intended to evoke some special reaction (e.g., compassion, joy, humor,...) or move the hearer to some action. Such uses are discussed in sections 9.2.4.4 and 9.2.4.5. Finally, section 9.2.4.6 shows that -ykU can intervene between a root and a causal.

With a certain small class of verbs including puñu- 'to sleep', chura- 'to place', hama- 'to sit', and pampa- 'to bury', the addition of -ykU changes the meaning from static to dynamic. What would have been a locative phrase (with -chaw 'LOC') with the static verb becomes a goal (with -man 'GOAL') with the dynamic one: e.g.:

a. Kay-chaw puñu-n. (here-LOC sleep-3) 473
b. *Kay-man puñu-n. (here-GOAL sleep-3)
c. ?Kay-chaw puñu-ykU-n. (here-LOC sleep-impact-3)
d. Kay-man puñu-ykU-n. (here-GOAL sleep-impact-3)

a. 'He sleeps here.'
d. 'He puts himself to sleep here.'
   (or 'He lays himself down to sleep here.')

Some examples from texts of this use:

Chay rus-ta ka-sha-n-man chura-ykU-ri... that cross-OBJ be-sub-3P-GOAL place-impact-plur-adv

'Placing the crosses back where they had been...'

Punku-n-man hama-ykU-chi-r... door-3P-GOAL sit-impact-caus-adv

'Seating them at the door (of his house)...'

...kawallu-n-pa waqta-n-man hama-ykU-r waqa-sha. horse-3P-GEN back-3P-GOAL sit-impact-adv cry-3PERF

'...having sat down onto the back of his horse, he cried.'

\[113\] This probably proceeded through stages 'into' and 'to impact upon'.

121
9.2.4.1. Success

-\( ykU \) may indicate that the verb to which it is attached was carried out with enough energy to be successful. Consider example 477; note that achieving success in the search (for someone to wash the body) is a prerequisite to having him wash it.\(^{114}\) The addition of -\( ykU \) to \( ashi \) 'seek' makes its 'seek with success' i.e., 'to find'.

\[ \text{...haapa runa-ta ashi-\( ykU \)-r arma-chi-n yaku-wan.} \]
\[ \text{...foreign man-OBJ peon-OBJ seek-impact-adv bathe-caus-3 water-COM} \]
\[ '...having sought (successfully!), a foreigner, they have him wash (the corpse) with water.' \]

Other examples follow in which -\( ykU \) occurs in an adverbial clause the success of whose action is a prerequisite to the action of the main clause.\(^{115}\)

\[ \text{Y yoora-chaw punku-ta ranka-\( ykU \)-lla-r-shi pu\( \bar{n} \)-sha. and tree-LOC door-OBJ lodge-impact-just-adv-IND sleep-3PERF} \]
\[ 'And having succeeded in lodging the door in the tree, they slept (on top of the door).' \]

\[ \text{Niykur qayku-pe-\( ykU \)-pti-\( s \) buurru-ta yaku apa-ku-n. then push-ben-impact-adv-1P donkey-OBJ water take-refl-3} \]
\[ 'Then when we succeeded in pushing it into the water, the water carried off the donkey.' \]

\[ \text{...\( ykU \)-ta manka-kuna-wan achka-\( ykU \)-r water-OBJ pot-plur-COM lots-OBJ carry-refl-impact-adv} \]
\[ \text{arma-ku-n... bathe-refl-3} \]
\[ '...having carried a lot of water with pots, they bathe themselves...' \]

\[ \text{Llapan kasta-n-kuna-wan parla-\( ykU \)-r wamra-n-kuna-lla-na all clan-3P-plur-COM speak-refl-impact child-3P-plur-just-now} \]
\[ \text{albasya-ta chura-ku-n. executor-OBJ place-refl-3} \]
\[ 'Having talked with all his relatives (and achieving a consensus). his children (and they alone) appoint an executor.' \]

\[ \text{Chay-chaw gaana-\( ykU \)-r kondor-qa ni-n "Kanan-qa marka-ta that-LOC beat-impact-adv condor-TOP say-3 now-TOP town-OBJ} \]
\[ \text{apa-ku-::na-mi", take-refl-1-now-DIR} \]
\[ 'Having won there the condor says. "Now I will take over the town."' \]

\[ \text{Chawra runa nubillu-n-ta qellay-paq rantiku-\( ykU \)-r then man steer-3P-OBJ money-PUR sell-impact-adv} \]
\[ \text{pullan qellay-ta paaga-\( ykU \)-n atoq-ta half money-OBJ pay-impact-3 fox-OBJ} \]
\[ 'Then the man, having sold his steer for money, pays half of the money to the fox.' \]

\(^{114}\) A "foreigner" (i.e., someone from another town) must do this washing because (it is believed) if a relative of the deceased washes the body, it would cause the whole clan to die.

\(^{115}\) As far as I have been able to discover, this use of -\( ykU \) is limited to adverbial clauses.
9.2.4.2. With *go-'give'

In most cases in which *go-'give' is followed by *ykU, there is some transfer (usually of ownership) to the recipient; e.g. in 484 the money and perhaps its ownership are transferred to the speaker:

Qellay-ta go-yku-na:ngae.
money-OBJ give-impact->1-3FUT

'He will give me money.'

Some idioms borrowed from Spanish with *go-'give' do not have *ykU, as there is no object being transferred to the recipient. For example, see examples 485-488:

6god-12p-top blessing-OBJ give-refl->1-12

'God blesses us (i.e. gives us blessing).'

derechun-ta go-n kuka-tera warindita...  
right-obj give-3 coca-OBJ fire:water-obj

'...they give him the right to (partake of) the coca and the firewater...

Chawra-qa rimeenru eskibaanu parabin-ta go-n.
then-top first scrivener for:good-obj give-3

'Then the scrivener congratulates him first.'
(The text goes on to explain that a *parabin is the act of shaking the hand of the man who is entering office.)

Pay-kuna-pa ka-n numramintu-n. Qo-n rasun-pa awturidaa-kuna...
he-plur-GEN be-3 title-3P give-3 real-adv authority-plur

'They have their titles. The authorities really give them to them (for the duration of the fiesta).'

In contrast to these which do not have *ykU, there are some like 'give a kick/blow/...' which do have *ykU: see 489. Since the meaning implies that the goal/object is directly affected by the action, such cases support the claim that *ykU indicates increased impact on the goal/object of the action.116

...huk hachaaasu go-yku-sha:
one axe:blow give-impact-3perf

'...he struck a terrific blow with an axe.'
(hachaaasu from Sp. *hacha 'axe')

---

116 Similarly *usha-'finish' with *ykU can mean 'finish off, severely damage': e.g.:

i. ...kaara-n-pita-shi runa-ta raska-r *usaha-yku-n.
face-3p-ABL-IND man-OBJ scratch-adv finish-impact-3

'...he scratches him severely in the face.'

ii. ...runa-qa kallpa-yku-r-shi mutu-r *usaha-yku-n...
man-top strengthen-impact-adv-IND chop-adv finish-impact-3

'...the man, gathering his strength, chopping finishes him off.'
9.2.4.3. With verbs of perception

With verbs of perception (e.g., rika- 'to see', wiya- 'to hear', watga- 'to spy', ...), -ykU indicates that the one who perceives gets the full impact of what he is perceiving. 117 Rather than just seeing or hearing, with -ykU one grasps the consequences of what is perceived; e.g.:

Rika-yku Requires awtoridab ni-n 'Chay papel titulu-yki alli
see-impact-adv authority say-3 that paper title-2P good
ka-yka-n. be-impv-3

'Upon seeing it (and grasping its significance) the authority
says, 'According to that paper, your title is in order."

Chay-ta rika-yku-r muku aywa-kun mancha-ri-sha...
that-OBJ see-impact-adv lamb go-refl-3 scare-asp-prtct

'Upon seeing that (his owners looking among the flock and
realizing that they were looking for him), the lamb goes
off very frightened...

Chay-naw wañu-sha-ta rika-yku-r agenti papel-ta
that-SIM die-prtct-OBJ see-impact-adv agent paper-OBJ
ape-chi-n. alkaldif-man
take-caus-3 mayor-GOAL

'Upon verifying that he died like that, the agent sends a
to the mayor.' (This follows text which says 'Then the
agent goes to look, in order to know precisely how he died."

Chay-ta wiya-yku-r mishi aywa-sha muku-man-shi.
that-OBJ hear-impact-adv cat go-3PERF lamb-GOAL-IND

'Upon hearing that (and that they were going to kill the lamb)
the cat went to the lamb.'

In a folk tale, when a husband is informed that his wife is having an affair with another man, he responds:

...Kiki-raq-mi wami-ta watga-yku-shaq. Rika-yku-shaq.
self-yet-DIR wife-1P-OBJ spy-impact-1FUT see-impact-1FUT

'...I myself will spy on my wife. I will see.'

By virtue of adding -ykU, the husband indicates that he will do more than simply observe; he will
determine the significance of what he observes.

9.2.4.4. Politeness

When -ykU is used in imperatives, the effect is to make the command more polite; e.g.: 118

"Imbila-pa-yku-ma-y tiya-ta ni-sha "chicha-ta."
invite-ben-impact-〉1-2IMP wife-1P-OBJ say-3PERF chicha-OBJ

"Please invite my aunt" he said "to (come have) some chicha."

Not surprisingly -ykU frequently co-occurs with -lla: 'polite'; e.g.: One would never expect -ykU to
occur with ka- ‘be’ in the sense ‘impact on the goal/object’. But it does occur in uses indicating ‘impact on the hearer’; e.g. with the following third person imperative:

Tayta lindu mishi. qam-pita ka-yku-l1a-@.chun, sir pretty white you-ABL be-impact-pol-3IMP

'Wonderful mister sir, may it be yours."
(said by the frogs—the people—to their leader, who is conducting a legal battle for control of the township against the condor—the haciendado.)

Tiyuy kondor, norqo-yku-l1a-ma-yu ar1 uncle condor remove-impact-pol-1-2IMP well

'Uncle condor, please take us out of here.'

9.2.4.5. At the peak of an episode

-yku has a propensity for clustering at the peak ("climax") of episodes. For example, 'The Fight between the Wasp and the Tiger' ends:

yuncha alli-chaw keeda-yku-n and wasp good-LOC remain-impact-3 above-LOC

Tinri pasaypa perdi-yku-n, tiger really lose-impact-3

'And the wasp remained fine up above.
The tiger really lost. (by falling over a cliff)

In the following examples (just given in English) a verb bearing -yku is underlined:

So the man, having sold his steer, pays half of the money to the fox. And the 499 man, with the fox’s council, liberates his steer. And he remains with the bear’s meat very happy.

One tale begins with the following, which I would consider a complete episode climaxed by the condor’s winning:

An hacienda-owner-condor and a townsman-frog litigated, moving the boundary 500 back and forth. And the hacienda-owner-condor won the litigation in the provincial authority with his good-for-nothing document.

Later the frog and condor race to the capital to present their case before the higher authority. The episode is climaxed by the following:

And he beats him to the authority’s at the crack of dawn. They talk 501 (briefly). He shows him his document. Upon seeing it (and grasping its significance) he says...

I doubt a fair case can be made that -yku is in any sense a marker of (episodal) peak. Rather, I think it frequently occurs there because of its meaning: peaks are naturally the centers of increased impact.

While it is generally true that -yku tends to cluster about the peaks of episodes there is considerable variation in the use of -yku. There is variation from story to story. Some stories have a liberal sprinkling of -yku throughout, whereas some have -yku almost exclusively at the end. This may be because some stories are composed of various episodes rather than of a single episode.

Frequency counts suggest that there is variation from speaker to speaker, and that this is best considered stylistic variation. Folk tales by three authors showed the following: One author used .03 and .04 -yku’s per word (for two tales); these were strongly concentrated toward the end of his
stories. One used .05 *ykU's per word. The other author used .07 *ykU's per word; these were fairly evenly distributed throughout the story counted. Thus it might be unreasonable to say precisely where *ykU will or will not occur: it is to some extent a stylistic variable which the speaker may control to his liking.

9.2.4.6. *ykU with transitivizers

*ykU may intervene between a verb root/stem and a transitivizing pre-transition suffix (see section 9.6). Examples 502 shows that the effect of this may be to block an interpretation of direct causation.119 When *ykU 'impact' occurs between the verb and -chi (as in 298a), the agent of causation is understood as someone other than the addressee; the addressee indirectly causes that something be killed. When -chi directly follows the verb (as in 298b), the addressee is understood as directly causing that something be killed (and *ykU indicates 'polite' as discussed in section 9.2.4.4).

b. Wañu-chi-pa:-*ykU-me-y. die-caus-ben-impact-1-2IMP

Example 503 is similar but involves the degree of directness between the recipient of the verb maky-e 'to hand to' and the object of the benefactive.120 The intervention of *ykU in example 503b indicates that he is not directly benefited (as by receiving whatever is handed over); he is indirectly benefited in that another receives it:


a. 'Hand it to me (for my benefit).'
b. 'Hand it to him for me.'

9.3. -mu 'AFAR'

After discussing where -mu 'afar' occurs within the verb (section 9.3.1), its various uses are summarized and illustrated (section 9.3.2).

9.3.1. Distributional Considerations

-mu is the most rightward tending pre-transition suffix: it occurs directly before the transition. For example, 504a is unacceptable because -mu precedes -pa; whereas 504b is acceptable:

--

119 This nicely illustrates Haiman's [15] observation concerning the iconicity of direct/indirect causation: indirect causation is involves at least as much morphological material as direct causation. This example also illustrates variant possible orders of *ykU and -chi.

120 Note that example 503a does not mean 'hand it to him for me' as might be expected.
Example 505 shows that -mu must follow -yka: 'impfv' and -chi 'caus':


take-impf-cause-affar-3

'He makes him bring it here.'

-mu may not co-occur (in the same word) with the suffix -ma: '=>1'. This is probably because -ma: is derived historically from -mu + wa (where -wa is the first person object marker preserved in Quechua A languages). This observation is due to Peter Landerman, personal communication.

When both -ma: and -mu might occur, -ma: occurs in preference to -mu, e.g.,
Kay-man apa-pa: -ma-y.

here-DIR take-ben-=>1-2IMP

'Bring it here for me.'

9.3.2. Summary of the Uses of -mu

-mu has a variety of interpretations depending on the verb to which it is attached. Among these, three are prominent:

- with motion verbs -mu means roughly 'toward here, (from afar)';
- with non-motion verbs it means roughly 'happening at a distance';
- with verbs indicating the emitting or the perception of some stimulus, it indicates that the perceiver and the emitter were separated by some considerable distance.

These and other uses will now be discussed.

9.3.2.1. 'Toward here' with motion verbs

With motion verbs -mu means 'toward here' where "here" may be defined as either the location of the speaker or in a narrative, the "perspective point" of the narrator. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB</th>
<th>WITHOUT -mu</th>
<th>WITH -mu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aya-</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apa-</td>
<td>take</td>
<td>bring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaya-</td>
<td>arrive (to there)</td>
<td>arrive (to here)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaka-</td>
<td>envoy (to there)</td>
<td>envoy (to here)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuki-</td>
<td>return (to there)</td>
<td>return (back to here)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lall-</td>
<td>too race (away)</td>
<td>to race (toward here)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pusha-</td>
<td>to lead (to there)</td>
<td>to lead (to here)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qas-</td>
<td>herd (away)</td>
<td>herd (toward here)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qeshpi-</td>
<td>escape (from here)</td>
<td>escape (to here)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sha-</td>
<td>(see note below)</td>
<td>come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanq-</td>
<td>push (to there)</td>
<td>push (toward here)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ura-</td>
<td>go down (from here)</td>
<td>descend (from uphill)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that -mu is obligatory with sha-, i.e., there is no such verb as sha- 'go' corresponding to
'Toward here' with motion verbs [9.3.2.1]

sha-...-mu- 'come'.  

For motion relative to a container (i.e., moving something into or out of anything conceived as a container, e.g., a jar, a house, a coral, etc.), the occurrence of -mu depends on whether "here" is inside the container or outside of it; e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB</th>
<th>WITHOUT -mu</th>
<th>WITH -mu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lloqshi-</td>
<td>to go out</td>
<td>to come out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(said from inside)</td>
<td>(said from outside)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qarqU-</td>
<td>to drive out</td>
<td>to drive out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(said from inside)</td>
<td>(said from outside)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaykU-</td>
<td>to go in</td>
<td>to come in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(said from outside)</td>
<td>(said from inside)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Here" may be where the hearer is or will be; e.g.:

Aywa-yka:-mu-: qam ka-sha-yki-m-an.  
come-impv-mu-1 you be-sub-2P-DIR  
'I am coming to where you are.'

There are certain discourse types where "here" may be anchored. For example, in a description of a procession (in which an image is taken from the church, paraded, and returned to the church) all motion is with reference to the church.

9.3.2.2. "Go off and do" with implication of coming back

With verbs which do not imply motion, the use of -mu means that the event referred to by that verb is to occur at a distance from the speaker (i.e., from "here"). In these cases there is a strong implication that there will be motion to that place (before the event) and subsequent return to "here". In these cases a rough gloss might be 'go off, do it, and come back'. Some examples follow:

Tanta-ta ranti-ri-mu-y.  
bread-OBJ buy-sud-affar-2IMP  
'Go buy bread (and return quickly).'

Rika-yku-mu-nki wasi-nchi:-ta ima-shi ka-yka:-n.  
see-impact-affar-2IMP house-12P-OBJ what-IND be-impv-3  
'Go see what there might be in our house (and come back and inform me).'

wañu-chi-mu-sha-:-aycha-ta  
die-cause-affar-sub-1P-OBJ  
'the meat that I killed (i.e., ...which I went off and killed and brought back here)'

The following example shows that motion away from the speaker is not necessarily implied:

Tayta-: ospital-chaw keeßa-kU-mu-sha.  
hospital-LOC remain-refl-affar-3PERF  
'My father remained (over there) in the hospital.'

---

122. In some dialects, (e.g., Huaraz, Ancash) sha- and -mu have become frozen into a single verb shamu-. That this is not the case in HgQ is evident from examples like sha-yka:-mu- the he is coming'.

123. This is possible in English. e.g., 'I'll come to where you are'.
Examples 512 and 513 show that return to "here" after the event is not necessarily implied:

Mihur kacha-shaq yunka-pa chay-chaw wānu-kū-mu-na-n-paq
better send-1FUT jungle-GOAL there-LOC die-refl-afar-sub-3P-PUR

... tinri miyu-mu-naa.
... tiger eat-afar-3FUT

'Better that I send him off to the jungle so that he die over there. A tiger will eat him up (over there).'

Chay-chaw puñu-mu-shaq.
there-LOC sleep-afar-1FUT

Nirkur warannin aywa-shaq Piliku-man.
then on:the:morrow go-1FUT Huanuco-GOAL

'I will sleep there (at a distance).
Then the next morning I will go on to Huanuco.'

9.3.2.3. Stimulus from a distance

With verbs which mean emitting some stimulus (e.g., yell, flash) or with "sensory verbs" (perceiving some stimulus) -mu serves to indicate that there was some considerable distance 124 between the emitter and the perceiver. This use of -mu is reasonable if the situation being described is seen as stimulus passing from the emitter to the perceiver. -mu is only appropriate if the stimulus passes from afar to "here", never the other way around. The sensory verbs include (among others, see 13.3.2.4): rika- 'to see' and wiya- 'to hear'. Verbs in the category 'emitting stimulus' include choga- 'to cough', qapara- 'to yell', kunista- 'to answer', ni- 'to say', rata- 'to burn (of a light)', qaya- 'to call to'. Examples follow:

Ni-mu-sha-n wiya-ka:-mu-ra-n.
say-afar-sub-3P hear-pass-afar-past-3

'That which was said (from afar) was heard (from afar).'

Qam-ta rika-mu-.
you-OBJ see-afar-1

'I see you (over there).'

Mas mas aywa-pi-ti-n mas hatun-na-shi rika-kea-mu-n achi.
more more go-adv-3P more big-now-IND see-pass-afar-3 light

... Achi rika-ra:-mu-sha ka-sh bentaana-pa-shi.
light see-state-afar-prt be-3PERF window-GEN-IND

'The farther on they went, the bigger the light was seen to be (from afar). ... The light had been seen (from afar) through a window.'

The following bit of text is particularly instructive. The fox is speaking at a distance from the man (who being the principle character defines "here" in this stretch of narrative) and the bear is right next to the man. Note that when the fox speaks it is with ni-mu-n 'he say (from afar)' whereas when the bear or the man speak it is simply with ni-n 'he says'. And note that mu is only used when the stimulus travels from afar to "here"; for this reason the fox uses ni-mu-n to say that he does not hear the sound of the axe blow. (The superscripted numbers are cross-referenced to the gloss.)

---

124 What constitutes "considerable distance" is certainly relative, both to the nature of the stimulus and to the way the speaker wishes to present the situation of which he speaks. This should become clear in the examples given below.
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Chay-chaw ka-yka:-mu-n.
there-LOC be-impfV-afar-3
'It is there.'

Chay-chaw ka-yka:n.
there-LOC be-impfV-3
'It is there.'

Another example:
Rika-y! Kuchi-ta pishta-yka:-mu-n.
look-ZIMP pig-OBJ slaughter-impfV-afar-3
'Look! They are butchering the pig (over there--watching from a hill top).'

The metaphor is of the visual stimulus (generated by the act of slaughtering) traveling to the place where the speaker and hearer are.

Example 521 is instructive because the lion’s quote (which is underlined) would be redundant and unnecessary if it did not contain -mu. By having the lion repeat “Count them out!” (which he has said before, but without -mu) the narrator reminds the hearer/reader that the lion is at some distance from the cat. This is significant because this makes it possible for the cat to deceive the lion.

Then the cat deceptively counted out the head of the dead tiger which he had brought along. 'Well then, count them out over there!' ("Ma: yupa-mu-y.") challenge count-afar-ZIMP says the lion. So the cat, repeatedly taking out and putting back the single head, counts it twelve times.

9.3.2.4. Perspective and bi-clausal phenomena

-mu is highly dependent on the notion "here", i.e., the place where the speaker is, or the "perspective point" of a narrative. The perspective point of a narrative may be constantly shifting but it generally resides with the main participant of each episode. For example, in example 517 the man is the main participant, and "here" stays with him.

Are there syntactic constraints on the reference of perspective point? Yes. It must remain constant from subordinate to superordinate clause:125 it may not shift from one clause to another within the same sentence. For example, in example 522 the point from which one departs to take it is understood as the point to which he will return:

Qo-yku:-mu-na-n-paq apa-n.
give-impact-afar-sub-3P-PUR take-3
'He takes it to give to him (and then return).'

Example 523b is unacceptable because the "beginning" must occur where the "bringing" originates. Since gallari- is a non-motion verb, it needs -mu to make it clear that the "beginning" happens at a distance.

Apa-chi-mu-y-ta gallari-
{a. *∅ } -na-n-ta muna:-
take-caus-afar-inf-OBJ begin-
{b. -mu } -sub-3P-OBJ want-1
'I want him to begin sending it here.'

125 This is not true of direct quotes, since they are not subordinate (although they are embedded).
9.3.2.5. Return to normal state

With some verbs -mu is used as a metaphorical motion toward normal state. The following illustrate this:

* hata-rkU- or hata-rf-ykU-
  
  'to get up' may mean to sit up (from a prone position) or to stand up (generally from a sitting position). Both often bear -mu, it being more normal for people to be upright than prone, more normal for them to be on their feet than seated.

* pawka-
  
  'to sober up, to gradually come awake' frequently bears -mu, it being normal for people to be sober and awake.

* wara:-
  
  'to dawn' with -mu means 'to come into a new day, to wake up', people normally being up and about.

* waya-mu-
  
  'to burst forth in flower' (from waya ‘to flower’)

* wina-mu-
  
  'to grow on a vertical axis toward its normal size/condition'. This applies to plants, crops, children, piles, stacks, the level of a liquid (in a container, a lake, a river), etc.

* yuri-mu-
  
  'to come into existence, to appear' (from yuri- ‘to be born’)

Another case of -mu used in the sense of 'return to normal state' involves verbs which mean 'to fall', particularly those which mean 'to fall through space, (free fall)' such as heqa-~yega~~yaga-~. shikwa- and tuni-.-mu occurs with great frequency with these verbs. Often the combination of such a verb and -mu is consistent with the meaning 'motion toward "here"' but sometimes the motion is not toward "here". These latter are instances of 'return to normal state' because things which fall, typically fall to the ground, where they normally are. For example, consider hita-mu- 'to throw down' (from hita- 'throw') in example 524. The perspective point ("here") is with the bear-child, who throws the people from the belfry. Nevertheless, -mu is used because they are thrown to the ground, the normal place for people to be:

... runa-ta-ga pampa iniisya puknu-man-shi hita-rf-ykU-mu-n
men-OBJ-TOP ground church door-GOAL-IND throw-asp-asp-afar-3

hanaq to:rri-pita wañu-qaq...
high tower-ABL die-RESULT

'throw the men from the high tower to the ground at the door of the church with the result that they died.'

Later in same text, a "condenado" threatens to fall on the hero, saying tuni-mu-shaq-chu (fall-afar-1FUT-Y/N?) 'Shall I fall onto you?'. "Here" for the condenado who is speaking, is where he is, but the direction of travel he indicates is from there down to where the hero is. Unless we can understand this as a case of motion toward normal place, it seems contradictory to the basic meaning of -mu with motion verbs, i.e., 'toward "here"'.

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126 This is insightfully discussed for English by Eve Clark [8].

127 Either verb may be used for either meaning.

128 wara:-mu- may also indicate waking at some distance from the place where spoken.

129 I mean to exclude some other verbs of falling such as 'to fall off one's feet'.

130 Another possible explanation is that this is a case of "displaced ego", i.e., talking from the perspective of the hearer.
A final example: in the most normal state of affairs, the sun is somewhere overhead. Thus, the sun’s rising, seen as motion toward normal state/position, is expressed with -mu: *heqa-mu* ‘to rise’ (from ‘to come from around to fall’). The sun’s setting is seen as departure from normal state/position and thus does not have -mu: *heqa* ‘to set’. (With objects other than the sun, *heqa-mu* will ordinarily mean ‘to fall to the ground’.

### 9.3.2.6. *-mu* and ambiguous/vague verbs

There are verbs which do not of themselves belong to any of the classes mentioned above. Other verbs are ambiguous in such a way that they belong to more than one of the above mentioned categories. For example, the verbs *aru* ‘work’ and *rura* ‘do, make’ are not inherently motion or non-motion verbs. Depending on the nature of what is being worked or made, the verb may act (with respect to -mu) as either a motion or non-motion verb: if one works on a house, since that activity is conceived to happen at a single place, *aru* is treated as a non-motion verb. But if one works on an irrigation ditch, since that activity is conceived to occur on a path, *aru* is treated as a motion verb. Thus in 525 -mu means ‘toward here’ while in 526 it means ‘go there to do it and then return’:

525

Sikya-ta aru-mu-shaq.
ditch-obj work-affar-IFUT

'I will work the irrigation ditch (proceeding toward here).'

526

Wasi-ta aru-mu-shaq.
house-obj work-affar-IFUT

'I will work the house (going over there to do so and then returning. e.g. as commuting to work over there).'

The verb *kacha* is ambiguous between ‘to send (as an envoy)’ and ‘to leave behind’. The former sense suggests motion whereas the latter is non-motion. Thus, *kacha-mu* may mean ‘to send to here’ or ‘to leave over there’ and *kacha* (without -mu) may mean ‘to send to there’ or simply ‘to leave’.

*gaya* ‘to call’ may mean ‘to call from afar’ or ‘to call to come’. Examples follow:

527

Y gaya-kU-mu-shaq chay yana runa-ta rika-nkini-shpa-.
call-refl-affar-IFUT that black man-OBJ see-2 say-ADV-1

'I will call out (from afar) saying, "Watch out for that black man!"'.

528

Chay-kuna kabilu-man gaya-mu-n.
that-plural chapter- GOAL call-affar-3

'They call them to come to the chapter (a room of the municipality).'

*rika* is used for visual perception both with and without intent, i.e., for see (without intention) and for look (with intention). The former interpretation (see) is compatible with -mu’s sense ‘stimulus coming from afar’ whereas the latter (look) is more compatible with its sense ‘go (over there) and look’.

133
9.4. Pluralization

Verbs are pluralized by adding one of the following pre-transition suffixes: -rka, -rri, -pakU or -rpa or rarely, - the post-transition suffix -kuna. Which pluralizer occurs depends on what other suffixes occur. The rule is basically as follows: 131 to pluralize a verb,

1. if -ra: 'stative' occurs, replace -ra: with -rpa, e.g.
   the plural of wichiga-ra-yka-n 'it is open' is wichiga-rpa-yka-n 'they are open'.
   the plural of hama-ra-yka-n 'he is seated' is hama-rpaykan 'they are seated'.
   the plural of gati-ra-n 'he follows him' is gati-rpa-n 'they follow him'.

2. if -yka: 'imperfective' occurs, put -rka before -yka:, e.g.
   the plural of miku-yka-n 'he is eating' is miku-rka-yka-n 'they are eating';

3. if there is a directional suffix (-rkU, -rpU, -rqU, -ykU), a reciprocal suffix (-nakU), or sometimes when there is a reflexive suffix (-kU), then put -rI after that suffix, e.g.
   the plural of miku-rku-r 'having eaten (sing.)' is miku-rkU-rI-r 'having eaten (pl)' [mikarkâ:ri].
   the plural of maqa-naku-n 'they hit each other' (where there is no explicit plural) is maqa-nakU-rI-n 'they hit each other' [maqanarkâ:ri].
   the plural of hama-ykU-chi-n 'he sits him' is hama-ykU-rI-chi-n 'he sits them' [hamayka:râchï].
   the plural of hama-kU-yku-pto-n 'when he sat down' is hama-kU-ykU-rI-pto-n 'when they sit down' [hamakayka:rãpti].
   the plural of chari-nakU-ruKU-r 'grabs each other' is chari-nakU-rkU-rI-r.

4. if the subject is first person plural exclusive (11) and the person marker would be -: 'l' then use -:kuna 'lI' instead of -: e.g.
   the plural of aywa-shka: is aywa-shka:kuna

5. otherwise, use -pakU, e.g. the plural of miku-n 'he eats' is miku-pakU-n 'they eat (all together).

There are a few more things to know:

1. -pakU, in addition to indicating plurality, adds the idea that it was done all together or as a group: e.g.

   ...1lapan kuman chura-pa.ku-n.
   all community put-plur-3

   'all the community puts it (i.e. puts up the money)'

   ..."aw aw" ni-pa.ku-n.
   yes yes say-plur-3

   '...yes yes" they all said (together, as with one voice)'

2. Ordinarily only one pluralizer occurs per verb, but it is possible to have more than one; e.g.

   ...puir-rka-yka:-kuna
   walk-plur-mpfv-11

   '...we were walking'

Ordinarily, when the subject is first person plural inclusive (12) the verb does not bear a pluralizer to indicate a plural subject, but it is possible: e.g.

131 This is written as an ordered rule (the first applicable case having precedence) as a convenience: I would not defend the linguistic reality of this ordering.
3. Pluralization added to a verb may apply to its subject, to its object, or to both. Thus maga-rka-ya-n can mean ‘they are hitting him’, ‘he is hitting them’ or ‘they are hitting them.’

4. Verbal pluralization is not obligatory. Sentences like example 533, in which the verb is not pluralized, are natural and common:

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Runa-kuna sha-ya-ka:-mu-n.
man-plur come-impfv-afar-3
```

’Men are coming.’

5. Dialects vary as to how much they actually indicate pluralization. In some dialects, virtually all of the verbs which could be pluralized are actually pluralized. I estimate that Huaraz (Ancash) Quechua pluralizes close to 70% of the verbs eligible for pluralization whereas HgQ only pluralizes about 30% (my rough guess).

### 9.5. Aspect

In the pre-transition zone, where there is some flexibility in the order of suffixes, the more derivational suffixes tend leftward and the more aspactual suffixes tend rightward:

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[ DERIVATIONAL ----> ASPECTUAL ]
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The most fundamental aspectual distinction in HgQ is between -yku ‘perfective’ (elsewhere glossed ‘impact’ or ‘up’, see section 9.2.4) and -yka: ‘imperfective’; see 9.5.1. The second most fundamental contrast is between -rI ‘punctual’ and -ra: ‘state/durative’; see 9.5.2. Iterative aspect may be indicated by -kachaa: by -ykachaa: by -cha:, and by reduplication of the verb root/stem; see 9.5.4.

#### 9.5.1. The Perfective-Imperfective Aspectual Distinction

Perfective aspect is indicated by the morpheme -ykU ‘impact’. It contrasts sharply with -yka: ‘imperfective’, with which it does not co-occur. -yK is glossed ‘impact’ to be consistent with the other parts of this work: in its aspactual use, the gloss ‘imperfective’ would be inappropriate; neither ‘progressive’ nor ‘continuative’ would be a good gloss because -ykU occurs with verbs which do not ordinarily occur in a ‘progressive’ or ‘continuative’ aspect, such as the following:

* with stative:
  - ka-ya-n-na (be:impfv-3-now) ‘there are some now’
  - pisha-ya-n (be:lacking:impfv-3) ‘it is lacking’
  - kawa-ya-n-raq (be:alive:impfv-3-yet) ‘it is still alive’

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132 There is no clear-cut distinction between the aspactual suffixes and the truly derivational suffixes. For example, achikya- means ‘to emit light’ but achikya-rayka- means ‘to shine’ and achikya-rI- ‘to flash’. Here, -rayka: and -rI seem to be both derivational (since it affects the meaning significantly) and aspactual. Some suffixes are used either way: these are more likely to behave derivationally if occurring leftward (near the root) and aspactually if occurring rightward (near the transition).

133 The forms co-occur if -ykU is used non-aspectually or is somewhat frozen with the root, e.g. yo-+ykU-ya-n ‘he is entering’.
with events of a repeated but sporadic nature:

- *ilqur-yaka-n* (lightening-become-impfv-3) 'lightening is flashing'.
- *rinka-yka-n* (jump-impfv-3) 'he is jumping'.

and with inherently iterative verbs:

- *kachkach-ya-yka-n* (kachkach-sound-impfv-3) 'his teeth are chattering'.
- *ka:rit-ya-yka-n* (run-impfv-3) 'he is running'. etc.

Generally *-yka*: 'imperfective' precedes *-ma*: '>=1', as e.g. in 534a. I have elicited the opposite order, which is said to have a habitual meaning, see 534b:

- a. *Maqa-yka:-ma:-n*.
  hit-impfv-3>=1-3
- b. *Maqa-ma:-yka:-n*.
  hit-3>=1-impfv-3

  a. 'He is hitting me (right now).'
  b. 'He hits me a lot.' (daily or frequently, not necessarily right now)

The order of *-yka*: and object marker in 534b is at best rare. It is probably not a systematic way to express habitual tense: see 8.9 concerning the habitual tense formed by *-q ka:.*

In some cases, *-yka*: 'impfv' and *-yku* 'impact' seem to differ by more than just aspect. For example, in 535 -*ykU* seems to add the idea of 'intentional activity'. (The Spanish meanings are as given by Teodoro Cayco.)*

- a. *rika-yku-r* (see-impact-adv)
- b. *rika-yka-r* (see-impfv-adv)

  a. 'looking at it / watching it' (Spanish: 'mirándolo')
  b. 'seeing it' (Spanish: 'viéndolo')

Further, if -*ykU* occurs with an inherently imperfective verb, the meaning may be somewhat altered, e.g., attached to *puñu*: 'to sleep' the result (puñu-ykU-) means 'to put one's self to bed'; see section 9.2.4. (This is consistent with the the general meaning of -*ykU* 'to impact upon'; see section 9.2.4 for a complete discussion of the uses of -*ykU*.)

### 9.5.2. Punctual-Durative Aspectual Contrast

The suffixes *-rl* 'punctual' and *-ra*: 'durative' contrast; these will be discussed in turn.

*-rl* marks 'punctual aspect', i.e. the event/situation is presented as having occurred in an insignificant amount of time (usually in an instant). The suffix *-rl* 'punctual' cannot occur on a verb like *shuvo*: 'to wait', (hence *shuvo-ri*) which is inherently durative.\(^{134}\) *-rl* occurs with verbs like *usha*: 'finish', *lloqshi*: 'come out of', etc.

*-*ra*: (which is glossed 'state') marks 'durative aspect', i.e., the event/situation is presented as having persisted over a significant amount of time. For example, *puñu-ra-ya-yka-n* (sleep-state-impfv-3) 'he is sleeping/he remains asleep' differs from *puñu-ya-yka-n* (sleep-impfv-3) 'he is sleeping' in emphasizing that the sleeper is sleeping for an extended period.

In my corpus *-ra:* is attested with the following sorts of verbs.\(^{135}\)

\(^{134}\)Presumably one cannot wait unless one passes some significant amount of time in doing so.

\(^{135}\)Note that *-ra*: 'state' may passivize the verb to which it is suffixed: see section 11.1.2.
1. Verbs (and even substantives) which state characteristics: *qarwa-ra:* 'to be toasted/yellow' (cf. *qarwa* 'to toast'), *yanai-ra:* 'to be black' (cf. *yanai* 'black'),

2. Verbs stating some static relationship: *chari-ra:* 'to be holding onto' (cf. *chari* 'to grab'), *laga-ra:* 'to be stuck to' (cf. *laga* 'to stick to'), *kama-ra:* 'to be attractive/fitting', *wata-ra:* 'to be tied to' (cf. *wata* 'to tie'), and *aaya:* 'to reach', as in the following example:

   Ayaa-ra: mu-n.
   reach-state-afar-3

   'It is reaching (to here).'
   (e.g. of a tree on the other bank of a river whose branches reach over to the bank where the speaker is)

3. Verbs which state some sort of emitting: *achikya-ra:* 'to shine/be shining (of a light)', *shana-ra:* 'to shine/be shining (of the sun)'.

4. Stative verbs: *ichi-ra:* 'to wait for' (cf. *ichi* 'to stand'), *hama-ra:* 'to be seated' (cf. *hama* 'sit/rest'). *la:ta-ra:* 'to be seated' (cf. *la:ta* 'to crawl'), *ankalla-ra:* 'to be lying flat on one's back', etc.

5. Verbs and substantives stating the inert position of some material: *gocha-ra:* 'to be puddled up' (cf. *gocha* 'lake'), *mashha-ra:* 'to be spread out' (cf. *mashha* 'to spread out'), *qo:ra:* 'to pile up' (cf. *qo:ta* 'pile')

### 9.5.3. Perfective-Imperfective and Punctual-Durative

- *rl* 'punctual' and *-yku* 'perfective' co-occur, and *-ra* 'state' and *-yka* 'imperfective' co-occur. However, *-rl* does not co-occur with *-yka* 'imperfective'. Nor does *-ra* 'state/durative' co-occur with *-yku* 'impact'.

   *-rl* - *yku* (punct-impact)
   *-rl* - *yka* (punct-impfv)
   *-ra* - *yku* (state-impact)
   *-ra* - *yka* (state-impfv)

The combinations *-rl* - *yku* and *-ra* - *yka* are very frequent: they will now be discussed briefly.

   *-ra* - *yka*: indicates the prolonged extension in time of some state or activity. In at some cases
   *-ra* - *yka*: presenting the situation as unduly or excessively prolonged, e.g.,
   *pu:nu-ra-yka-n* (sleep-stat-impfv-3) 'he is sleeping (an unusually long time)',
   *shuya-ra-yka-n* (wait-stat-impfv-3) 'he is waiting (a long time)'.

   *-yka*: 'impfv' alone never has this meaning.

   The suffixes *-rl* 'punctual' and *-yku* 'out' frequently co-occur in what will here be considered a single, fused unit. *-rl* - *yku* (which will be glossed 'sud' for 'suddenly'). It indicates that the action referred to by the verb is done suddenly, forcefully, intentionally, or is done so as to be finished with; e.g.,

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136 In cases like *qallə* - *rl* - *yka*: 'to be beginning to', arguably *-rl* is freezing as part of the verb root.

137 The high frequency of the co-occurrence of *-rl* and *-yku* is not accidental. A study of *-yku* showed that it is highly transitive, in Hopper and Thompson's [16] notion of transitivity. In particular, *-yku* is highly "perfective", contrasting with *-yka* 'imperfective'. Thus, co-occurrence with a marker of punctuality natural.
Kiki-n waaru-ri+ykU-chi-n awkin-qa.
self-3P kill-caus-adv old:man-TOP
Ruku-n-ta-shi kuchu-ri+ykU-n.
testicle-3P-OBJ-IND cut-sud-3.

'The old man himself kills him (in a surprising, violent way).
He cut off his testicles.'

Examples follow in which -ri+ykU is used primarily to indicate the speed with which something is accomplished:

Afila-pa:-ri+ykU-shu-nki.
sharpen-ben-sud-32-2

'He will sharpen it for you right now (without delay).'

Aywa-ri+ykU:-ri+y.
go-sud-plur-2IMP

'Go! (and come back without delay)'

Limyu-ka-plti-n qasa-q yaku-wan awi-ri+ykU-r maha-n.
clean be-adv-3P cold-sub water-COM rinse-sud-adv spread-3

'When they are clean, having rinsed them slightly with cold water, they spread them out (to dry).'

Whereas in the preceding cases -ri+ykU seemed to indicate the speed with which something was done—an aspectual use, in the following examples it seems to indicate notions like 'done on purpose' and 'forcefully'. These are different, but seem to be naturally related to the aspectual notion: perhaps the commonality is best expressed as 'unhesitating!', which depending on the contexts will be taken to mean 'swiftly', 'suddenly', 'intentionally', 'deftly', or 'forcefully'.

In 541 the fox is prancing about haughtily showing off. The effect of -ri+ykU is to suggest that he stepped on the frog on purpose:

...sape-ta haru-ri+ykU-n "cheq" ni-qpaq. "Sapu-ta-chi
frog-OBJ step-sud-3
frog-OBJ-CNJ

ima-ri+ykU:- haraa hahahaa" ni-r-shi: asi-ri+ykU-n.
what-3P step-sud-3
say-adv-IND laugh-sud-3

'...he steps right on a frog, with the result that is
says "croak." He laughs, saying, 'It seems I have stepped
on a frog, hahaa hahaa...'.

In 542 the situation is that the stooge has lodged the door in a tree, and is sleeping on top of it. An ordinary person might have accidentally stepped on the edge and dislodged it, but in 542 the effect of -ri+ykU is to indicate that it was done intentionally:

Upa-kuna-shi mashata-ri+ykU-sha pampa-man harina-ta...
stooge-plur-IND spread-sud-3PERF ground-GOAL flour-OBJ

'The stooges spread the flour out on the ground...!' (because
they did not know how to make bread)

...punku-pa kantu-n-ta-shi haru-ri+ykU-sha upa-qa.
...the stooge stepped on the edge of the door.

...the stooge stepped on the edge of the door.

(Consequently falling with it to the ground.)

An interesting use of -ri+ykU contrasting with the use of simply -ykU is seen in the climax and anti-climax of the story of the 'Four Musicians' (Cayco [4]). At the climax the cat scratches the man
raska-r usha-yku-n, the dog bites him amu-ku-rku-n, the donkey kicks him hayta-yku-n, and the
rooster crows *kakanakoo ni-ykU-mu-n*. Note that all but one of these has -ykU. When the man reports what happened to him, he exaggerates the incidents: an iron fisted man scratched *aspi-ri+yku-sha*, a man with a knife cut me *kuchu-ri+ykU-ma-sha*, a man with two wooden legs kicked me *haya-ykU-ma-sha*, a judge was yelling *gaya-rl+ykU-mu-n*. Note that in all but one case, he uses -rl+ykU, which serves to enhance the suddenness, swiftness, deftness and/or forcefulness with which these things were done.

### 9.5.4. Iterative

**Iterative** aspect indicates action occurring in repeated parts; a flag’s flapping in the wind would be iterative on the conception of it as recurring instances of the event “flap”. In HgQ, iterative aspect is often expressed with reduplication: see section 15.3. This section deals with three pre-transition suffixes which indicate iterativity: -ykacha, -kacha, and simply -cha:

- **ykacha**: and **-kacha**: both mean roughly ‘back and forth’. Although they are very close in meaning, there are minimal pairs in which they contrast; e.g.:
  - *kuyu-ykacha*: ‘to move back and forth from one place to another’
  - *kuyu-kacha*: ‘to rock or sway back and forth in one place’

In some cases one has been judged grammatical where the other is not; e.g.:

  - move-iter-caus-12IMP

- a. ‘Let’s make it move (back and forth).’
- b. ‘He sweeps it. a little here a little there.’

In other cases there seems to be no contrast; e.g.:

- *tamyə-(y)kacha*: ‘to drizzle’ (cf. *tamyə*: ‘to rain’)
- *qapara-(y)kacha*: ‘to yell (repeatedly)’ (cf. *qapara-*) ‘yell’

The following three examples illustrate **-ykacha**: ‘iter’:

- *Chay-pita paka-ykacha-y*:illa pa qespi-ku-qeq-.
  - that-ABL hide-iter-adv escape-refl-past-1
  - ‘After that I escaped, hiding here and there.’

- *Wiya-vkacha-yka-**:nki imay oora chayu-mu-sha-:ta-pis.
  - hear-iter-impfv-2 when time arrive-refl-sub-1P-obl-indef
  - ‘You will be listening for when I arrive.’

- *Chay-chaw lasta-vkacha-yka**:nki sapo noqa puri-ku-sha-: oora...
  - that-LOC crawl-iter-impfv-2 frog I walk-refl-sub-1 time
  - ‘You are crawling about there, frog, when I am taking my walk...’

The following examples illustrate **-kacha**: ‘iter’:

- *nana-kacha-n*
  - ‘it hurts at short intervals’ (cf. *nana-*: ‘to hurt’)

- *koorri-kacha-**:chi-
'to make to run around' (e.g. as a coach would make one run around a track) (cf. koorri- 'run')

puri-kacha- 'to wander about aimlessly' (cf. puri- 'travel. walk'); e.g.: 549
a. Chawras tapu-n-shi wachwa
then ask-3-IND goose
b. "...Imani-taq mana puri-kacha-nki qam?" why-?? not travel-iter-2 you
c. "Noqa puri-kacha- nka miku-nil-ta ashi-r" atoq ni-n.
I travel-iter-1 food-1P-OBJ seek-adv fox say-3

a. Then the goose asks.
b. "...Why don't you go away (i.e., wander off)?"
c. "I am going about (here and there) seeking my food" says the fox.

qati-kacha-
'to chase about'; e.g.: 550
Mishi qati-kacha-yka-sha ukush-ta.
cat chase-iter-impf-3perfil mouse-OBJ
'The cat was chasing the mouse about.'

-cha: 'repeatedly' indicates iterativity: it is very rare as an isolated suffix, having become co-lexicalized in several other suffixes:138 e.g., ĕipchi-cha- 'blink' (cf. ĕipchi- 'close the eye (slowly)').

9.5.5. -kaakU 'complete(ly)'

-kaakU 'complete(ly)' occurs with process verbs to indicate that the process was complete. -ka:kU both foreshortens and undergoes morphophonemic lowering: e.g., [pukayaka:kaché:] /puka-yachen-ka:kU-chi-:/ 'I cause it to become completely red'.

From a strictly distributional perspective it could be considered -ka: 'passive' followed by -kU 'reflexive'.139 Indeed, in some cases [-ka:kU] is really two suffixes (/ka:-kU/): e.g.:

...kondor-pa puyu-man kama-ka:-ku-n
condor-GEN jug-DOGGOAL arrange-pass-refl-3
'. . . he (the frog) puts himself into the condor's jug.'

And in some cases there is both a meaning of 'passive' and 'complete': e.g., in 552 the subject is shimin hirashan 'sewed mouth', but this is the logical object of rachi- 'to rip'. Nevertheless, the meaning of completeness is also present.

Chawra-qa shimin hira-sha-n rachi-kaak-ku-n.
so-TOP mouth-3P sew-sub-3P rip-compl-3
'So his sewed up mouth rips completely open.'
(i.e. it is not just a simple tear)

In this work -kaakU is treated as a single suffix because its meaning is unrelated (except perhaps


139 I do not know how diachetically limited -kaakU 'compl' is. It has not been reported outside of my work on HgQ. This may be due to the tendency in Quechua studies to "over-segment" coupled with the fact that -ka:kU is rather transparently derived from -ka:-kU, and thus it is always considered to be two suffixes.
-kaakU ‘complete(ly)’ [9.5.5]

historically) to -ka: ‘passive’ and -kU ‘reflexive’. Examples follow:

chaki-kaaku-sha

‘It completely dried out’ (cf chaki- ‘to dry’).

chwau-kaaku-ra-n

‘It came to full completion’ or ‘It completely stopped’. (cf. chawa- ‘to come to completion (e.g. in being cooked’)).

chukru-ya-kaaku-n

‘It becomes completely hard’ (cf. chukru ‘hard’).

huk-niraq-ya-kaaku-sha

‘His countenance fell (completely?)’ (cf. huk-niraq-ya:- ‘to become as another’ is an idiom for ‘become unhappy, disturbed...’)

pawka-kaaku-n

‘He comes completely to’ (cf. pawka- ‘to struggle to one’s senses (from being drunk or in a deep sleep’)).

pashto-kaakU-

‘to burst into bits’ (cf. pashto- ‘to burst’).

shullay-ya-kaakU- ‘to become completely wet with dew’, e.g.:


rain-pto-adv-3P dew-become-comp1-2PERF

‘When it rained briefly, everything became covered with drops of water.’

qeshya-kaakU-

‘to become very sick’ (i.e., more than a cold) (cf qeshya- ‘be sick’),

wauku-ka:kU-

‘to die’ (cf wauku- ‘to die, to become unconscious’).

wara-kaaku-sha

‘It has completely dawned (i.e., it is now day)’ (cf wara:- ‘to dawn’).

In some cases -kaakU seems to indicate the high intensity or degree to which the action expressed by the verb is carried out: e.g.:

mancha-kaakU- (be:afraid-comp) means ‘to be extremely afraid’ (cf. mancha- ‘to fear, to be surprised...’) as in the following:

Chawra-qa liyun-qa mancha-ri-kaaku-n-shi ‘kapas
Then-TOP lion-TOP fear-inc-comp1-3-IND surely

wauku-yku-chi-ma-shun” nishpe-n.
die-dir-cause-lobj-12FUT say-adv-3

‘Then the lion was really frightened saying “Surely he will kill us (incl)”’

puNU-kaakU- (sleep-comp) ‘go sound asleep’ (cf. puNU- ‘sleep’)

\[140\] However, in some cases, puNU-kaakU- means ‘to doze off.’
9.5.6. Aspect in Adverbial Clauses

Aspect markers used in temporal adverbial clauses may indicate the time of the adverbial clause relative to the time of the superordinate clauses. The following notation will be used to discuss this:

- T(adv) 'the time over which the event/situation conveyed by the adverbial clause obtains'
- T(main) 'the time over which the event/situation conveyed by the superordinate clause obtains'

-ra-yka: (stat-impfv) in the verb of the adverbial clause indicates that T(main) is coextensive with or included within T(adv). E.g., in 555 the singing and the going are coextensive:

Aywa-n kanta-ra-yka-r
go-3 sing-stat-impfv-adv 555

'He goes along singing.'

If -yku 'impact' or -rku 'up' occurs in the subordinate adverbial clause, then the favored reading is that T(adv) preceded T(main). E.g., the following contrasts -yku and -yka: following the verb gapara-'to yell':

a. Qapara-yku-r wañu-sha.
yell-impact-adv die-3PERF 556
b. Qapara-yka-r wañu-sha.
yell-impfv-adv die-3PERF

a. 'He yelled and thereupon he died.'
b. 'He died yelling.'

Further consider the following minimal pair (from Weber 1976:22):

a. Miku-rku-r aywa-ku-;
eat-up-adv go-refl-1 557
b. Miku-ra-yka-r aywa-ku-;
eat-stat-impfv-adv go-refl-1

a. 'Having eaten (immediately thereupon) I go.'
b. 'I eat as I go/while I am going.'

If -r'l- ykU 'sudden' occurs in the adverbial clause it suggests that the T(adv) and T(main) were the same instant; e.g.:

Kuchu-ku-rityku-r qapara-sha.
cut-refl-sud-adv yell-3PERF 558

'Right when he cut himself, he yelled.'

Pay aru-y-ta usha-rityku-pil-n noqa aru-y-ta
he work-inf-OBJ finish-sud-adv-3P I work-inf-OBJ 559

galla-yku-shka-;
begin-impact-perf-1

'Right when he finished working, I began to work (at the same moment).'
9.6. Transitivity Pre-Transition Suffixes

The suffixes discussed in this section (principally -pa: 'ben', -shi 'accompany', -chi 'causative') imply the involvement of one more participant than would otherwise be the case for the root/stem to which they are suffixed. For example, wānu- 'die' involves one participant, namely the one who dies: wānu-chi- (die-caus-) 'kill' involves two participants, the one who dies and whatever causes this; wānu-chi-pa:- (die-caus-ben-) 'cause to die for the benefit/detriment of' involves yet another participant, the one for whose benefit or detriment the object was killed.

The morphological reflection of this property is that these suffixes make the root/stem to which they are suffixed transitive, thereby allowing an overt object marker to follow. For example, wānu- 'die' is an intransitive verb (and thus cannot bear an object marker: *wānu-ma:-) but wānu-chi- 'kill' is a transitive verb and can be followed by an object marker: wānu-chi-ma:- 'kill me'.

Only one object marker (-ma: or shi) may occur in a word. When multiple participants are objects, which is morphologically indicated in the verb? For example, in 'He makes you work for me', would the object marker be first or second person, (to reflect the person of the benefactor or of the causative subject (respectively))? The rule of thumb is this: the object marker reflects the person of the participant brought by the nearest transitivity morpheme in the word. In aru-chi-pa:-OBJ- (work-caus-ben-OBJ-) 'cause to work for' nearest transitivity suffix to the object slot is -pa: 'benefactive', so the object reflects the person of the participant benefited: aru-chi-pa:-ma-n 'He makes you work for me'. To make explicit that he makes 'you' work (rather than someone else) would require an overt object phrase:

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Qam-ta aru-chi-pa:-ma-n.} \\
\text{you-OBJ work-caus-ben-} \rightarrow 1-3
\end{array}
\]

'He makes you work for me.'

9.6.1. -shi 'accompanyment'

-shi (which will be glossed 'accom') means 'to help or accompany in doing' whatever is indicated by the verb to which it is suffixed: e.g., in example 561 pukkan:-shi- means 'to accompany in play':

\[
\begin{array}{l}
pukkan:-shi-ma-y. \\
\text{play-accom-} \rightarrow 1-2IMP
\end{array}
\]

'Play on my team!' (lit. 'Accompany me in playing!')

The combination qo:-shi- 'give-accom-' is an idiom meaning 'to help'; it does not mean the literal 'accompany in giving'.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{qo:-shi-riku-y} \\
give-accom-asp-2IMP sir
\end{array}
\]

'Please help him, sir.' or 'Give him a hand here, sir.'

---

\footnote{This is because the structure of the transition only allows one object marker.}

143.
9.6.2. Benefactive

9.6.2.1. *-pa: ‘benefactive’

*-pa: means roughly ‘for the benefit or detriment of, affected’ and will be glossed simply ‘ben’.

The following are some of its characteristics:

1. *-pa: is a pre-transition suffix. It tends to rightward within the pre-transition zone, but some other pre-transition suffixes may follow. Among them -rl, -rl- -mu and the directionals (-ykJU, -rkJU, etc.)

2. *-pa: foreshortens; e.g., from achikya: ‘to shine, illuminate’ one gets /achikypa:may/ not */achikya:pa:may/ ‘illuminate it for me’. From melana: ‘to disgust’ one gets /melanapa:man/ ‘It disgusts him (to my detriment)”

3. *-pa: causes morphophonemic lowering: e.g., /qarqU-pa:-ma-y/ [garpapa:may] ‘expel it for me’.

4. The result of suffixing *-pa: is always a transitive verb stem: perfors another referent, a "benefactivee.” is involved. For example. michi: ‘to pasture’ but michi-pa:- ‘to pasture the animals of another’; shuya:-ma-y ‘wait for me’ but shuya-pa:-ma-y ‘wait for him on my behalf’

5. The object of the benefactive may be expressed with a noun phrase bearing either -ta ‘OBJ’ or -paq ‘PUR’. In either case, there may be another object expressing the object of the verb. For example:

a. Pay-ta
   he-OBJ
   aru-pa-yka-:
   karreta-eta.

b. Pay-paq
   he-PUR
   work-ben-impfv-1
   road-OBJ

‘I am working for him.’

143 E.g. if I want to feed him something but it disgusts him.
6. The person benefited must either be highly topical or known in the discourse context (he is often a principle participant in the discourse) or must be expressed by an overt noun phrase. This is in contrast to -pa ‘ben’ for which the object of benefit may be low in topicality or unexpressed.

Some sentences explicate how the benefactee is benefited; this is usually done with a purpose clause. For example, example 1326 says that a cord is tied (wata-pa-n tie-ben-3) to the deceased, for his benefit; the sentence then goes on to explain that this is so he may fend off any dogs which might attempt to bite him. As in examples this example and 568 and 569 below, if a verb with -pa: 'ben' is followed by a purpose clause, then with overwhelming frequency the subject of the purpose clause is coreferential to the object of benefactive.

\[ ... a\_i \text{isi-pa-}\_i \text{n} ... qaruti-\text{na-shi} \text{ chay-wan} p1\text{lia-na-n-paq...} \text{ prepare-ben-3 rod-OBJ-IND that-CON fight-sub-3P-PUR} \]
\[ ... he \_i \text{ prepares for him} _j \text{... rods so that he} _j \text{can fight him} _k \text{...} \]
\[ Mana \text{ regi-ma-} \text{pti-ki yupa-pa-} \text{shayki regi-na-yki-paq. not belief-} \text{>1-adv-2 count-ben-1>2PUT believe-sub-2P-PUR} \]
\[ 'If you don't believe me, I'll count them out for you so that you will believe.' \]

The following examples illustrate -pa: where the meaning is 'to the benefit of':

\[ Punku-\text{ta wichqa-pa-} \text{ku-ma-nki. door-OBJ close-ben-up>=1-2} \]
\[ 'Close up the door for me.' (said by someone who could not close the door for himself because he was carrying something) \]
\[ ... paka-yilla-pa puri-pa-nak-n-un. hide-adv travel-ben-recip-3 \]
\[ '... they get together on the sly.' (i.e., they travel to each other's benefit hidingly) \]
\[ Chawra-qa cha yaku-q-qa yupa-pa-n eskirbaanu... so-TOP that-enter-OBJ count-ben-3 scrivener \]
\[ 'So the scrivener counts them for that (person) who is entering (the office)...' \]

The following examples illustrate -pa: where the meaning is 'to the detriment of' the object:

\[ Juan ollgo-\text{pa-} \text{q Paulu-} \text{ta. John become:angry-ben-NRP Paul-OBJ} \]
\[ 'John became angry with Paul.' \]
\[ ... geshpi-pa-yuku-n hatun oosu-ta. escape-ben-impact-3 big bear-OBJ \]
\[ '... they escape from the big bear (who had been keeping them prisoner in a cave).' \]
\[ ... kampaneero suncha-pa wawa-n-man yayka-pa-yku-n. wasp-GEN child-3P-GOAL enter-ben-impact-3 \]
\[ '... he went (disruptively) into (the place of) the children of the kampaneero wasp.' \]
\[ Manachaaga aycha-ncchi-ta usha-pa-ma-shun. otherwise meat-12P-OBJ finish-ben>=1-12 \]
\[ 'Otherwise he will finish our meat up on us.' \]
aunt-1P-OBJ die-caus-ben-impact--->1-2 say-adv grab-3PERF

'Saying "You killed my aunt (to my detriment)" he grabbed him.'

-pa changes llulla- 'to lie' into llulla-pa- 'to deceive', e.g.:

Chay mana musya-q-kuna-ta llulla-pa-ñki.
that not know-sub-plur-OBJ lie-ben-2

'You deceive those who do not know.'

Of over 100 occurrences of the verb chaya- 'arrive' only two occurred with -pa: 'ben'; in both cases the subject is a protagonist who arrives with the intention of outdoing the main character:

Ni-yka-pit1-lla-n chaya-pa-yku-n leetu-q-nin kondor.
say-IMPF-ADV-just-3P arrive-ben-impact-3 litigate-sub-3 condor

'Just as he is saying that, the condor who is litigating (with him) arrives.'

Ni-yka-pit1-n-shi chaya-pa-rku-n ukumarya.
say-IMPF-ADV-3P-IND arrive-ben-up-3 bear

'As he is saying (doing) that, there arrives a bear.'

The following bit of text describes how various fathers may abuse a delegation which comes to ask for his daughter’s hand in marriage. Note the recurrence of -pa: 'ben' clearly indicating that the actions were to the detriment of the delegation:

Although they enter like that, some men are bad. They do not speak (parla-pa-n-chu speak-ben-3-NEG) for good. Seating them by the door, having gone inside, they do not come out (illoqhi-pa-mu-n-chu leave-ben-afar-3-NEG). Some men escape (geshi-pa-yku-n escape-ben-impact-3) to some other place, ...

In some cases -pa: adds the idea that some action was done intentionally rather than accidentally: e.g., in a text about a trickster who convinces a man that donkey skin can tell vital information, the trickster taps it with his foot. The verb is loopa-pa-sha (tap-ben-3PERF). Without -pa: this might have been taken to mean that he bumped it (accidentally).

A related case: -pa: sometimes adds that something should be done with care: e.g. in describing the weaving of a poncho.

Awha-wan mashta-nchi maytu tinku-chi-pa-y+lla+pa
needle-COM spread-12 very meet-cause-ben-ADV

'We spread it with a needle very evenly.' (i.e., the warp threads are very evenly laid out on the loom)

Mishki-chi-pa-y+lla+pa miku-y!
eat-cause-ben-ADV eat-ZIMP

'Eat savoring the flavor of it.'

...moqo-y-ta qalla-yku-nchi... kuchillu-wan kchu-pa-y+lla+pa.
DISJOINT-INF-OBJ begin-impact-12 knife-COM cut-ben-ADV

'...we begin to separate the joints...carefully cutting with a knife.'

A final observation: Some verbal roots seem to be neither transitive nor intransitive, but depend on a following suffix--either -pa: 'ben' or -kU 'refl'--to dictate transitivty. For example, hati- 'to put (clothing) on' is intransitive with -kU (i.e., hati-kU- 'to dress one’s self') but transitive when followed by -pa: (i.e., hati-pa- 'to dress (another person)').
9.6.2.2. -pU ‘benefactive’

HgQ speakers readily recognize -pU ‘benefactive’, but rarely use it. -pU ‘benefactive’ seems to be completely synonymous with -pa: ‘benefactive’. i.e. it means ‘to the benefit or detriment of’.\(^{144}\)

Evidence seems to indicate that -pU may either foreshorten or not.\(^{145}\) For example, the root shuya- has length, as shown in 583a and 585b, yet this length is not obligatorily foreshortened by -pU as shown in 585c and 585d:

a. Shuya-:ma-y. (wait-\(\Rightarrow\)1-2IMP)  \[585\]
b. *Shuya-:ma-y. (wait-\(\Rightarrow\)1-2IMP)  
c. Shuya-:pu-n. (wait-ben-3)  
d. Shuya-:pu-n. (wait-ben-3)  
a. 'Wait for me!'  
c.d. 'He waits for him (for someone else's benefit)'

It seems that -pu and -pa are unconditioned variants (with perhaps the restriction that -pu does not occur before a suffix which cases morpho-phonemic lowering).

a. Kuya-:pu-shayki. 
   love-ben-1\(\Rightarrow\)2FUT  \[586\]
b. Kuya-:pa-:shayki. 
   love-ben-1\(\Rightarrow\)2FUT  
a. 'For you, I will love it.'  
b. 'I will feel compassion for you.'

c. *Oo-:yku-:pu-:shu-nki. (give-impact-ben-\(\Rightarrow\)2-2)  
d. *Oo-:yku-:pa-:shu-nki. (give-impfv-ben-\(\Rightarrow\)2-2)  
a.b. 'For you, I will give it to him.'

-pU ‘benefactive’ occurs with ka- ‘be’: e.g., kapogvoq ‘a rich person, one who has much’. Other examples:

Gam-pa ca-gu-shu-nki-chu?  
you-GEN be-ben-\(\Rightarrow\)2-2-YN?  \[588\]
'Do you have one?'
(lit. 'Does yours exist to your benefit?)

Y mayu-man hita-pu-shu-na-yki ka-yka-pta-n-qa...  
and river-GOAL throw-ben-\(\Rightarrow\)2-sub-2P be-impfv-adv-3P-TOP  \[589\]
'and when he is about to throw you (to your detriment) into the river...'

a. rura-:pa-shayki (do-ben-1\(\Rightarrow\)2FUT)  
b. rura-:pu-shayki (do-ben-1\(\Rightarrow\)2FUT)  
c. rura-:pa-:shayki (do-ben-1\(\Rightarrow\)2FUT)  
a. and b. 'I will do it for you.' (right away)  
c. 'I will do it for you' (sometimes, perhaps tomorrow)

\(^{144}\) In particular, I have not found in HgQ subtle contrasts between -pa: and -pU like those reported by Parker [28], page 52.

\(^{145}\) 'Foreshortening' is discussed in section 23.8.13.1.
9.6.2.3. -pa ‘benefactive’

The suffix -pa ‘ben’ is very much like -pa: ‘ben’ in form, meaning and distribution. (Indeed, there are contexts where it is impossible to tell which occurs.) It differs in form in that it does not have an underlying long vowel. It is similar in morphophonemic properties in that it causes foreshortening and morphophonemic lowering. It differs in distribution in occurring much earlier in the pre-transition zone than -pa:; to see this consider examples 591 and 592. In 591 either -pa or -pa: may occur; in 592 only -pa: may occur because the presence of other pre-transition suffixes has pushed the benefactive rightward beyond where -pa is allowed:

a. allcha-pa-shayki (fix-ben-1>>2FUT)
b. allcha-PA-shayki (fix-ben-1>>2FUT)

'I will fix it for you.'

c. allcha-ka:-chi-pa:-ma-y
   fix-pass-caus-ben-3>>1-2IMP

d. *allcha-ka:-chi-pa:-ma-y
   fix-pass-caus-ben-3>>1-2IMP

'Cure him for me.'

There is a significant discourse-pragmatic difference between -pa and -pa:. With -pa:, the person benefited is either stated as an overt noun phrase or it is highly topical/thematic in the discourse. (Usually it is one of the principle participants.) But -pa is often used when the person benefited is not highly topical. It need not be mentioned. In fact it might not be known. or it might be for the "general good."

In many cases the addition of pa indicates some of the ‘institutional’ carrying out of some action; in a sense this changes some action into an activity. For example, the following refer not simply to the action of e.g., weeding but to the activity of weeding:

achu-pa: ‘to weed’ from achu- ‘to pull up’.
kuti-pa: ‘to do the second corn cultivation’ from kuti- ‘to return’,
tira-pa: ‘to cultivate’ from tira- ‘to throw’.

And the following (drawn from a description of burial) refer not simply to an action of e.g. lighting a candle, but to lighting a candle in honor of the deceased, and as part of the sequence of activities that must be carried out in a proper burial:

achki-pa: ‘to light, illuminate’ from achki- ‘light’.
birsu-pa: ‘to sing’ from birsu- ‘religious verse’,
kanta-pa: ‘to chant (for deceased)’ from kanta- ‘to sing’; e.g.:
   Chay tapay-chaw huk kantur kanta-pa-n warayllata.
   that wake-LGC one cantor sing-ben-3 all night
   ‘At that wake a cantor sings all night.’

sindi-pa: ‘to light a candle (in honor of someone)’ from sindi- ‘to light’, and

   tuka-pa: ‘to play music (as part of ceremony)’ from tuka- ‘to play music’.

Other examples of -pa:

   chari-pa: ‘to rape’ from chari- ‘to grab’. 
huti-n-ta chura-pa-

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146 This may have either -na OBJ or -paq PUR as the case marker.
-pa 'benefactive' [9.6.2.3]

'to name' from chura- 'to put' and huti 'name'.

hitap-a- 'to cast blame on' from to throw.

muna-pa- 'to crave' from muna- 'to want',
pukilla-pa- 'to tease' from pukilla- 'to play',
qoya-pa- 'to stay much longer than appropriate' from qoya- 'to pass time',
raki-pa- 'to distribute' from raki- 'to separate, divide', and
wiqa-pa- 'to throw over (to its death)' e.g.:

then that-OBJ water-GOAL throw-Bn-pqet-impact-1FUT

'Then I will throw that one into the water (that he die there).'

9.6.2.4. -pari 'momentarily'

I suspect that the combination of -pa: 'ben' and -pact 'pact' is becoming a single suffix -pari, in which the benefactive meaning is considerably diminished (although, as a study of the examples below will show, still present). -pari will be glossed 'moment'. Examples follow:

Tupu-pari-n.
ask-moment-3

'He enquires briefly.'

Miku-pari-shaq.
eat-moment-1FUT

'I will eat a little (and then be done).'

Chaki-pari-chun.
be: dry-moment-1IMP

'May it be really dry (so leave it a bit longer?)'

Hama-pari-shun.
sit/rest-moment-12IMP

'Let's rest a bit.'

Unchu-pa: pari-shun pampa-11a-chaw-pis.
squat-moment-12IMP ground-just-LOC-indef

'Let's squat for a moment, even though it is just on the ground.'

Kiki-n rika-pari-sha-n-chaw regi-sha.
self-3P see-moment-sub-3P-LOC know-3PERF

'When he himself looked intently at him, he recognized him.'

(It seems that in example 600 rika-pari means roughly 'to focus one's vision intently on'.)

9.6.3. -chi 'causative'

For a verb φ which means Φ, the meaning of φ-chi- (Φ-caus-) is CAUSE(Φ) or ALLOW(Φ).

Many cases of -chi meaning 'cause' are seen below. The following illustrate the meaning 'allow':

Pukilla-chi-ma-y.
play-caus-1-12IMP

'Let me play.' (e.g. on your team, in your game)
-chi 'causative' [9.6.3]

Mana pi-ta-pis yayku-chi-n-chu.
not who-OBJ-indef enter-caus-3-NEG

'He doesn't let anyone enter.'

...fma-paq-na-tag kawa-chi-shun-pis...
what-PUR-now-?? live-caus-12FUT-indef

'...why do we allow it to continue living...'

-chi 'caus' tends to occur far to the right in the pre-transition zone.147 Sometimes preceding aspect suffixes refer to the temporal nature of causation (and sometimes to that of the caused event). For example, in wahu-rI+ykU-chi-n (die-sud-caus-3) the aspect suffix(es), indicating suddenness or forcefulness, refer not to the caused event--dying--but to the causation--the act of killing.

9.6.3.1. Grammatical relations and causatives

When causativized, the subject of an intransitive verb becomes an object: e.g., in 604a noqa 'I is the subject whereas in 604b it is the object:

a. Noga puñu-.
   sleep-1

b. Noga-ta puñu-chi-ma-n.
   1-OBJ sleep-caus-3-3

a. 'I sleep'
   b. 'It makes me sleep.'

In 605, the members of the community are the notional subject of qachwa- 'dance', but kumun-kuna 'members of the community' is the object of qachwa-chi-:

Orkista-pis quya-n kumun-kuna-ta qachwa-chi-r.
band-indef pass:day-3 community-plur-OBJ dance-caus-ADV

'The band passes the day making the members of the community dance.'

When a causativized intransitive verb is an infinitive object, its object may (and sometimes must) become the object of the superordinate verb. For example, in 606 the (logical) subject of sleep is 'you': this becomes the object of causative, but because -chi-shu-y-niki- is uncomfortable148 the object is marked in the superordinate clause:

Puñu-chi-y-ta muna-shu-nki.
sleep-caus-inf-OBJ want-3

'He wants to make you sleep.'

Example 607 (which strikes me as highly curious but which my language consultant insists is correct) literally says 'Want to make him sleep' but actually means 'Make him want to sleep':

Puñu-chi-y-ta muna-y.
sleep-caus-inf-OBJ want-2IMP

'Make him want to sleep.'

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147 -mu 'afar' and -pa: 'ben' follow -chi 'caus'; -chi is not strictly ordered with respect to e.g. -ykU: in wahu-chi-pa-ykU-ma-nki 'you killed it to my benefit/detriment' -chi precedes -ykU; in the example given in the text -chi follows -ykU. See 7.2.

148 In HgQ, possessive suffixes do not occur on infinitive complements.
When transitive verbs are causativized the situation is quite different: the subject of the causativized verb is indicated (optionally) by a substantive phrase bearing the comitative case marker -wan ‘COM’ and is not indicated morphologically in the verb. The object of the verb being causativized is marked as the object of the causative; e.g., in both 608a and b, the overt object phrase is noga-ta ‘1-OBJ’ and the object marking suffix is -ma: ‘=1’:

608

a. Gam noga-ta maqa-ma-n.
you 1-OBJ hit=1-3

b. Pay gam-wan noga-ta maqa-chi-ma-n.
you-COM 1-OBJ hit-caus=1-3

a. ‘You hit me.’
b. ‘He made you hit me.’

(Even if there is another substantive whose case marker is -wan ‘COM’, the subject of a transitive is marked with -wan; see 614 below.) Examples of causativized transitives follow:

609

Kawally-wan haru-chi-nchi tritigu-ta ñuchu-na-n-yaq.
horse-COM step-caus-12 wheat-OBJ come:loose-sub-3P-PUR

Nirkur wawra-wan apa-chi-nchi paaha-n-ta.
then wind-COM take-caus-12 straw-3P-OBJ

(describing threshing) ‘First we make the horses step on it until the wheat comes loose. Then we make the wind carry off the straw.’

610

Chay minisru-n-kuna-wan tuka-chi-n kabildu-chaw warayillata...
that minister-3P-plur-COM play-caus-3 chapel-LOC all:night

‘He makes his ministers play (music) all night in the chapel...’

611

...apa-chi-sha chay chihu-wan chicha-ta.
take-caus-3PERF that chinaman-COM chicha-OBJ

...‘he had the chinaman take the chicha (to her).’

612

...mayurdoomu willa-chi-n sirbinti-n-wan iskibaanu-ta...
majordomo tell-caus-3 servant-3P-COM scribe-OBJ

...‘the majordomo has his servant tell the scribe...’

There are exceptions to the rule that the subject of a causativized intransitive verb is marked as the object. "Phenomenological" verbs, i.e. verbs like tamye- ‘to rain’ and qasa:- ‘to be cold’ (in an ambient sense) are intransitive, but when causativized, the object is the person/object suffering the effect; e.g. speaking of the wind, one can say qasa:-chi-mar-chi (be: cold-caus. = >1-12) ‘it makes us cold’. There are also exceptions to the rule that one marks the object, rather than the subject, of causativized transitives. In 613 the subject of expel is wet(incl) and it becomes the object of the causativized verb.149

613

expel-caus.=1-12 worm-OBJ stomach-12P-ABL

‘It causes us to expel the worms from our stomachs.’
(speaking of a medicinal plant)

149 Transitive phenomenological verbs are not exceptional since the object will be marked whether or not it is causativized. ushma:- ‘to wet’ requires something wet as the subject. Speaking of rain, one can say ushma-sha-nki (wet-=2-2) ‘it will make you wet’. Speaking of a person (who, say. is about to throw water at you) one would say ushma-chi-sha-nki (wet-caus-=2-2FLT) he is going to make you wet.

150 Perhaps this is so in example 613 because we don’t really act upon the worms.
9.6.3.2. Double causative

Double causatives are rare but possible; e.g.: ¹⁵¹

Kuru-ta wañu-chi-chi-sha Juan-wan macheeti-n-wan.
snake-OBJ die-caus-caus-3PERF John-COM machete-3P-COM

'He made John kill the snake with his machete.'

(But see the examples of section 9.6.4 below, where it seems a double causative is avoided.)

9.6.3.3. Idiomatic uses of -chi 'causative'

Quechua has a relatively small number of roots, these being multiplied by pre-transition suffixes such as -chi which modify the total meaning.¹⁵² In some cases the meaning is a straight-forward product of the root/stem and the suffix: in others it is not. The meaning of some causativized verbs is not a simple product of -chi 'causative' and the root/stem which it follows. In the following, the meaning of the causative is not simply CAUSE(Φ) or ALLOW(Φ) (where Φ is the meaning of verb/stem):

*ka-chi* (be-caus-) 'to have', e.g.:¹⁵³

Mana papa-ta _ka-chi:i-na-chu._
not potato-OBJ be-caus-1-now-NEG

'I don't have any potatoes now.'

*mishki-chi-pa:* (sweet-caus-ben-) 'to savor'

*nootch-chi:* 'pass the night (in vigil, particularly in a particular fiesta)' from *noochi* 'night'

*penqa-ka:* 'to shine in one's eye', e.g.:¹⁵⁴

Nawi:i-ta penqa-ka:chi:i.
eye-1P-OBJ be:ashamed-pass-caus-3

'It shines in my eye.'

¹⁵¹The following is not a double causative, but simply the repetition of -chi 'caus' in an infinitive and the verb to which it is subordinate:

*Rika-ykU-chi-pi-ti-n allpa-ta uchku-chi-y-ta*
see-impact-caus-adv-3 ground-OBJ dig-caus-inf-OBJ

*qalla-ykU-chi-n.*
begin-impact-caus-3

'When he shows it (the plot) to them, they have them begin to dig (the grave).'


¹⁵³*ka-chi* 'cause to be' can also be used with complements. e.g., *wamra-yaq ka-chi* (child-without be-caus-) 'to cause to be childless'.

¹⁵⁴*mancha-chi* (be:frightened-caus-) can be used with roughly the same meaning as *penqa-ka:*.
Idiomatic uses of -chi 'causative' [9.6.3.3]

puloq-ya:-chi
'to stir violently' (water so that it makes the sound "puloq")
puri-chi
'to take about (some inanimate object)' (from puri- 'walk, travel')
geshpi-chi (escape-caus) 'to release' e.g. a tree which has too many young fruits releases them (self-pruning).
goya:-chi (pass.time-caus) 'persists' e.g.:

Qoya:-chi-n kapas tanyo.
pass.time-caus-3 perhaps rain

'The rain will perhaps persist all day.'

rispita-chi (respect-caus) 'to acknowledge the authority of', e.g. shepherds who have been punished by the town official for not keeping the animals out of the crops must kiss his staff.

rura-chi (do-caus) 'to sponsor' e.g., miso-n-ta rura-chi (mass-3P-OBJ do-caus) 'to sponsor a mass in his honor'
taapa-chi (cover-caus) 'to keep vigil (at a wake)' (This probably originated as a reference to covering the casket but now refers to the whole custom of which that act is but a small part.)
tinku-chi (encounter-caus) has two meanings:
'to compare, to measure up to' e.g.:
Kay-man tinku-chi-sha.
this-GOAL encounter-cause-3PERF

'He measured it against (compared it to) this one.'

'to carry out some action along a path up to some point' e.g.:
Tinku-chi-nchi X-man qasha-ylla-pa.
meet-caus-12 X-GOAL slash-adv

'We slash until the cut meets X.'
tuma-chi (go:about-caus) 'to parade' e.g.:
...santu-ta tuma-chi-n inteeru kalli-n-pa...
saint-OBJ go:about-caus-3 all street-3P-GEN

'...they parade the saint through all the streets...''

ushu-chi (dance-caus) 'to bounce (a child) on one's lap'
usaha-chi (finish + caus) 'baptize' is probably no longer considered a causative, because of the considerable difference between 'cause to finish' and 'baptize'; usha+chi might have originated from ushma-chi (wet-caus), which is the form in the neighboring dialect of Pachitea.

"weq weq" ni-chi:
'to stick a pig' (lit 'to make it squeal')

wiya-ra:-chi:
'to hold up, interrupt a process' (wiya-ra:- means roughly 'to desist from doing momentarily')

Some verbs are both intransitive and transitive, the transitive being understood as the causative of the intransitive. In these cases -chi may be optional: e.g., qanra- can be transitive: 'to soil, to make dirty' or intransitive: 'to be soiled/dirty'
9.6.4. -cha: 'make'

-cha: 'make' was probably long ago a fully productive causative marker, but it now shows very limited productivity. -cha: 'make' is roughly equivalent to 'cause to become': e.g.,

allcha- 'fix' from alli-cha- (good-make-)
llanu-cha- 'to make thin/fine (as when spinning)' from llanu 'thin (of long, cylindrical things)'.
llawchi-cha-
'sharpen' from llawchi 'sharp (having a pointed end)' and -cha: 'make'.

In most cases -cha:- is equivalent to -ya: followed by -chi; e.g.,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Chakra-}&: \text{ta} \\
\text{field-1P-OBJ} & \quad \{\text{hatun-cha-pa-}{:}\text{-ma-sha}. \\
& \quad \text{big-make-ben-}{:}\text{-}1-3\text{PERF}
\}
\end{align*}
\]

'He enlarged my field for me.'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Hiwa-}&: \text{yanu-cha-} \\
\text{fire curly} & \quad \{\text{-ya-yka-}{:}\text{-chi-} \\
& \quad \text{bec-impfv-caus}
\}
\end{align*}
\]

n aqcha-yta.

3 hair-3P-OBJ

'The fire is making his hair curly.'

However, the following shows that -cha: and -ya::...-chi- are not always-interchangeable.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ruyru-} & \quad \text{round} \\
\text{chi-} & \quad \text{mak-impf}
\end{align*}
\]

'I make him make it round.'

9.7. Reflexive and Reciprocals

The reflexive suffix -kU is discussed in section 9.7.1 and the reciprocal suffix -nakU in section 9.7.2.

9.7.1. Reflexives

In its strictly reflexive sense, -kU restricts the reference of the object relative to the subject; this use is discussed in section 9.7.1.1. -ku 'refl' has many extended uses with roughly the sense 'for the benefit of self': these are discussed in section 9.7.1.2.

\[155\] *llawchi* may in turn be derived from *llaw-chi* (ouch-caus).

\[156\] This probably reflects a preference to avoid a double causative.
9.7.1.1. Reference restricting uses of -ku 'refl'

In the truly reflexive use, -ku 'refl' indicates that the object and the subject are the same (refer to the same thing): e.g., in 625 the object and subject of 'kill' are the same person.\(^{157}\)

\[
\text{(kiki-n) wa:\text{-}ku-r\text{-}a-n.} \\
\text{self-3p die-cause-refl-past-3}
\]

'He (himself) killed himself.'

In a text on bathing, bathing one's self is always expressed with -ku (arma-ku-n (bathe-refl-3) 'he bathes (himself)') while bathing a child never does (arma-n (bathe-3) 'he bathes (him)').

9.7.1.2. Extended uses of -ku 'refl'

-ku 'refl' occurs very frequently with a wide range of verbs with rather diffuse meaning. I have little to say about these cases: a good discussion is Swissonhem's appendix in Pantoja [25]. I will limit my comments to what I regard as the most widespread use of -ku, that to mean 'for the benefit/detriment of self'.

To express 'for the benefit/detriment of x', one generally uses -pa: 'ben' followed by an object marker to indicate the person of the beneficiary: see 626a-e:

a. -pa:-ma... (ben-\text{-}incl) benefit/detriment' 626
b. -pa:-shu... (ben-\text{-}2nd) benefit/detriment'

c. -pa:-O... (ben-\text{-}3rd) benefit/detriment'

d. -pa:-nakU... (ben-recip) benefit/detriment'

Note in particular that, as shown by 626d, it is possible to indicate mutual benefit by following -pa: 'ben' with -nakU 'reciprocal'. However, it is not possible to follow it with -ku 'reflexive' to indicate 'for one's own benefit'; see 627a.\(^{158}\) Rather, one uses simply -ku 'refl':

a. *-pa:-ku... (ben-refl) benefit/detriment'

9.7.2. Reciprocal

-nakU 'recip' is a pre-transition suffix. It may occur in various orders with other pre-transition suffixes: see example 297 and the discussion with it. Four uses of the reciprocal will be discussed:

(1) the truly reciprocal (reference restricting), (2) the reciprocal of distributed activity, (3) the reciprocal as a distributed reflexive, and (4) as a modifier of the meanings of certain verbs.

9.7.2.1. Each other

-nakU 'reciprocal' restricts the reference of the object in the following way: for every entity referred to by the subject, the relationship expressed by the predicate holds between that entity and every other entity referred to by the subject. This is clearest when the subject comprises just two entities. For example, in 628 the subject of tapu 'ask' is understood as the fox and the frog:

\[\text{157} \text{This is not due to having kiki/'self' as the object, since it is now more an emphatic than a reflexive pronoun.}\]

\[\text{158} \text{The sequence -pa:} = ku is acceptable as a verbal pluralizer: see section 9.4.}\]
"Ima-taq rura-nki?" tapu-naku-n.
what-? do-2 ask-recip-3

'They ask each other, "What are you doing"'

In 628 -nakU 'recip' indicates that the frog asks the fox what he is doing and the fox asks the frog what he is doing.

Other example: of simple reference-restricting reciprocals:
Y ni-naku-n "kanan musya-ka-nchi qam o noq..."
and say-recip-3 now know-pass-12 you or me

'And they say to each other, "Now we will know (which of us is the more powerful), you or me..."'

Chay-kuna ishka-n kuya-naku-n.
That-plur two-3P love-recip-3

'The two of them love each other.'

...linda-ta qechu-naku-r... leetu-naku-n,
boundary-OBJ take:from-recip-3 litigate-recip-3

'...taking the boundary back and forth they battled each other (in legal battles)'

...hama-rpa-yka-n achka-q mas mayur runa-kuna-wa...
sit-stat-impfv-3 many-human more senior man-plur-COM

kargu yayku-q-ta ashi-shi-naku-na-n-paq.
cargo enter-sub-OBJ seek-accom-recip-sub-3P-PUR

'...they sit with many of more respected men... in order to accompany one another in seeking someone to enter the office.'

The scope of -nakU 'recip' (i.e., what it applies to) is sometimes more than a single root/stem. For example, in 628 the quote forms a constituent with the root tapu 'ask': the reciprocal is added to this entire constituent:

["Ima-taq rura-nki?" tapu-naku-
what-? do-2 ask-recip-]

A similar case is discussed in section 14.3.3: see example 1329, 286.

When the subject of a reciprocal comprises more than two entities, it usually does not mean literally that each member did something to every other member. For example, 634 does not mean that every tooth hit every other one:

Kiri-n-pis taka-naku-n.
teeth-3P-indef strike-recip-3

'His teeth clatter.' (lit. 'strike each other')

Three exceptional cases will be discussed: the activity is done in a distributed fashion by the group, the activity is done by each member to himself, or the members do some activity mutually, that activity being something slightly more/different than the simple activity suggested by the verb done one to the other.

9.7.2.2. Reciprocal of distributed mutual activity
In the following examples, the action indicated by the verb to which -nakU is suffixed is performed by some members of a group on other members of the group: that is, that activity is distributed among members of the group, and not necessarily performed by each member on all
9.7.2.3. Reciprocal as a distributed reflexive

In some cases the reciprocal is used of a group to suggest that each does something to himself:

e.g.:

```
...mayu-pita punta-yaq chura-naku-yku-n...
river-ABL peak-LIM place-recip-impact-3

...they place themselves from the river to the peak...
(actualy, each frog puts himself in a hole)
```

9.7.2.4. Extended meanings

The reciprocal combines with some verbs to mean something more/different than expected:

e.g.:

- **chari-nakU**- (grab-recip) 'to take each other by the hand (e.g. to form a circle holding hands)'
  
  ```
  ...llapan chari-nakU:ri-r tumapa-n inteeriu
  all grab-recip-asp-plur-adv go:around-3 entire
  
  kantu-n-pa.
  edge-3P-GEN
  
  "...they all go around (the tree) hand in hand."
  ```

- **llalli-nakU**- (beat:in:competition-recip) 'to race'

  ```
  Senor Sapo. llalli-nakU-shun punta-mana.
  mister frog beat-recip-12 peak-GOAL
  
  'Mister Frog, let's race to the peak.'
  ```

- **rina-nakU**- (speak-recip) 'to argue'

- **shuna-nakU**- (gather-recip) 'to congregate'

- **ashir-nakU**- (search-recip) in example 641 refers to the formal procedure by which a couple become engaged and married:

  ```
  Chakra runa-kuna parla-sha-n hukilla mana ashi-nakU-n-chu.
  rural man-plur speak-sub-3 right:away not seek-recip-3-M6G
  
  'Rural people don't seek (to get married) right upon having agreed to.'
  ```

- **puri-pa-nakU**- (travel:ben-recip) 'to rendezvous'

- **puri-pa-nakU**- (travel:ben-recip) 'to rendezvous'
9.8. Other Pre-transition Suffixes

This section deals with other pre-transition suffixes, ones that do not fit into any of the classes discussed above.

9.8.1. -na: ‘desiderative’

-na: ‘desiderative’ is used in two cases. First, it is used with bodily functions:

chiwlla-na:- to need to urinate (cf. chiwlla- ‘to urinate’).

ishpa-na:- to need to urinate (cf. ishpa- ‘to urinate’).

miku-na:- to be hungry (cf. miku- ‘to eat’).

puñu-na:- to be sleepy (cf. puñu- ‘to sleep’): e.g.:

Puñu-na- chi-shu-nk1. sleep-desid-caus-impv-3

‘It will make you sleepy.’

“Bodily Function” would not include things like combing one’s hair: 645 is not a suitable way to say ‘He wants to comb his hair’:

*Naqcha-ku-na-yka-n. comb-refl-desid-impv-3

‘He wants to comb his hair.’

Second. -na: ‘desiderative’ is used with expressions about the weather:

looku-na:- to "want" to rain furiously (cf. looku tanya ‘torrential rain’).

geshya-na:- (of the sky) to be clouded over (cf. geshya- ‘to be sick’). e.g.:

Qeshya-na-sha qoya-yka-n chakay tama-rku-r. sick-desid-prtc pass:day-impv-3 night rain-asp-adv

‘All day it is clouded over, having rained last night.’

tamya-na:- (of the sky) to be as though about to rain (cf. tamya- ‘to rain’).

159 Correct would be:

Naqcha-pa-y-ta muna-ku-yka-n. comb-ben-inf-OBJ want-refl-impv-3

‘He wants to comb his hair.’
9.8.2. -pakU ‘diffuse’

-pakU modifies the meaning of the root to which it is attached to indicate that it is not directed toward a particular object, but diffusely directed toward multiple objects. -pakU shifts the focus from the goal/object of an activity to the activity itself; e.g.:

aru-pakU- ‘to work here and there, not for any particular person or at any particular task’ (cf. aru- ‘work’). An arupakug is a day laborer.

ashi-pakU- ‘scavenger (i.e. searching for anything useful)’ (cf. ashi- ‘search, seek’).

mallwa-pakU-
'take the mid-afternoon coca break, i.e. to rest’ (cf. mallwa- ‘to chew coca (mid-afternoon)’).

puri-pakU- ‘to go about (for some good reason)’ (cf. puri- ‘walk’); e.g.:

ka-n mayur runa-kuna wakin rispita-sha-n,
be-3 older man-plur other respect-sub-3P

Chay runa-kuna simri balุมintu puri-paku-n,
that man-plur always representative travel-diff-3

'There are older men who are respected by others. Those men always go about as representatives (e.g. representing a suitor’s clan to the bride’s clan).

ranti-pakU-
'shop (i.e., to purchase a number of different things, perhaps in various places)’ (cf. ranti- ‘buy’).

tuka-pakU- ‘to play music here and there’ (cf. tuka- ‘play (a musical instrument)’). tuka-pakU- does not refer to the playing of music itself, but to the way a musician a tukapakug goes from fiesta to fiesta to earn his living.

As in the following examples. when an overt object phrase occurs with a verb bearing -pakU, that substantive is plural: this is because the activity is diffusely directed to the collection rather than individually directed toward a single object. The subject of 648 is a bad woman who is more interested in what her husband has brought her from his trip than in his being home; the effect of -pakU is to portray her greedily tearing into the various bundles:

...paska-paku-q haku-n-kuna-te ima-ta,
untie-diff-nar shawl-3P-plur-OBJ what-OBJ

'...she would begin to untie her shawls and whatever (that her husband had brought her)'

...qellay-nin-ta-shi yupa-paku-rke-yka-sha...
money-3P-OBJ-IND count-diff-plur-impv-3PERF

'...they counted their money...'

9.8.3. -qtu ‘pretend’

-qtu means 'to pretend'; e.g.:

Asi-qtu-ku-n.
laugh-pretend-refl-3

'He pretends to laugh.'

Yanqa-lla mutu-qtu-ka-ma-mki.
in:wa:n-just chop-pretend-refl-3>1-2

'Pretend to chop me, but do so without force.'
-qiu 'pretend' [9.8.3]

-qiu has arisen by the collapse of -g 'agentive' and the verb tuku- 'to pretend to'. Following the collapse, the /ku/ of tuku- has been re-analyzed as -kU, and so undergoes morphophonemic lowering.

9.8.4. -chakU 'concentratedly'

-chakU 'concen' (for 'concentratedly') adds to a verb of cognition or perception that more concentration is invested than normal. For example, yarpa- 'to remember' may involve no concentration at all, but yarpa-chakU- 'to think about' does require an effort. Similarly, rika- 'see, look' requires no exertion, whereas rika-chakU- 'to look intently at, to study visually' does.

-chakU 'concen' causes foreshortening and undergoes morphophonemic lowering; e.g. example 652a shows that the final vowel of yarpa- is undergoing long, and 652b shows that it is foreshortened by -chakU:

   remember-caus-1-2

   remember-concen-caus-1-2

652

a. 'You will remind me.'
b. 'You will make me think.'

9.8.5. -lla: 'polite'

-lla: 'polite' indicates politeness. Not surprisingly it co-occurs frequently with -ykU 'impact', which also indicates politeness (see section 9.2.4.4); e.g.:

Tayta lindu mishti. qam-pita ka-yku-lla1-chun.

653

sir pretty white you-ABL be-impact-pol-1-2IMP

'The esteemed one, may it belong to you.'

Tiyu-y kondor, horqu-ykU-lla1-ma-y aari.

654

uncle-voc kondor remove-impact-pol-1-2IMP

'Uncle kondor, please take me out of here.'

It occurs in many greetings and leave-taking, e.g.:

a. Aywa-lla-:
   go-pol-1

b. Aywa-lla-y-raq.
   go-pol-2IMP-yet

655

a. 'I am going.'
b. 'Go on then.'

Paasa-lla-mu-shka-:
pass-pol-atfar-perf-1

656

'I have come in (i.e. passed in from outside).'

656 is spoken (in a folk tale) by a villain who is about to take over the town; his use of -lla:

160 Huaraz (Ancash) Quechua also has the collapsed form. In many Quechua languages tuku- is still a separate word.

161 It occurs with very few verbs: it is not a productive suffix.
'polite' is--I believe--very sarcastic:

Wara-kuna shunta-rku-lla:-na-mi.
tomorrow-plur gather-asp-pol-1-now-DIR

'One of these days soon, I will take it.'

-lla: 'polite' should be compared to the polite use of -lla 'just', which occurs on substantives and adverbs; see section 19.1.
10. CASE AND GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

10.1. Introduction to Case

A case marker indicates the relationship between (i) the substantive to which it is suffixed, and either (ii) the verb of the clause in which that substantive occurs, or (iii) another substantive (overt or implicit) in the same clause. Case and case-like suffixes are of roughly three kinds:

1. those which indicate the relationship of a substantive to a verb: subjects, objects, locatives, goals, limitative, and purpose,
2. those which may also be used to express substantive-substantive relations: (i) genitive, e.g., *Hwan-pa maki-n* (John-GEN hand-3P) 'John's hand' and (ii) comitative, e.g. *Hwan-wan Pablu* (John-COM Paul) 'John and Paul'.
3. those which are most adverbia: similarity and manner. There is no clear boundary between these and the other case markers: both "modify" (at least in some extended sense) the verb or clause of which it is a part. Some cases could be considered either adverbs or cased substantive phrases; e.g., *achka-ta* (much-ACC) is clearly an adverb in examples such as *achka maqamasha* 'He hit me a lot' and *achkata puriykan* 'He travels a lot'.

For each case marker, this chapter contains a comprehensive survey of its use. The discussion is organized along the lines of the three just-mentioned kinds of case marker.

10.2. Subject

Quechua is a language for which the category/relation SUBJECT plays a major role in the grammar. This section deals with ways that the grammar is sensitive to the category of subject.

There are no formal coding devices by which subjects can be uniquely identified. Word order is very free in Quechua (particularly in main clauses) and therefore cannot be relied upon to identify the subject of a clause. Word order might be an adequate basis on which to define the subjects in doubly (or more greatly) embedded clauses because the more embedded a clause is, the more rigidly SOV it tends to be (see Weber [38] pg. 36ff): however, these cases make up only a very small percentage of all clauses.

Another possible coding device is case marking. Subjects bear no case marking (i.e., the nominative is indicated by -Ø) and this distinguishes them from objects and oblique noun phrases, all of which (at least potentially) bear some case marker (e.g., -ta 'ACC', -wan 'COM', -pita 'ABL', etc.). However, several factors complicate the identification of a subject as that noun phrase which lacks any case marker: Temporal nouns or noun phrases (e.g., *wara* 'tomorrow', *kanan hunaq* 'this day') are also without case-markers, and usually function as temporal adverbs rather than subjects. Further, it is not unusual for the object marker to be dropped in subordinate clauses, particularly within purpose clauses subordinated by -go to a motion verb, as in the following example:

\[\text{Juan warmi-(ts) pshi-q aywa-ra-n.}\]
\[\text{John woman-\{OBJ\} search-sub go-past-3}\]

'John went to search for a wife.'

Cases such as these make a formal definition of subject difficult or impossible. However in practice there is almost never any problem in recognizing what the subject is. This is because of the many morpho-syntactic evidences of subjects, now to be discussed.
Verbal inflection constrains what noun phrase may be taken as the subject of a clause: verbs are inflected to agree in person (and optionally, in number) with the subject. For example:

- *noqa aywa-ː* (I go-1) 'I go.'
- *qam aywa-nkt* (you go-2) 'You go.'
- *pay Aywa-n* (he go-3) 'He goes.'
- *noqanchi aywa-nchi we(inc1) go-12* 'We(inc1) go.'

For some subordinate clauses it would--at first glance--seem that verbal inflection does not constrain the person of the subject; infinitives, for example bear no inflection for subject agreement. However, by virtue of the essential coreference between the subject of an infinitive clause and the subject of the superordinate clause, the person of the subject of the infinitive is constrained by the person of the subject of the superordinate clause. The same is true of adverbial clauses whose switch reference marking is -r 'adv'(ss).

Having considered the issue of the coding of subjects, let us proceed to other ways in which the category of subject is of concern to the grammar.

Adverbial clause subordination obligatorily indicates whether the subject of the subordinate and its superordinate clause are the same or different. For example, in 660a -r indicates that the subject of the subordinate and main clauses are the same, whereas -pti in 660b indicates that they are different:

a. Chaya-ː miku-shkaːː
down-adv(S=S) eat-perf-1

b. Chaya-ː miku-shkaːː
down-adv(S=S)-3P eat-perf-1

A more complete discussion of this is given in section 14.1.1.)

Relativization is sensitive to whether the "embedded coreferent" (the argument of the modifying sentence which is coreferential to the head of the relative clause) is or is not the subject of the modifying sentence. -q cannot be used (in HgQ162) if the embedded coreferent is anything other than the subject (of the modifying sentence). For example, 661 can only mean "the man who hit (him)", where the embedded coreferent is the subject of the modifying sentence:

- *maqa-q runa*
- hit-sub man

' the man who hit (him)'

661 could not mean 'the man who was hit', where the embedded coreferent is the object of the modifying sentence. By contrast, 662 can mean either 'the man who was hit' (perhaps the favored reading) or 'the man who hit (him)'.

- *maqa-shaː runa*
- hit-sub-3P man

' the man who was hit' or 'the man who hit (him)'

There are two instances in which one could say--speaking in derivational terms--that a subject becomes (i.e., is "raised to") the object of a higher clause. First, a sensory verb complement consists

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162 Some dialects are more rigid: for example in Ayacucho Quechua. -q is used if the embedded coreferent is the subject, and -shqa (or its reflex) if it is not.
of an object complement subordinated by -q to a sensory verb (‘see’, ‘hear’, etc.).

Rika-ra-: [Juan Tumas-ta maqa-yka-q]-ta.
see-past-1 John Tom-OBJ hit-impv-sub-OBJ
'I saw John hitting Tom.'

From 663 Juan may become the object of rika- ‘to see’:
Juan-ta rika-ra-: [Tumas-ta maqa-yka-q]-ta.
John-OBJ see-past-1 Tom-OBJ hit-impv-sub-OBJ
'I saw John hitting Tom.'

Second, when a verb is made causative by the addition of -chi, its subject becomes the object of the causative verb/clause. For example, compare 665a and 665b:

a. Noga aywa-:. (I go-1)
   b. Pay noga-ta aywa-ch1-ma-n. (he me-OBJ go-cause->1-3)
   a. 'I go.'
   b. 'He makes/allows me to go.'

In 665a the subject is noga 'I'. and the verbal inflection indicates a first person subject. But in 665b, noga has become an object, with the verbal inflection indicating a first person object.

There are various ways to passivize, i.e., to "promote" the object of a clause so that it becomes the subject. First, this can be accomplished by the addition of -ka: 'passive' or -ra: 'state'. Compare 666a and 666b with rika-n 'he sees it' and pampa-n 'he buries it' respectively.

a. Rika-ka-n. (see-pass-3)
   b. Pampa-ka-n. (bury-state-3)
   a. 'It is seen.'
   b. 'It is buried.'

Passivization can also be accomplished by the addition of -sha participle followed by ka- 'be': compare 667a in which noga is an object with 667b in which it has become the subject:

a. Noga-ta rika-ma-n.
   I-OBJ see->1-3
b. Noga rika-sha ka-:.  
   I see-prtc be-1
   a. 'He sees me.'
   b. 'I am/was seen.'

This concludes our survey of the morpho-syntactic reflexes of the category of "subject."

10.3. -ta ‘object’
This section deals with the suffix -ta 'OBJ' and the roles indicated by it. It is organized as follows:
- Section 10.3.1 deals with "direct" objects.
- Section 10.3.2 with "indirect" objects; it is shown that there is little evidence that direct and indirect objects are distinct categories in HgQ.
- Section 10.3.3 discusses object agreement.
- Section 10.3.4 discusses cases in which objects are not marked with -ta.
- Section 10.3.5 mentions the subjects of causativized verbs.
- Section 10.3.6 deals with a directional use of -ta.
- Section 10.3.7 deals with a temporal use of -ta.
- Section 10.3.8 deals with some non-systematic (idiomatic) uses of -ta.

### 10.3.1. Direct Object

- *ta ‘OBJ’* marks substantives which are the DIRECT object of a clause; for typical events, this substantive usually refers to that person/thing which is most affected by that event.

  \[\text{Nirku}r \text{papa-ta alla-ruk-r muru-ta akra-nchi} \quad 666\]

  \[\text{then potatoes-OBJ dig-asp-adv seed-OBJ choose-12} \]

  \[\text{minuuda-n-kuna-ta.} \quad \text{small-3P-plur-OBJ} \]

  'Then having harvested the potatoes, we choose the seeds
  
  i.e., the small ones.'

Objects which are less affected, as the objects of perception, are also marked with *-ta ‘OBJ’*; see e.g. example 667a.

The direct object may be the subject of an intransitive verb which has been causativized with

- *chi ‘caus’*; e.g., compare the a and b sentences of 669 and 670:
  
  a. wamra puũ-n (child sleep-3)
  b. wamra-ta puũ-chi-n (child-OBJ sleep-caus-3)

  a. 'the child sleeps'
  b. 'he makes the child sleep (i.e., puts the child to sleep)'

  a. yuktu timpu-yka-n (water-boil-impfv-3)
  b. yuktu-ta timpu-ri+yuk-yu-chi-r (water-OBJ boil-sud-caus-adv)

  a. 'the water is boiling'
  b. 'boiling the water'

The direct object may be a complement: in 671 the first instance of *-ta ‘OBJ’* is on an infinitive complement and the second is on a complement subordinated by *-na*:

  \[\ldots \text{yapya-y-ta usha-na-n-ta-shi shuya-ra-yka-n.} \quad 671\]

  \[\text{plow-inf-OBJ finish-sub-3P-OBJ-IND wait-stat-impfv-3} \]

  '...he waits for him to finish plowing.'

In example 672 the object is a sensory verb complement:

  \[\text{Qam-ta rika-shka-: sha-yka:-mu-q-ta.} \quad 672\]

  \[\text{you-OBJ see-perf-1 come-impfv-afar-sub-OBJ} \]

  'I saw you coming.'

Note that 672 contains two instances of *-ta ‘OBJ’*: why this is the case is explained in section 13.3.2.4.

### 10.3.2. Indirect Object

Indirect and direct objects are not distinct syntactic categories in HgQ: both trigger verbal agreement marking, both use *-ta* to mark the overt substantive. However, indirect objects do differ semantically from direct objects: in the prototypical case, the INDIRECT object is the recipient

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163 Perhaps both are susceptible to morphological raising from infinitives: see Weber [39], section 4.2.2.
of something transferred.\textsuperscript{164} This need not be some physical thing; in many cases it is the result of speaking. Few verbs allow indirect objects in HgQ.\textsuperscript{165} Not all substantives which refer to recipients are marked with -\textit{ta}: e.g., in 673 the it takes -\textit{man} rather than -\textit{ta}:

\begin{itemize}
\item Cha\name{wara warmi-n-man karta-ta apa-chi-mu-sha. (673)}
\item so wife-3P-GOAL letter-OBJ take-caus-afar-3PERF
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item 'He sent his wife a letter over here.'
\end{itemize}

Perhaps this is because \textit{apa-chi} 'take DO to IO/GOAL' implies a path, the end point of which is the recipient: the notion of "endpoint of a path"\textsuperscript{166} overrides the less semantically rich "recipient".

\section{10.3.3. Object Agreement}

The transition\textsuperscript{167} of a verb agrees with its indirect objects in preference to its direct objects. For example, in 674 the transition is -\textit{maran '3=1PAST} because the direct object is first person and because there is no indirect object to mark. By contrast, in 675 the transition is -\textit{maran '3=1PAST} (where the direct object is second person) because the indirect object is first person; the transition does not indicate the person of the second person direct object since it is superseded by the indirect object.

\begin{itemize}
\item Pay \textit{noqa-ta maqa-ma-ra-n. (674)}
\item he me-OBJ hit-1=3-PAST-3
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item 'He hit me'
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item Pay \textit{qam-ta ou-ma-ra-n. (675)}
\item he you-ACC give-1=3-PAST-3
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item 'He gave you to me'
\end{itemize}

\\[\text{Table 10-1: OBJECT MARKING IN QUECHUA A AND QUECHUA B}\]

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Quechua A} & \textbf{direct object} & \textbf{indirect object} & \textbf{goal} \\
\hline
\textbullet{} & \textbullet{} & \textbullet{} & \textbullet{} \\
\hline
\textbullet{} & \textbullet{} & \textbullet{} & \textbullet{} \\
\hline
\textbullet{} & \textbullet{} & \textbullet{} & \textbullet{} \\
\hline
\textbullet{} & \textbullet{} & \textbullet{} & \textbullet{} \\
\hline
\textbullet{} & \textbullet{} & \textbullet{} & \textbullet{} \\
\hline
\textbullet{} & \textbullet{} & \textbullet{} & \textbullet{} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

I would explain this as a case where there is different degrees of grammaticalization. In Quechua A, indirect objects are treated as goals and marked with the lexically richer suffix -\textit{man}. In Quechua B they have been grammaticalized as an object.

\textsuperscript{164}I suspect that the grammar's treating "recipients" as indirect objects is a fairly recent innovation in Quechua B. In Quechua A they are treated as "goals":

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{direct object} \textbullet{} \textbullet{} \textbullet{} \textbullet{}
\item \textit{indirect object} \textbullet{} \textbullet{} \textbullet{} \textbullet{}
\item \textit{goal} \textbullet{} \textbullet{} \textbullet{} \textbullet{}
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{165}The following verbs take indirect objects (by no means a comprehensive list): note that better than half of these are borrowed from Spanish: \textit{gaana-} 'to beat IO out of DO', \textit{imba-pa-} 'to invite X', \textit{indiriga-} 'to turn DO over to IO', \textit{kubra-} 'to charge IO for DO', \textit{kunbira-} 'to serve DO to IO', \textit{makya-} 'to hand DO to IO', \textit{manaku-} 'to ask IO for DO', \textit{ma-} 'to say to IO' (and \textit{ima-} 'what say to IO'), \textit{parla-pa-} 'to speak to IO', \textit{paxa-ga-ykU-} 'to pay DO to IO', \textit{piñakU-} 'to charge/upbraid IO', \textit{pusha-} 'to lead DO to IO', \textit{qara-ga-ykU-} 'to feed DO to IO', \textit{qapa-} 'to call IO', \textit{qo-ga-ykU-} 'to give to X' (and \textit{diirechunta qo-}), \textit{rana-} 'to do DO to IO', \textit{ruwa-kU-} 'to beg DO of IO', \textit{siri-} 'to serve DO to IO', \textit{tapu-} 'to ask IO for DO', \textit{uridina-} 'to order IO to do PPR', \textit{willa-/willa-pa-} 'to tell IO'.

\textsuperscript{166}See section 10.6.1.

\textsuperscript{167}Transitions are discussed in section 8.

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10.3.4. Lost -ta ‘OBJ’

The -ta ‘OBJ’ marking direct objects is sometimes omitted when the object directly precedes the verb of which it is an object. In main clauses this is largely restricted to a few expressions in which objects are closely associated with a particular verb, e.g. *papa-TA alla- (potato-OBJ dig-)* ‘harvest potatoes’. This is certainly the first step toward a verb for ‘dig potatoes’ in which the object has been incorporated. However, object incorporation is generally regarded as being limited to indefinite objects; many cases of the loss of -ta cannot be considered object incorporation because the object is definite (e.g. a named person, a possessed object, etc.).

The omission of -ta is more frequent when the object occurs in a subordinate clause, particularly in a purpose-motion complement (see Weber [39], section 5.4.2); e.g. (where -TA signifies a “missing” case marker):

Cristobal-IA ashi-q  aywa-shka-:
Christof  seek-sub go-perf-1  676

'I went to look for Christof.'

Ayku-:  hara-TA  urya-q-mi.
go-1  corn-1P  cultivate-sub-DIR  677

'I go to cultivate my corn.'

teeqa-TA  rura-y-IA  yacha-q-kuna...
tile  make-inf  know:how-sub-plur  678

'those who know how to make tiles'

Throughout a text on engagement practice, either *warmi-ta ashi-* or *warmi ashi-* (as in 679) is used for the process of seeking a wife:

...1apan-ta warmi ashi-y-chaw  nisita-kaa-na-n-paq  ka-q-ta.  679
all-OBJ  wife  seek-inf-LOC  need-pass-sub-3P-PUR  be-sub-OBJ

'they prepare everything which will be needed in the
wife-seeking'

Example 680 shows the utility of supposing that a basic structure with -ta underlies a structure without it. Assuming 680a to be the basic structure, the relative clause is moved rightward and in the process inherits the case marker of the constituent out of which it is moved (in this case -ta); this is discussed in 10.15.5. Subsequently the case marker on *chakra* ‘field’ is deleted:

a. [[[Marsu killa-chaw chakma-sha:] chakra]-ta  yapa-y-q] aywa-shka-:
March month-LOC  break-sub-1P  field  -OBJ  plow-SUB  go-perf-1  680

b. [Chakra yapa-y-q] aywa-shka-:  [Marsu killa-chaw chakma-sha:]-ta.
field  plow-SUB  go-perf-1  March month-LOC  break-sub-1P  -OBJ

'I went to plow the field that I had broken in March.'

10.3.5. The Subjects of Causativized/Benefactive Verbs

As illustrated above (see example 665) the subject of a causativized, intransitive verbs becomes an object. Whether this object should be considered an indirect or a direct object is indeterminate.

The object of benefactives is an indirect object:

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168 That is, by the criterion of verbal marking: it is morphologically marked in the verb in preference to a direct object.
The Subjects of Causativized/Benefactive Verbs [10.3.5]

10.3.6. Direction

With certain verbs of motion, -ta can mark the endpoint of the path along which the motion takes place.169 These "objects" never trigger verbal agreement (perhaps simply because places are always third person). Examples follow:

\begin{array}{l}
\text{punta-ta chay-a-r} \\
\text{peak-OBJ arrive-ADV}
\end{array}

'arriving at the peak'

\begin{array}{l}
\text{Y wakin-kaq qaga-ta} \\
\text{and other-def Boulder-OBJ fall-pass-down-3}
\end{array}

'and the others fell ... over the cliff.'

\begin{array}{l}
\text{Manu sumaq karu-ta puri-\textit{qchu ka-\textit{z}}} \\
\text{not very far-OBJ walk-sub-NEG be-1}
\end{array}

'I didn't walk very far.'

\begin{array}{l}
\text{Pillku-ta aywa-shka-\textit{a awardeni-man.}} \\
\text{Pillku-OBJ go-perf-1 firewater-GOAL}
\end{array}

'I went to Pillku to get firewater.'

\begin{array}{l}
\text{Juan ka-yka-\textit{she-n \{ a. -ta OBJ \}}} \\
\text{John be-\textit{mpfv-sub-3P \{ b. -man GOAL \}} aywa-n.}
\end{array}

'He goes to where John is.'

In the following the substantive bearing -ta indicates the path itself (and not just its endpoint):

\begin{array}{l}
\text{...puriri-ka-yka-kuna kantu-n-ta.} \\
\text{walk-plur-\textit{mpfv-11 edge-3P-OBJ}}
\end{array}

'...we(excl) walked along the bank'

10.3.7. Time lapse

-ta may occur on a substantive which refers to a length of time to indicate a lapse of that much

\begin{array}{l}
\text{169 The following verbs (by no means a complete list) may use -ta in this way: apo- \textit{to take}, aywa- \textit{go}, chaya- \textit{to arrive to} (but usually takes -man), iski- \textit{to fall}, puri- \textit{to walk/travel}, numa- \textit{go about}, oqit- \textit{to scrape (out a hole)}, uchku- \textit{to dig a hole}.}
\end{array}
Time lapse [10.3.7]

...time.\(^{170}\) (These cases never trigger verbal agreement.) E.g., in 689 *wata-ta* indicates a lapse of one year:

- **Wakin runa-ga ashi-sha-n-pita wata-ta mas minus-ta kasara-n.** 689
  - Other man-TOP seek-sub-3P-ABL year-OBJ more less-OBJ marry-3
  - "Other men marry within a year of when they have sought (their bride)."

- **Qalla-ri-sha-n-pita soota hunaq-ta usha-ra-n.** 690
  - begin-punct-sub-3P-ABL six day-OBJ finish-past-3
  - "He finished six days from when he started."

- **...wañu-sha-n-pita pichqa hunaq-ta rure-...** 691
  - die-sub-3P-ABL five day-OBJ do-3
  - "...they do on the fifth day after he died..."

- **Allcha-ka-sha killa-ta-raq.** 692
  - fix-pass-3PREF month-OBJ-yet
  - "It healed in a month's time (but no sooner)."

- **-ta** may occur on a substantive referring to either a time period or to a recurring time; it indicates recurring events at the space of those periods (e.g. 693) or at those recurring times (e.g. 694).

- **Wakin-ga arma-n chusku hunaq pichqa hunaq-ta.** 693
  - some-TOP bathe-3 four day five day-OBJ
  - "Some bathe them every four or five days."

- **Y sha-mu-nki mirkulis taari-ta.** 694
  - and come-afar-2 Wednesday evening-OBJ
  - "Come every Wednesday evening."

- **Aywa-ku-yka-: paqas-ta hunaq-ta...** 695
  - go-refl-impv-1 night-OBJ day-OBJ
  - "I go day and night..."

- **Ishkay-ta kanta-rku-pto-n pashta-r-shi aywa-ku-ra-n kundinaadu.** 696
  - two-OBJ sing-asp-adv-3P burst-adv-IND go-refl-past-3 ghost
  - "The second time crows, bursting, the kundinaadu leaves."

10.3.8. -**ta** in Non-Systematic (Idiomatic) Expressions

Some expressions which are not formed by the more systematic mechanisms of the language (e.g. loan translations from Spanish) use -**ta**, sometimes in non-systematic ways:

- **parabin-ta go-n** (for:good-OBJ give-3) 'he congratulated him'.

- **kargu-ta yayku-na-n-paq** (office-OBJ enter-sub-3P-PUR) 'in order that he enter that office'

\(^{170}\) Some instances seem quite idiomatic. E.g. *rastunninta* 'in just a moment', *warayllata* 'all night, right until dawn'. The following is a case where -**ta** seems to be used temporally, but not quite like the other cases of this section:

- **Wara-ni pishta-shu-nki qam-ta kumpaarrri-n**
  - tomorrow-DIR slaughter-=2=2 you-OBJ compadre-3P

- **chaya-mu-y-nin-ta.**
  - arrive-afar-in=3P-OBJ

  'Tomorrow they will slaughter you for their compadre's arrival.'
10.4. 

-cho\*w 'locative'  

The locative suffix -cho\*w is pronounced in various ways: [cho\*w]~[cho:]~[chu:]. The latter two have variants [cho] and [chu] in word-final position. Throughout this work the locative is written -cho\*w, as that seems to be the most basic form (the one from which the others are most easily derivable).

The uses of -cho\*w 'LOC' are discussed under the following headings:
- with physical location (section 10.4.1).
- for involvement in activity/circumstance (section 10.4.2).
- in time expressions (section 10.4.3). and
- in idiomatic usage (section 10.4.4).

10.4.1. -cho\*w with Physical Location  

The most basic and most common use of -cho\*w 'locative' is to indicate position "in", "on" or "at" some indicated place/space. That which is "in/on/at" that place is either static or, if it is dynamic, the place/space indicated is the sphere of motion. Never is the place/space the goal of

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171 Some examples of this expression:

1. chay awrindi-ta gu-n diirechun-ta chay kargu rura-q ruraku-ku... that firewater-OBJ give-3 right-OBJ that office do-sub man-plur
   'The men who are entering office offer that firewater...'

2. diirechun-ta gu-n mayurduoomu-kuna huk boteella awrindi-ta...
   right-OBJ give-3 majordomo-plural one bottle firewater-OBJ
   'The majordomo offers one bottle of firewater...'

3. chay uchku-q-kuna-ta diirechun-ta gu-n kuka-ta awrindi-ta...
   that dig-sub-plur-OBJ right-OBJ give-3 coca-OBJ firewater-OBJ
   'They offer the (grave) diggers coca and firewater.'
some motion, this being indicated by -man 'GOAL'; see 10.6. The place/space indicated may be of various sorts: the following is intended as a non-comprehensive list of the various possibilities:

a town given by name: Pilkku-chaw (Pilkku-LOC) 'in Pilkku',

by physical/geographical characteristic: mas altu-chaw (more high-LOC) 'at higher altitudes', hanka-chaw (peaks-LOC) 'on the snow-capped peaks', hanaq pacha-chaw (high firmament-LOC) 'in the heavens', allpa-chaw (ground-LOC) 'on earth', punta-chaw (peak-LOC) 'at the peak/ridge', yunka-chaw (jungle-LOC) 'in the jungle', pampa-chaw (ground-LOC) 'on the ground',

a container: babul-chaw (trunk-LOC) 'in the trunk', kostal-chaw (sack-LOC) 'in the sack', chaka-q kwatu-chaw (bed-dark-sub room-LOC) 'in a dark room', machay-chaw (cave-LOC) 'in the cave', payta-chaw (pot-LOC) 'in the pot', maki-:-chaw (hand-1P-LOC) 'in my hand(s)', pacha-nchi:-chaw (stomach-12P-LOC) 'in our stomachs',

a part of a container: alus-chaw (upstairs-LOC) 'upstairs', yoora-chaw (tree-LOC) 'in a tree',

a building (which is a sort of container): wasi-n-chaw (house-3P-LOC) 'in his house', eskuyla-chaw (school-LOC) 'at school', kabilu-chaw (chapel-LOC) 'in the chapel', iniisy-a (church-LOC) 'in the church', kantiina-kuna-chaw (store-plur-LOC) 'in the stores', panaderiya-chaw (bakery-LOC) 'in a bakery',

by reference to the owner of a house: Maqana-kaq-chaw (Maqana-def-LOC) 'at Maqana's house', duyiy-:-chaw (owner-1P-LOC) 'at my owner's house',

an area (usually of ground) with a special purpose: pantiyun-chaw (cemetery-LOC) 'in the cemetery', eera-chaw (threshing;floor-LOC) 'on the threshing floor', kaminu-chaw (road-LOC) at naani-chaw 'in the road', werta-chaw (garden-LOC) 'in the garden', pukur-chaw (door-LOC) 'in the doorway',

an area by reference to its political/demographic character: chakra-chaw (field-LOC) 'in the rural areas', marka-chaw (town-LOC) 'in the town', kapital-chaw (capital-LOC) 'in the capital', probinsya-chaw (province-LOC) 'in the province',

an area relative to a place or thing: chimpa-chaw (other;bank-LOC) 'on the opposite bank (from where we are)', kanu-chaw-mi (far-LOC-DIR) 'far away',

a piece of furniture: meesa-chaw (table-LOC) 'at the table', kaama-n-chaw (bed-1P-LOC) 'in his bed',

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172 Examples i-iii appear to contradict the claim made in the text, since chaw 'LOC' marks what is clearly the goal of some action. However, in each case the locative phrase indicates an area within which some point is the goal: e.g. in the first, the sting was not directed at the tiger's entire forehead, but at some point on it:

i. Chaw qa huk suncha tinri-ta urku-n-chaw uuni-yku-n.
   then-TOP one wasp tinge-OBJ forehead-3P-LOC sting-impact-3
   'Then one of the wasps stings the tiger on the forehead.'

ii. ...raka kantu-n looma-chaw kondor hama-yku-n.
    gorge edge-3P hill-LOC condor sit-impact-3
    '...the condor sat down on a knoll at the edge of the gorge.'

iii. Hama-sha-n-kuna-chaw chura-yku-r...
     sit-sub-3P-plur-LOC place-impact-adv
     'Having placed it at the resting place...'

(All three of these cases are from the same speaker.)

171
a body of water: lamar-chaw (ocean-LOC) 'in the ocean', mayu-chaw (river-LOC) 'in the river'.
qocha-chaw (lake-LOC) 'in the lake'.
in a fluid: yaku-chaw (water-LOC) 'in water'.

The place/space may be indicated by a definite pronoun, e.g., chay-chaw 'there', kay-chaw 'here', taqay-chaw 'over there': by an indefinite/interrogative pronoun, e.g., may-chaw-tag 'where?', may-chaw-pis 'wherever': by a pronoun such as hina-lla-n-chaw 'right there'. It may also be indicated a relative clause: e.g.:

chay warmi-ta ashi-sha-n-qaq-chaw
that woman-OBJ seek-sub-3P-def-LOC

'at the place where they seek the woman
(i.e. her hand in marriage)'

puñu-sha:-chaw
sleep-sub-1P-LOC

'where I slept'

punku yayku-ri-na-chaw
do-enter-pnct-sub-LOC

'in the doorway'

The place/space may be indicated by a spatial genitive expression (as discussed in 12.3.2.3): e.g.:
chaki-n-chaw (foot-3P-LOC) 'at the foot of it',
kabildu chawpi-n-chaw (church middle-LOC) 'in the middle of the chapel',
hatun sawan hanu-n-chaw (big gate top-3P-LOC) 'on top of a big gate',
kaminu kantu-n-chaw (road edge-3P-LOC) 'at the edge of the road',
ñawpa:-chaw (side-1P-LOC) 'beside me',
meesu rurri-n-chaw (table inside-3P-LOC) 'under the table',
departamentu serka-n-chaw (department vicinity-3P-LOC) 'near the department capital',
punku waqta-n-chaw (door back-3P-LOC) 'behind the door'.

10.4.2. -chaw for Involvement in Activity/Circumstance

When -chaw 'LOC' follows an infinitive it refers to being involved in the activity or circumstance indicated by the verb. The following examples bear this out:
warmi ašhi-y-chaw (woman search-inf-LOC) 'in the engagement procedure',
usha-paaku-y-chaw (end-diffuse-inf-LOC) 'in the closing ceremony',
tapa-y-chaw (keep:vigil-inf-LOC) 'during the wake',
mayuraas chura-ku-y-chaw (mayoress place-refl-inf-LOC) 'in the installation of the mayuraas'.

Yanapa:-naku-shun aru-y-chaw.
help-recip-12IMP work-inf-LOC

'Let's help each other in (our) work.'

Silleeta muchu-y-chaw ka-nchi.
chair be:stare-inf-LOC be-12

'We are in a scarcity of chairs.'

Ni-y-chaw-na ...
say-inf-LOC-now

'In the process of saying it...'
-chaw for Involvement in Activity/Circumstance [10.4.2]

Kanan papel-niki-kuna tinku-chi-y-chaw iilqoshi-nki alli... now paper-2P-plur compare-inf-LOC come:out-2FUT good

'Now, in comparing your documents you will come out all right...'

...stmi kumli-chi-n ima aru-y-chaw-pis. always fulfill-caus-3 what work-inf-LOC-indef

'...they always make him fulfill (his obligations to the community) in some sort of work.'

Chay-chaw aru-shkar- debe pall+a-y-chaw. that-LOC work-perf-1 tea pick-inf-LOC

'I worked there in the tea harvest.'

...yapa+y-chaw sumaq rika-na-n-paq. again-LOC well see-sub-3P-PUR

'...so that on another occasion he watches well.'

-chaw may also be the appropriate case marker when the activities/circumstances is referred to by a lexical substantive (possibly compounded or modified); e.g.:

kafeye urva-chaw (coffee cultivation-LOC) 'in coffee cultivation';
kuka kosecha-chaw (coca harvest-LOC) 'in the coca harvest';
kargu-chaw (cargo:bearing-LOC) 'in moving cargo';
awkin danza-chaw (old dance-LOC) 'in the "awkin" dance';
karnabal-chaw (Carnival-LOC) 'in Carnival';
fisha-chaw (fiesta-LOC) 'in the fiesta';
sabra-chaw (sabra-LOC) 'in the "sabra" (dance)';
disgrasya-chaw 'to be suffering some misfortune';
ima-chaw-pis 'in whatever', e.g.:

...chay kargu rura-q runa-ta mas ima-chaw-pis
that cargo do-sub man-OBJ more what-LOC-indef
yanapa:-na-n-paq.
help-sub-3-PUR

'...in order to help that man who is carrying out the cargo in whatever (circumstance).'

alli-chaw 'in good (circumstance/condition)', e.g.:

Y suncha alli-chaw keedyuku-n...
and wasp good-LOC remain-impact-3

'And the wasps came out fine...'

leew-chaw 'in litigation', e.g.:

...leew-chaw ka-shpa-n.
litigation-LOC be-adv-3P

'...if he is in litigation'

10.4.3. -chaw in Time Expressions

-chaw 'LOC' may occur on a substantive that refers to a period of time to indicate that some event occurred within that time period; e.g.:

chakay-ila-chaw (night-just-LOC) 'just at night'.
pullan killa-chaw (half month-LOC) 'mid-month',

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marsu killa qalla-yku-q-chaw (March month begin-impact-sub-LOC) 'at the beginning of March',
usha-q fibreeru-chaw (finish-sub February-LOC) 'at the end of February'.
wata-chaw (year-LOC) 'in (the space of) a year', and
semaana-chaw (week-LOC) 'in (the space of) a week'.

Or -chaw 'LOC' may occur on a substantivized clause to indicate that some event/activity occurred within the time indicated by the substantivized clause. Thus clauses bearing (-yka)-sha-POS-chaw (impfv-sub-POS-LOC) may be interpreted as temporal adverbial clauses meaning 'while, during':\textsuperscript{173} e.g.:

\begin{verbatim}
Aywa-yka:-mu-sha:-chaw oqra-shka:-.
go-impfva-far-sub-1P-LOC lose-perf-1
'I lost it as I was coming.'
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Chay-ta rura-n kantar kanta-ya-sha-n-chaw.
that-OBJ do-3 cantor sing-impfva-sub-3P-LOC
'They do that while the cantor sings.'
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Y parla-ya-sha-lla-n-chaw gopari-n-shi uysha-n-ta.
and speak-impfva-sub-just-3P-LOC kill-3-IND sheep-3P-OBJ
'And right as they are speaking, he kills one of her sheep.'
\end{verbatim}

\textbf{10.4.4. -chaw in Idiomatic Usages}

The following are various cases in which -chaw 'LOC' seems to be used in a rather idiomatic way:

\textbf{in the possession of:}
\begin{verbatim}
llapan gam-chaw keeda-n.
all you-LOC remain-3
'Everything remains in your possession.'
\end{verbatim}

\textbf{among:}
\begin{verbatim}
chay minisru-kuna-chaw eskirbaanu...
that minister-plur-LOC scrivener
'Among those ministers, the scrivener...'
\end{verbatim}

\textbf{"by" a wife/woman}
\begin{verbatim}
kimsa warmi-n-chaw ka-ra-n pichqa wamra-n.
three wife-3P-LOC be-past-3 five child-3
'By his three wives he had five children.'
\end{verbatim}

\textbf{in the presence of:}
\begin{verbatim}
pooku kasaar-n awturidaa-kuna-chaw-qa.
little marry-3 authority-plur-LOC-TOP
'Seldom do they get married before the authorities.' (i.e.,
they usually opt for a religious rather than a civil ceremony)
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{173} These are discussed in detail in Weber [39], section 5.1.
10.5. -pita 'ABL'

The uses of -pita 'ABL' center about the notion of the source/starting point of some path. They are discussed under the following headings:

- initial point of a path through space (section 10.5.1).
- observation (section 10.5.2).
- site of attachment (section 10.5.3).
- material (section 10.5.4).
- source (section 10.5.5).
- according (section 10.5.6).
- time (section 10.5.7).
- contrast and comparison (section 10.5.8).
- reason (section 10.5.9).
- avoidance (section 10.5.10), and
- loan translations (section 10.5.11).

10.5.1. Initial Point of a Path through Space

-pita 'ABL' may mark the substantive phrase which indicates the initial point of some path through space. Unless there are extraordinary circumstances (see e.g., 733 and 734 below), the verbs which use -pita in this way must be motion verbs.174 Examples follow:

174In addition to the verbs in the examples given in the text, the following have been attested in this use: aywo- 'go', apar-take, asha- 'carry', chaya- 'arrive', harqi- 'remove', kuit- 'return', lloqhi- 'leave', pusha- 'lead', qarqU- 'expel', sha+ 'come'.
"...geshpi-r aywa-ku-n wasi-n-pita...
file-adv go-refl-3 house-3P-ABL
'...they go fleeing from their house...

...lapan kasta-n-kuna-ta pantiyun-pita hawa-man qarqu-n...
all clan-3P-plur-OBJ cemetery-ABL outside-GOAL expel-3
'...they drive all of his (the deceased's) relatives out of the cemetery...

May-pita-taq chaya-mu-sha?
where-ABL-?? arrive-afar-3PERF
'Where did he arrive from?

...hitari-chi-ma-nchi kuru-ta pacha-nchi:-pita
expel-caus->1-12 worm-OBJ stomach-12P-ABL
'(of a medicinal herb)...it causes us to expel the worms from our stomachs.'

In example 726 the point from which "returning" is initiated is the midpoint of a (projected) trip:
...bıyati-ta aywa-yka-sha-n-pita kuti-ku-mu-sha pullan-pita.
...trip-OBJ go-impvv-sub-2P-ABL return-refl-afar-3PERF half-ABL
'...he returned from the trip on which he had gone half way through.

In 727, the process of covering the cross with flowers proceeds from the head of the cross to its foot (so that as more flowers are tied onto it they cover up the stems of the flowers tied on just above):
Nırkur hana-n-pita wayta-wen chapa-n ushaqpq.
than top-3P-ABL flower-COM cover-3 completely
'...then they cover it (the cross) from top to bottom with flowers.

Since paths begin at the point indicated by ablative phrase, examples such as the following (with qalla- 'begin') are frequent:
Rutu-y-ta qalla-ri-nchı rikra-n hana-n-pita...
shear-infl-OBJ begin-pinct-12 arm-3 top-3P-ABL
'...We begin to shear it at the top of the foreleg....'

A search conceptually initiates at the point from which one goes to search. The accepted way to search for a wife is to do it from one's home with the help of one's parents:
Mas ashı-y-qa ashı-n tayta-n-pita mama-n-pita.
more search-infl-adv search-3 father-3P-ABL mother-3P-ABL
'...usually they search from their parents.'

A substantive with -pita 'ABL' may express the point from which one measures some distance:
e.g.: Marka-chaw rus-kuna ka-n marka-pita mas karu-chaw.
town-LOC cross-plur be-3 town-ABL more far-LOC
'There are crosses in town. some distance out of the center of town.'

...huk deedo altu-ıla-pa uysha-pa qara-n-pita...
one finger high-just-gen sheep-GEN skin-3P-ABL
'...one finger's length from the sheep's skin...'

When an animal is tied/tethered, the rope proceeds from the point of attachment on the animal
to the place where it is tied (e.g. a tree); see 10.6. The act of tying a rope to something is always expressed with -man.

Usually the path through space (initiated at the referent of the ablative phrase) is a dynamic one; it may also be a static one. For example, in example 732 ichi- 'to stand' is conceptualized as a path initiated at the place where one stands:

Ichishaq pampa-pita.
stand-FUT ground-ABL
'I will stand on the ground. (lit. from the ground)'

Example 733 involves ellipsis; it is understood as a bid to race from the river to the ridge:

Apusti-shun mayu-pita punta-yaq.
river-ABL ridge-LIM
wager-12
'Let's bet (to race) from the river to the ridge.'

The ablative phrase of 734 is not directly related to the main verb (i.e. it does not indicate that the work initiates in Visaq) but rather that the worker commutes from there:

Kay-chaw aru-n Visaq-pita.
here-loc work-3 Visaq-ABL
'hé works here (commuting) from Visaq.'

10.5.2. Observation

-pita 'ABL' may indicate that the referent of the substantive to which it is attached is the place where something was intentionally

observed: e.g.:

...punta-pita wata-pa-ra-yka-piti-n ...
kuchi-ta qaparaa-chi-mu-n
peak-ABL spy-ben-stat-impfv-adv-3P pig-OBJ scream-caus-affar-3
'...as they are spying from the ridge, ...the owners make the pig scream.'

Chay-ta-shi buurru wiya-pa-raa-naq wasi waqta-n-pita.
that-IND donkey wear-ben-stat-narpst house behind-ABL

'The donkey heard that from behind the house.'

10.5.3. Site of Attachment

-pita 'ABL' may indicate the site or place where something (such as a rope) is attached. (This is generally to a body, usually that of an animal). Verbs with which -pita is used in this way include

amun 'clench in teeth', chari- 'grab', chuta- 'pull', pita- 'wrap cord about' raska- 'scratch, claw'.

Examples follow:

Huk runa chari-pa-ri-ma-nchi sumaq chanaq kunke-n-pita...
other man grab-ben-1-12 very tight neck-3P-ABL

'Another person grabs it very tightly by the neck...'

175 Conceived of as a path, this is the reverse of the path of some stimulus from its source to its perceiver (see 9.3.2.3). This reversal is, I believe, because the observation is intentional: the perception initiates with the observer and is focused on the object observed.
Chawra lasu-wan ruri-n-pita chari-rku-chi-r kacha-n. 738
then rope-COM underside-3P-ABL grab-up-caus-adv let-3
'(of lowering a coffin into a grave) Then holding it up with
ropes which run under it (the coffin) they let it down.'
Wash-la-man kay-la-man chuta-nchi chanaka-n-kuna-pita...
far-side-GOAL this-side-GOAL stretch-12 foot-3P-plur
'We stretch it out (from this side to that) by the legs...' (i.e.
making it spread-eagle by pulling on ropes attached to its legs).

In 740, it is significant that the verb is amu- 'clench in the teeth'. The objects of other verbs
expressing 'bite' take -ta 'OBJ', but basic to the meaning of amu- is the notion of being attached
(albeit in this case for only a moment). 176

...allqu-na-shi qongur chaki-n-pita "haq" ni-r amu-ku-rku-n.
dog-now-IND knee foot-3P-ABL say-adv bite-refl-asp-3
'...now the dog, growling bites him just below the knee.'

...uma-yki-pita warku-chi-shu-nki
head-2P-ABL hang-caus-32-2
'he will have you hung by the neck (lit. from your head)'

10.5.4. Material
-pita 'ABL' may indicate that the referent of the substantive so marked is the material out of
which something is made; e.g.:

Punchu-ta rura-na-paq lonismo puchka-nchi millwa-pita.
poncho-OBJ make-sub-PUR same:way spin-12 wool-ABL
'To make a poncho, in the same way we spin (out of) wool.'

Numral-kuna qeru-pita llaqlla-sha.
lintel-plur wood-ABL shape-prtc
'The lintels are shaped out of wood.'
(llaqlla- 'to shape wood with an adze')

...rura-pa-n llaqqa-ta-pis palma-pita pilita-y-pa.
make-ben-3 sandal-OBJ also palm:fiber-ABL braid-inf-adv
'. . .they braid sandals for him out of palm fiber.'
(of the sandals with which one is buried)

10.5.5. Source
-pita 'ABL' may indicate that the referent of the substantive so marked is the source of
something; e.g.:

Wakin-kuna kantiina-pita ranty-ya-n qollay-nin ka-piti-n.
other-plur store-ABL buy-impf-3 money-3P be-adv-3
'Others buy (food) from the store, if they have money.'

eskirbaamu urdi-nita hurqu-n agenti-pita...
scrivener order-OBJ remove-3 agent-ABL
'the scrivener gets an authorization from the agent...'
10.5.6. According

-pita 'ABL' may indicate that the referent of the substantive to which it is attached is what dictated the course of events. The simplest example of this use is the expression qam-pita (you-ABL) 'it's up to you'. i.e., whatever you decide will dictate the course of events.

...will-sha:-kuna llapa:-ta tapu-ma-sha-n-pita-naw-lla. tetl-perf-1-plur all-OBJ ask->1-sub-3P-ABL-SIM-just
  'we told him everything just according as he asked us.'

...kubra-n, finaar-u-pa ima-n-pis ka-sha-n-pita. charge-3 deceased-GEN what-3P-indef be-sub-3P-ABL
  'he charges according to what belongings the deceased had.'

Llanu ka-y-nin-pita kwista-n. thick be-inf-3P-ABL cost-3
  'It costs according to how thick it is.'

Chay-qa tessererre-pita-na ayka-ta mayuraasa-ta that-TOP treasurer-ABL-now how:many-OBJ dancer-OBJ
  chura-piti-n-pis. place-adv-3P-indef
  'it's up to the treasurer (to decide) how many mayuraasaas he puts in.'

The text following 752 continues to say that 'some put in up to 12. others 7 or 8' and then says they put in however many they can afford:

ayka-ta-pis gastu-n aypa:-na-n-paq how:many-OBJ-indef expenditure-3P reach-sub-3P-PUR

ka-sha-lla-n-pita. paaga-y-ta aypa:-na-lla-n-paq. be-sub-just-3P-ABL pay-inf-OBJ reach-sub-just-3P-PUR
  'according to how much he can afford to pay.' (more literally, 'according how much expenditure he can cover, to be able to pay')

...mas chani-n-ta kubra-n quya:-chi-sha-n-pita-na. more expensive-OBJ charge-3 pass:time-caus-sub-3P-ABL-now
  'he charges more depending on how much time he (the buyer) has made him spend.'
10.5.7. Time

-pita 'ABL' may indicate that the referent of the substantive to which it is attached is some time prior to the time of the main clause. This may be a time word or a substantive clause. Examples with substantive clauses follow:

Chay warmi-ta ashi-sha-n-pita wakin-ga kasara-n achka
that woman-OBJ search-sub-3P-ABL some-TOP marry-3 many

wamra-n-kuna ka-apti-n-raq. Wakin runa-ga ashi-sha-n-pita
child-3P-plur be-adv-3P-yet other man-TOP search-sub-3P-ABL

wata-ta maq minus-ta kasara-n.
year-OBJ more less-OBJ marry-3

'After having searched for that woman (i.e., engagement), some
marry only after there are many children. Other men, after
searching, marry in less than a year.'

Karna-bal fiesta usha-sha-n-pita birnis-7la-n-na qalla-yku-n
carnival fiesta finish-sub-3P-ABL Friday-just-3P-now begin-impact-3

rusyu-n.
procession

'The procession begins on the first Friday following the end of
Carnival.'

Wa'u-sha-n-pita pacha asta alpa-man pampa-na-n-yaq...
die-sub-3P-ABL continuously until ground-GOAL bury-sub-3P-LIM

'From the time he died continuously until he is buried...'

Examples with time words are kana-n-pita (today-ABL) 'from today on', laguna-pita (one o'clock-ABL) 'anytime after one o'clock', timpu-pita (time-ABL) 'ahead of time', taarri-n-pita (afternoon-3P-ABL) 'late in the afternoon'.

For 758, perhaps it would be better to say that -pita 'ABL' indicates that the substantive clause to which it is attached is a prior circumstance, rather than a prior time:

Pero horgo-riri-pi-n kawari-sha wa'u-sha-n-pita-na,
but remove-pnt-adv-3P come:to-3PERF die-sub-3P-ABL-now

'But after they pulled him out, he came to from his having
been unconscious.'

10.5.8. Contrast and Comparison

When one thing/circumstance/event is compared or contrasted with another, -pita 'ABL' marks the object to which comparison is made.\(^{177}\) For example, in 759 those who know how to read are set in contrast to those who don't:

Chay-chaw-pis huk ka-na-n liti-y-ta yacha-g wakin kaq-pita-ga.
that-LOC also one be-sub-3 read-inf-3OBJ know-sub other def-ABL-TOP

'Among them there should be one who knows how to read--in
contrast to the others (who need not know).'

Chay-pita kaq-qaqa 1lapa-n manda-n eskirbaanu...
that-ABL def-OBJ-TOP all-OBJ order-3 escribano

'All the others--in contrast to that one (the aforementioned
"capilla")--the escribano gives orders to...'

\(^{177}\) The use of the ablative case for this function is very common across the languages of the world.
10.5.9. Reason

-pita 'ABL' may indicate that the substantive to which it is attached is the reason that something (subsequent) was done: e.g.: 761

Qam-pita maqa-sha ka-shka:-.

you-ABL hit-PRF ben-perf-1

'I have been hit on your account.'

(Note: this does not mean 'I have been hit by you'.)

Ama mikuy-pita qa 'la-ku-y-chu.

not food-ABL-TOP besad-refl-2IMP-NEG

'Do not be disillusioned because of food (the lack of it)!!'

This use of -pita 'ABL' occurs with simple substantives or with substantives derived from clauses (formed by *-inf by *-sub', etc.): 763

...asta-n ... mana sumaq mikuy-pita rika-sha-n-pita...

whip-3 not well food-ABL see-sub-3P-ABL

'...he whips him ...because he did not watch well (to keep the animals) out of the crops...'

Qalta ke-y-pita osyoosu ke-y-pita chay-lla-ta miku-n.

lazy be-inf-ABL lazy be-inf-ABL that-just-OBJ eat-3

'Because they are lazy, they just eat that.'

Riginti ka-sha-::pita ali bindisyun-ta Yus qa-ma-n.

believer be-sub-1P-ABL good blessing-OBJ God give-3SUB

'Because I am a believer God gives me good blessings.'

10.5.10. Avoidance

When -pita 'ABL' occurs on a clause substantivized by *-na 'irrealis sub', that substantive indicates an unrealized event/circumstance being avoided (by doing what is described in the main clause): e.g.: 766

...chari-pa-::me-nchi ... yayar pillich-pa-::ma-::na-nchi-::pita,

grab-ben-=>1-12 blood splatter-ben-=>1-sub-12P-ABL

'...he grabs it for us ... lest blood splatter on us.'

...uysha-n-kuna-ta ataq mikuy-na-n-pita kurya-na-n-paq,

sheep-3P-plur-OBJ fox eat-sub-3P-ABL care-sub-3P-PUR

'...in order that they (dogs) watch lest a fox eat their sheep.'

Kargu ka-shpa-n-pis mana rura-n-chu chay wasi-chaw

office be-adv-3P-even not do-3-NEG that house-LOC

gachwa-na-n-pita.

dance-sub-3P-ABL

'Even if he has some office he does not carry it out, lest they dance in that house.'

"pitsako pay" ni-ma-::na-n-pita

slaughterer he say-=>1-sub-ABL

'...lest they say of me, "he is a slaughterer."'
10.5.11. Loan Translations Using -*pita* ‘ABL’

There are a number of cases in which -*pita* ‘ABL’ seems to be part of a loan translation (calque). For example, with the verb *perdona* ‘to forgive’, that of which one is forgiven usually takes -*ta* ‘OBJ’. However, some speakers use the ablative: *hucha-n-kuna-pita perdona* ‘forgive from their sins’. In Spanish this would use the preposition *de*. which has many of the same functions that -*pita* ‘ABL’ has in HgQ. Other examples follow:

```
    Allqu y mishi yarqay-pita-na-shi.
    dog and cat hunger-ABL-now-IND
    'The dog and the cat are now hungry.'
    (Spanish, 'estar de hambre')

    Yaku-na-y-pita ka-yke-:
    water-des-inf-ABL be-impfv-1
    'I am thirsty.'
    (Spanish: 'estar de sed')
```

Example 772 the loan translation would be based on an identification of -*pita* ‘ABL’ with the Spanish preposition *por* rather than *de*:

```
    Cheqilla-n-pita passa-yke-n raahi-n...
    waist-3P-ABL pass-1mpfv-3 skirt-3P
    'A skirt passes about her waist...'
    In Spanish: '...pasa *por la cintura'"
```

10.6. -*man* ‘GOAL’

-*man* ‘GOAL’ marks the endpoint of some path. This path may be real or metaphorical. A real path may be

- the motion of an object through space (see section 10.6.1),
- a static path through space (see section 10.6.2).

A metaphorical path may be

- the motion to an altered state or event (see section 10.6.3),
- the motion of a period of time to some endpoint (see section 10.6.4).

Other topics treated in this section are:

- Spanish calques (see section 10.6.5).
- A case that defies explanation (see section 10.6.6).
- To go after (see section 10.6.7).
- The interaction of -*man* with pre-transition suffixes (see section 10.6.8).

10.6.1. The Motion of an Object Through Space

With intransitive verbs\(^{178}\) -*man* ‘GOAL’ is used to mark the endpoint of some path along which the referent of the subject travels (has travelled, will travel, etc.); e.g.:


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With transitive verbs, \textit{-man} 'GOAL' is used to mark the endpoint of some path along which the referent of the direct object (or some understood object) is caused to travel. (Of course, in the case of verbs like \textit{apa} 'take' and \textit{pusha} 'lead' the referent of the subject must also travel toward the endpoint of the path.) For example:

\begin{verbatim}
Kay-man shunta-mu-y, here-GOAL gather-afar-2IMP 'Gather them (to) here.'
\end{verbatim}

\textit{Aywa} 'to go' and \textit{chaya} 'arrive' frequently occur with a name bearing \textit{-man} 'GOAL'. The meaning in this case is 'going to the place where \(x\) is' (where \(x\) is the person named). In the absence of a clear notion of where that person may be at the moment, it means 'to where \(x\) lives, to \(x\)'s dwelling'. For example, \textit{Juan-man aywa-n} (John-GOAL go-3) means either 'He goes to where John is' or 'He is going to John's house'.

### 10.6.2. A Static Path Through Space

In the following, \textit{-man} 'GOAL' marks the endpoint of a static path through space:

\textit{chuta} 'to stretch', e.g.:

\begin{verbatim}
Wash-laam-man kay-laam-man chuta-nchi, other-side-GOAL this-side-GOAL stretch-12 'We stretch it from here to there.'
\end{verbatim}

\textit{iksi} 'to knot', e.g.:

\begin{verbatim}
Chay-ta tiki-nchi chawpi-shipra-sha-nchi-man, that-OBJ knot-12 middle-3P peel-sub-12P-GOAL 'We knot that in the middle of where we have peeled back (its covering)'
\end{verbatim}

\textit{pitu} 'to wrap, to tie up', e.g.:

\begin{verbatim}
Wanka-man pitu-y, rock-GOAL tie-2IMP 'Tie him up to the rock.'
\end{verbatim}

\textit{topa} 'to abut, to touch', e.g.:

\begin{verbatim}
Toopa-yku-chi-n chay achikya-ra-yka-q-man, touch-IMPV-CAUS-3 that shine-stat-IMPV-sub-GOAL 'He touches it to the place where it glows.'
\end{verbatim}

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179 such as the following: \textit{apa} 'take', \textit{ashta} 'to carry', \textit{chagcha} 'to sprinkle', \textit{chur} 'to place', \textit{hati} 'to stick into/onto', \textit{hita} 'to throw', \textit{horgl} 'to remove', \textit{indrigo} 'to turn over to', \textit{ishpa} 'to urinate', \textit{kacha} 'to send', \textit{kwadra-chi} 'to park (a car)', \textit{laqta} 'to smear', \textit{mascha} 'to spread out', \textit{paker} 'to hide', \textit{pampa} 'to bury', \textit{pillu} 'to wind (e.g. string) onto', \textit{pinda} 'to store', \textit{puchka} 'to spin', \textit{pusha} 'to lead', \textit{qamra} 'to soil', \textit{qara} 'to feed', \textit{qaral} 'to expel', \textit{qara} 'to roof', \textit{qayo-mu} 'to call to come', \textit{saqta} 'to knock over', \textit{sindi} 'to light (candles) at', \textit{sipra} 'to peel', \textit{sipu} 'to sew into??', \textit{shunta} 'to gather together', \textit{tikwa} 'to tip over', \textit{tego} 'to spit', \textit{warda} 'to save', \textit{wark} 'to hang up', \textit{wayku} 'to stoke', \textit{wika-pa} 'to throw over embankment', \textit{wina} 'to pour into'.
**tukna**- ‘to lean against’

**wana**- ‘to tether, to tie (at the end of a rope)’. e.g.:

\[
\text{Chupa-n-man} \ \text{ruyu} \ \text{rumi-ta} \ \text{wata-ku-ruk-n.} \\
\text{tail-3P-GOAL round rock-OBJ tie-refl-up-3}
\]

‘He ties a round rock to his tail.’

\[
\text{Wata-shka-shu-nki noga-man.} \\
\text{tie-perf->2-2 I-GOAL}
\]

‘He tied you to me.’

A path extended in space may be denoted by a pair of noun phrases bearing -\textit{man} ‘GOAL’ referring to the endpoints. This use of the case marker may be of one of the other categories. For example, in 781 -\textit{man} is used as the transitive verbs described above in section 10.6.1:

\[
\text{Ishkay estaaga-ta hawi-nchi wak-la:-man} \ \text{key-la:-man.} \\
\text{two stake-OBJ plant-12 there-side-GOAL this-side-GOAL}
\]

‘We plant two stakes, one over on that side, one on this side (so as to stretch string between them).’

Example 782 presents a series of animals standing one on top of the other. The donkey is standing on the ground; in 10.5.1 the use of -\textit{pita} ‘ABL’ is explained as the point from which an upward path extends. But in the other cases, the place where the animal is to stand is marked with -\textit{man}. Perhaps this is because they involve the exertion of force (i) against something sentient (as opposed to the ground) or (ii) in the direction of the focal point of the narrative (the donkey):

\[
\text{Ichi-shaq pampa-pita. Hana-:-man allgo ichi-nga.} \\
\text{stand-1FUT ground-ABL on:top-3P-GOAL dog stand-3FUT}
\]

\[
\text{Mas hana-n-man mishi. Ultimu-man gallu.} \\
\text{more top-3P-GOAL cat last-GOAL rooster}
\]

‘I will stand on the ground. The dog will stand on top of me. The cat on top of him. Finally the rooster.’

### 10.6.3. The Motion to an Altered State or Event

In the following there is motion (in a metaphorical sense) to some new state or the initiation of some new event:

**alicha-ka**- ‘to get well’ e.g.:

\[
\text{Allich-a-kaa-chi-ra-n ka-sha-n-maw saanu-man,} \\
\text{fix-pass-caus-past-3 be-sub-3P-SIM health-GOAL}
\]

‘He cured him (so that he became) well like he was.’

**chura**- ‘to put’ e.g.:

\[
\text{Waqay-man chura-ka-ra-n.} \\
\text{cry-GOAL place-pass-past-3}
\]

‘He began to cry.’

**kama-ka**- ‘to arrange, put one’s self to’. e.g.

\[
\text{Kama-ka-sha upu-y-man.} \\
\text{arrange-pass-3PERF drink-INF-GOAL}
\]

‘He put himself to drinking.’

\[180\] I offer these as wild conjectures!


\textit{kumita-ka-}: ‘to complete’. e.g.,
\begin{align*}
\text{Kumita-ka-n } & \text{huk runa enteeru-}\text{-man.} \\
\text{complete-pass-3 } & \text{one man complete-}\text{GOAL}
\end{align*}

\begin{quote}
‘He completes himself into a man (out of dissociated body parts).’
\end{quote}

\textit{ruka-ka-}: ‘to change (clothing)’. e.g.,
\begin{align*}
\text{Huk } & \text{roopa-lla-}\text{-man.} \\
\text{other clothes-just-}\text{GOAL exchange-pass-3}
\end{align*}

\begin{quote}
‘They change into other clothes.’
\end{quote}

\textit{tikra-}: ‘to turn into’ e.g.,
\begin{align*}
\text{Ishka-}\text{n } & \text{tikra-sha } \text{huknayla-}\text{-man.} \\
\text{two-}\text{3P change-3PERF just:one-}\text{GOAL}
\end{align*}

\begin{quote}
‘The two have turned into one.’
\end{quote}

\begin{align*}
\text{Allpa-}\text{man } & \text{tikra-nki-paq.} \\
\text{earth-}\text{GOAL turn-2FUT-fut}
\end{align*}

\begin{quote}
‘You will turn into dirt.’
\end{quote}

10.6.4. The Motion of a Period of Time to Some Endpoint

There are a number of temporal noun phrases which bear \textit{-man ‘GOAL’}. These could be regarded as simply idiomatic expression. Whether they constitute a dead metaphor or a live one, they are consistent with the use of \textit{-man ‘GOAL’} as indication of the endpoint of a path. In this case the path being an advance of time. Examples follow:

\textit{mas chaka-y-lla-}\text{-man}\textsuperscript{181} (more be:dark-inf-just-\text{GOAL}) ‘when it got dark(er)’

\textit{or:aman ‘at the time’}, e.g.,
\begin{align*}
\text{Chaya-paaku-n } & \text{parla-sha-n oora-}\text{man.} \\
\text{arrive-plur-3 } & \text{agree-sub-3P time-}\text{GOAL}
\end{align*}

\begin{quote}
‘They arrive at the time they had agreed upon.’
\end{quote}

\textit{mas raatumon, raatumon ‘a moment later, in a moment’}, e.g.,
\begin{align*}
\text{Mas } & \text{raatu-}\text{man } \text{sha-ril-mu-}\text{nik.} \\
\text{more moment-}\text{GOAL come-pncf-afar-2}
\end{align*}

\begin{quote}
‘Come back in a just a minute.’
\end{quote}

\begin{align*}
\text{Hama-paari-y } & \text{raatu-}\text{man.} \\
\text{sit-moment-2IMP moment-}\text{GOAL}
\end{align*}

\begin{quote}
‘Sit down for a moment.’
\end{quote}

\textit{pacha warayman ‘along toward morning, near dawn’}

\textsuperscript{181} Or \textit{chakayilaman or chakayman.}

\textbf{185}

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10.6.5. Spanish Loan Translations (Calques)

The following illustrate involving *man* 'GOAL' with loan translations (calques) from Spanish:

Mayu-man sirkay ka-sha huk kantina.
river-GOAL close be-3PERF a store

'Stay close to the river.'

Spanish: cerca al rio 'near to the river'

... puñu-sha-n-man huk hachaasu go-yku-sha.
sleep-sub-3P-GOAL a axe:blow give:impact-3PERF

'He gave an axe-blow to where she was sleeping.'

Spanish: donde dormia 'to where she slept'

autoridad-man dimanda-authority-GOAL demand

'to denounce before the authority' (tiñinti, agenti, etc.).

Spanish: demandar a autoridad 'denounce to the authority'

In 796 it seems that there is a path extending through space, namely the line of sight ending at the object seen. Nevertheless, this is probably a Spanish calque from viendo a lejos.

Keru-man rika-r mana reqsi-shka:-chu
far-GOAL see-adv not recognize-perf:-NEG

'Seeing it afar off, I did not recognize it.'

Spanish: viendo a lejos 'seeing to far'

10.6.6. Residue

In example 797, inteeru 'all around' bears *man* 'GOAL' to express *from all around*. *pita 'ABL.' seems far more appropriate given the meaning: I do not know why *man* is used rather than *pita.

... aypalla-ta wasi-n-chaw chara-n inteeru-man
a:lot-OBJ house-3P-OC have-3 all:over-GOAL

mañaku-na-n-paq,
ask:for-sub-3P-PUR

'...He keeps a lot in his house because from all over people ask him for it.'

10.6.7. 'To go after'

With aywa- 'to go' a noun phrase may bear *man* 'GOAL' but the meaning is not *to go to x* (where x is the place referred to by the noun phrase) but rather *to go after x* to go get (and bring back) some of x. For example,

Aywa-y asukar-man.
go-ZIMP sugar-GOAL

'Go after sugar!' or 'Go and get some sugar!'

Pillku-ta aywa-shka:- murrininti-man.
Pillku-DIR go-perf-1 fire:water-GOAL

'I went to Pillku to get fire water.'

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182 Perhaps this occurs with other verbs as well.
There is an interesting contrast between -man ‘GOAL’ and -koq (-kU-q) ‘to get’; in example 800 means to go for firewood in the sense of getting it and bring it back, whereas in 801 it means to go to cut/work firewood (not necessarily bring it back):

Aywa-y yanta-man!
go-2IMP firewood-GOAL

'Go after firewood.' (i.e., to bring it back)

Aywa-y yanta-koq.
go-2IMP firewood-to:GET

'Go for firewood.' (i.e., to chop it)

10.6.8. Interaction with Pre-Transition Suffixes

Some verbal roots (e.g., puñu- ‘sleep’, hama- ‘sit’) are inherently stative, implying no motion and rejecting a noun phrase with -man ‘GOAL’. But if -ykU ‘impact’ or -chi ‘cause’ is added to the verb, it implies motion, either of the subject in the case of -ykU or of the object in the case of -chi.

a. Chay-chaw puñu-yku-n. (there-LOC sleep-impact-3)
   Chay-man puñu-yka-n. (there-GOAL sleep-impact-3)
   Chay-man puñu-yka-n. (there-GOAL sleep-impf-3)

b. 'He is sleeping there.'
   Chawru puñu-chi-n altus-lla-man-shi.
   sleep-caus-3 second:floor-just-GOAL-IND
   'So he allows/makes them sleep upstairs.'

Kawal-ru-n-pa waata-n-man hama-yku-r... 
horse-3P-GEN back-3P-GOAL sit-impact-adv

'Seating himself on the back of his horse...'

Punku-n-man hama-yku-chi-r...
door-3P-GOAL sit-impact-caus-adv...

'Seating them by the door...'

10.7. -yaq and -kama ‘Limitative’

In HgQ, -yaq and -kama are synonymous, have the same range of uses, and occur with roughly the same frequency.\(^{183}\) x-yaq or x-kama indicates that x is either
- the physical limit of some motion (see section 10.7.1), or
- the temporal limit of some activity or period of time (see section 10.7.2).

Whether a limitative substantive should be interpreted as spatial or temporal depends on the nature of its referent of the verb of which it is an argument.

---

\(^{183}\) The Spanish preposition hasta ‘until, up to’ is sometimes used in the formation of limitative expressions, thus: asta [X]-yaq or asta [X]-kama.
10.7.1. Spatial Limit

In the following, a substantive with -yaq~kama 'LIM' is the physical limit of some motion through space:

I foot-just-adv go-refl-perf-1 piliku-LIM
'I went all the way to Piliku on foot.'

Hata-ri-chi-sha hanaq-yaq.
stand-asp-caus-3PERF high-LIM
'They raised (the building) high (i.e. made it very tall).'

Nirkur qepa ataka-n-ta sipra-nchi ula:-kama qaracha-n-ta.
then hind foot-3P-OBJ peel-12 low-LIM skin-3P-OBJ
'Then we peel back the skin of its lower hind legs as far as the lower part.'
(ula: is a contraction of ula las:do) 'lower side'.

Example 809 shows two limitative expressions which are appositive, one with -yaq, the other with -kama:

Chay-kuna uchku-n ruri-kama pampa-na-n-paq alli ka-na-n-yaq.
that-plur dig-3 inside-LIM bury-sub-3P-PUR good be-sub-3P-LIM
'They dig down (into the ground), far enough to bury it.'

Substantives with -yaq~kama 'LIM' often occur paired with an ablative -pita, e.g.:

Nirkur mayu-pita vao-shi chura-nuku-yku-n wiche-lla-n-pa.
then river-ABL peak-LIM-IND place-recip-asp-3 slope-just-3P-GEN
'Then they place themselves all along the side of the mountain, from the river to the peak.'

10.7.2. Temporal Limit

There are two types of temporal limit. First, -yaq~kama occurs on a substantive which refers to a time or period of time to express persistent state/activity until that time (as in example 811) or to the completion of that time period (as in example 812):

Duran asta mirkulis-kama.
last-3 until Wednesday-LIM
'It lasts until Wednesday.'

Hina ka-shun-ran ishkar kimsa killa-kama.
like:that be-12FUT-yet two three month-LIM
'We will be in that condition for two or three more months.'

Wakin warmi-kuna hapallan guyaa-ku-y-ta muna-n
some women-plur single remain-refl-inf-OBJ want-3
mas unay-yaq.
more time-LIM
'Some women want to remain single longer.'
(unay 'prior or subsequent time')

...kilu-llu asta imay-yaq-pis.
remain-refl-3 owner until when-LIM-indef
'...they remained the owners forever.'

The following are temporal uses of -yaq~kama following a substantive which seem to be fairly
idiomatic and well on their way to being single, frozen expressions:

\textit{raatu-man-kama} (moment-\textsc{GOAL-LIM}) 'just a second, momentarily'.

\textit{tempraamu-yaq-lla} (early-\textsc{LIM-just}) 'very early'.

\textit{pacha wara-y-kama} (firmament to:dawn-\textsc{inf-LIM}) 'at dawn'.

**Second.** \textit{-yaq-k-kama} occurs following substantivized clause. When the substantivizer is \textit{-na}, the meaning of the whole expression is 'until'. When it is \textit{-sha}, the meaning is 'while'. (These are also discussed in Weber [39], section 5.1.) The difference between the \textit{-sha-POS-LIM} and \textit{-na-POS-LIM} is represented in 815 and 816:

\begin{verbatim}
+------------------+-+------------------+
| time of main clause | time of the -sha-POS-LIM clause |
+------------------+-+------------------+
| a. - - - - > | time of the main clause (punctual) |
| a. - - - - > | time of the -na-POS-LIM clause |
| b. - - - - > | time of the main clause (ongoing) |
| b. - - - - > | time of the -na-POS-LIM clause |
\end{verbatim}

In 815, the event/state referred to by the subordinate clause occurs until the event/state of the main clause is accomplished, i.e., \textit{while} it is ongoing. In 816, the event/state referred to by the subordinate clause persists \textit{until} the event/state of the main clause is initiated: this event may be punctual (816a) or an ongoing activity (816b). These will be discussed in turn.

When \textit{-yaq-k-kama} occurs on a clause substantivized by \textit{-sha}, that clause indicates that the activity expressed by the main clause persists \textit{until} the completion of the activity indicated by the substantivized clause. Such substantive clauses are often best translated into English by 'while'. Examples follow:

\begin{verbatim}
...awkits ooso-ga ashi-paku-g aywa-ku-sha-n-kama...
...while the old bear had gone to scavenge...
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Kay-chaw ka-sha-yki-yaq sumaq miku-nki.
here-LOC be-sub-2P-LIM well eat-2FUT

'While (as long as) you are here you will eat well.'
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Chay-pita wa\-nu-sha-n-ven wiyeraschi-nchi.
that-ABL die-sub-3P-LIM wait-12

'After that we wait until it has died.'
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Mana soo-da-sha-yki-yaq aru-hti-ki-qo...
not sweat-sub-2P-LIM work-adv-2P-TOP

'Unless you work until you sweat...'
\end{verbatim}

In 821 the running persists until being able to run is no longer possible:

\begin{verbatim}
Y koorri-sha mana puysi-sha-n-kama atoq.
and run-3PERF not be:able-sub-3P-LIM fox

'And the fox ran until he was no longer able (to run).'</n\end{verbatim}

When \textit{-yaq-k-kama} occurs on a clause substantivized by \textit{-na}, it looks forward to an event/state not yet initiated; that substantivized clause indicates that the activity expressed by the main clause persists \textit{until} the initiation of the state or activity expressed by the substantive clause. Examples follow:
...arma-n kiki-lla-n arma-ku-y-ta yacha-ku-na-n-vaq. 822
    bathe-3 self-just-3P bathe-refl-inf-obl learn-refl-sub-3P-LIM
    '...they bathe them until they learn to bathe themselves.'

...arma-n iti ka-sha-n-pita asta ishkay wata-yoq 823
    bathe-3 infant be-sub-ABL until two year-have
    ka-na-n-vaq,
    be-sub-3P-LIM
    '...they bathe them from the time they are infants until
    they are two years old.'

...asta pantiyun ruri-n kapilla-man chaya-chi-na-n-vaq. 824
    until cemetery inside-3P chapel-GOAL arrive-caus-sub-3P-LIM
    '...until they arrive at the chapel inside the cemetery.'

...kunbira-n yapa-ri-r yapa-ri-r awwa-na-n-kama. 825
    serve-3 add-asp-adv add-asp-adv agree-sub-3P-LIM
    '...they serve (drink) again and again until he agrees.'

Mas willa-pa-shun chu qasa-ka- na-n-kama. 826
    more tell-ben-12IMP-NEG calm-pass-sub-3P-LIM
    'Let's not spread the news more until the situation calms down.'

pacha wara:-na-n-kama 'until dawn': e.g.: 827
  Qachwa-n pacha wara:-na-n-kama.
  dance-3 firmament dawn-sub-3P-LIM
  'They dance until dawn.' (pacha waraan is very early
  in the morning when it is barely light)

10.8. -paq 'PUR'
    -paq 'PUR' has a wide range of uses: at the heart of these seem to be the notions of purpose and
    benefit/detriment. This section is organized in terms of the following uses of -paq 'PUR':
    - to express 'for the benefit of' (see section 10.8.1),
    - to express 'purpose' or 'reason' (see section 10.8.2),
    - with purpose complements (see section 10.8.3),
    - with the concept of 'exchange' (see section 10.8.4),
    - with compound tenses (see section 10.8.5),
    - in time expressions (see section 10.8.6),
    - to mean 'concerning' or 'about' (see section 10.8.7),
    - to mean 'for x to do' (see section 10.8.8),
    - to carry out some role/office (see section 10.8.9).

10.8.1. -paq to Express 'for the benefit of'
    If φ refers to Φ; then φ-paq may mean 'to the benefit (or detriment) of Φ'. For example, in
    example 828, money is contributed for the benefit of the saint:

Ni qallay-ta-pis chura-n-chu santu-paq-qa. 828
    nor money-obl even place-NEG saint-PUR-TOP
    'Nor does he contribute any money for the saint.'

Other examples of this use follow:
-paq to Express 'for the benefit of' [10.8.1]

...kanta-chi-n finaaru-paq.
sing-caus-3 deceased-PUR

'...they have him (the cantor) sing for the deceased.'

...lapan pobri-paq wakcha-paq yus-ninch ka-ya-n
all poor-PUR orphan-PUR God-12P be-impfv-3

ma'na-ku-q-paq qa
arrpinti-ku-q-paq qa
ask-ref1-sub-PUR-TOP repent-ref1-sub-PUR-TOP

'...God benefits (is for) the poor, the orphans, those who ask, and those who repent.'

Punku-kuna-paq lumismo chura-nchi numra-kuna-ta...
door-plur-PUR same:way place-12 lintel-plur-OBJ...

'In the same way we place lintels (in the wall which is being constructed) for the doors.'

10.8.2. -paq to Express 'purpose' or 'reason'

A PURPOSE CLAUSE is formed by -na-POS-paq, where POS is a possessive suffix. It may be used in a variety of ways (as listed in the introduction): the most basic is to express the reason or purpose for which something was done. For example, in 832, the reason for coming (and hence arriving) to a particular place was to be able to go from there to Pilliku:

...chaya-mu-ree-n ... ware-nnin Pilliku-ta aywa-na-n-paq.
arrive-afar-past-3 tomorrow-super pilliku-OBJ go-sub-3P-PUR

'...he arrived ... to go to Pilliku the following day.'

(This use is discussed more fully in Weber [39], section 5.4.1.)

-paq 'PUR' may also indicate reason or purpose with a simple substantive; e.g. ima-paq 'for what reason' in the following example:

that old donkey-OBJ what-PUR-now-?? live-caus-12-eve

'Why (for what reason) should we let that old donkey live any longer?'

-paq 'PUR' may be used to indicate that some thing is good for some purpose: as e.g. a chair is good for the purpose of resting:
Kaye-qa utika-r hama-ku-na--:paq-mi,
this-TOP tire-adv sit-ref1-sub-3P-PUR-DIR

'This (is) for me to sit on when I get tired.'

that-plur-OBJ divine-sub-2P-PUR you not be-2

'You are not able to divine those things.' (lit. 'You are not for divining/foretelling those things.')

A common use for this is in saying what remedy is good for a particular illness; e.g.:
Ruymatismu-paq ahinkus y matiku.
rheumatism-PUR (plant) and (plant)

'(A cure) for rheumatism is ahinkus and matiku.'
10.8.3. -paq with Purpose Complements

The purpose clause structure has become the basis of a type of complement. This differs from the use described in section 10.8.2 in that it does not convey a strong notion of 'purpose'; the purpose structure has simply become the grammatical mechanism for forming the complement. (In most cases, it is fairly transparent that the complement originated from a purpose complement: thus, the complement is not void of the notion of 'purpose'.) For example, parla- 'converse' followed by -kU 'reflexive' occurs with a purpose clause to mean 'to agree to x' where x the purpose clause, expresses that to which the parties agreed: e.g.:

... wañu-chi-ma:-na-n-paq parla-ku-sha.
  kill-caus-3=1-sub-3P-PUR converse-refl-3PERF

'... they agreed to kill me.'

A command may be indirectly quoted as a purpose clause complement to ni- 'say': e.g.:

Pi-taq ni-shka-shu-nki aywa-na-yki-paq?
who-?? say-perf-2=2 go-sub-2P-PUR

'Who told you to go?'

10.8.4. -paq with the Concept of 'exchange'

With the notion of exchanging goods and services, -paq 'PUR' may mark the substantive referring to what was received in return:

Chawra runa nobillu-na qellay-paq rantiku-yku-r...
so man oxen-3P-OBJ money-PUR sell-impact-adv

'So the man, having sold his team of oxen for money...' (i.e. to get money in exchange for the team)

Chay misa-paq paaga-n kasara-q-kuna.
that mass-PUR pay-3 marry-sub-plur

'The ones who are getting married pay for that mass.'

In examples 842 and 843, the expressions paaga+paq 'to do for pay' ranti+paq 'to be for sale' are morphologically anomalous in that -paq 'PUR' directly follows the verb root (with no substantivizer):

Simri chay papil-ta paaga+paq rura-n.
always that paper-OBJ for:pay make-3

'They always write that document in exchange for pay.'

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184 This is discussed more fully in Weber [39], section 4.3.
-paq with the Concept of 'exchange' [10.8.4]

Chay murtahi ka-n rantî-paq Pîllku-illa-chaw.
that shroud be-3 for:sale Pîllku-just-LOC
'There are such shrouds for sale in Pîllku.'

10.8.5. -paq with Compound Tenses

-paq 'PUR' is used in the formation of (i) the imminent future (see 8.11), and (ii) the true future
relative clause (see Weber [39], section 2.3.2.3). An example of each follows:

Tuni-na-="paq ka-yka-.
fall-sub-1F-PUR be-impfv-3
'I am about to fall.'

Rika-chi-shayki wara rantiku-na-="paq ka-yka-q kuchi-ta.
see-caus-1=2>FUT tomorrow sell-sub-1F-PUR be-impfv-sub pig-OBJ
'I will show you the pig that I will sell tomorrow.'

10.8.6. -paq in Time Expressions

-paq may be used with a word referring to a time¹⁸⁵ to express various temporal concepts such
as 'by the time that', 'at the time', 'before lapsing of a certain amount of time', etc.¹⁸⁶ Examples
follow:

Kanana mawlaya-paq yapya-ta usha-ri-::-
today mid:afternoon-PUR cultivation-OBJ finish-pinct-1
'I (will) finish my cultivation by the middle of this afternoon
(by the time of the mid afternoon coca break).'

...sha-n mu-n listan-va-na parla-sha-n oora-paq-ga ...
come-atar-3 list-3P-COM-now speak-sub-3P time-PUR-TOP
'...they come with their list by time agreed upon...

Chawra-q kontratu-qa rura-shun pusag hunaq-paq.
so-TOP contract-OBJ do-12 eight day-PUR
'Let us fulfill the contract eight days hence.'

...maña-ku-n tesureuru-kuna ishka-y kimsa huna-paq
ask-refl-3 treasurer-plur two three day-PUR
santu-ta aurna-chi-na-n-paq
saint-OBJ decorate-caus-sub-3P-PUR
'...the treasurers ask him to have the saint decorated within
two or three days.'

¹⁸⁵ E.g., mawlay 'mid afternoon'. oora 'moment'. hunaq 'day'. diya 'day'. wata 'year'.

¹⁸⁶ These meanings are quite distinct from the meanings with the limitative 'until, while': e.g.:

a. Warâ-paq
tomorrow-PUR
b. Warâ-kama
tomorrow-LIM

rura-shaq.
do-1FUT

a. 'I will do it by tomorrow.'
b. 'I will do it until tomorrow.'

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"Aywa-shun ni-sha-n diya-paq listu ka-na-n llapan... go-12FUT say-sub-3P day-PUR ready be-sub-3 all 850

'Everything should be ready by the day they are going.'

Pall-a-ruk-chi chaki-chi-nchi. Nirkur chura-nchi pick-asp-adv dry-caus-12 then place-12 851

watan-nin-paq-na. next:year-3P-PUR-now

'Having picked them (beans) we dry them. Then we store them for the following year.'

Kimsa killa ishka killa fiesta-paq pishi-yka-pty-n... three month two month fiesta-PUR lack-impv-adv-3P 852

'Two or three months before the fiesta...'; (lit. 'Lacking two or three months before the fiesta...')

See Weber [39], section 5.1. for brief mention of temporal expressions using -na-POS-paq (-sub-possessive-PUR) in the sense of 'by the time that'.

10.8.7. -paq to Mean 'concerning' or 'about'

-paq 'PUR' may mark a substantive 'about which' or 'concerning which' something is said. Verbs with which -paq has this meaning are ni- 'say', parla-'converse', rima-'to speak good or bad of. willa-'tell'. Examples follow:

"...wina-pa-rayu-shaq" ni-sha sunsu-paq yapay mayur-nin. throw:over-sud-1FUT say-3PERF stoolo-PUR again older-3P 853

'Again his older brother said concerning the stoolo.'

"...man a-ali-paq ga parla-pa-n-chu. 
not good-PUR-TOP converse-3-PSE

'...they do not speak kindly to them (i.e., not concerning anything good).'

Ama pita-tips willa-pa-y-chu noqapaq. 
not who-0BJ-even tell-ben-2IMP-NEG me-PUR 854

'Do not tell anyone about me.'

Mana rispita-q ka-paq-ga willa-n huti-n-qa 
not respect-12PAST-PUR TOP tell-12P-PUR name-3P-GEN 855

'They tell by name about those who have not been respectful saying, 'He did not respect me...''

Verbs which express states of mind (e.g. kushki-'be happy,' llaki-'be sad,' gongka-'forget') often occur with a direct quote expressing the state of mind. It is not surprising then, that these verbs may occur with a substantive bearing -paq referring to what was thought; e.g.:

Ima-paq-taq llaki-ku-nki? what-PUR-?? be:sad-ref-1-2 857

'Why are you sad?'

Ama gongka-shun-chu ... nuybu bawi-asadu-kuna-paq, neg forget-12FUT-NEG new baptized:ones-plur-PUR 858

'Let's not forget about the newly baptized ones.'
10.8.8. -paq to Mean ‘for x to do’

In 860 -paq ‘PUR’ indicates the person to whom a task corresponds:

Pay-paq qa mas huk-naw kusturni:n.
he-PUR-TOP more other-SIM custom-3P

‘There is still another custom for him (to do).’

10.8.9. -paq to Express ‘to carry out some role/office’

Verbs such as ya-yktU ‘enter’ and chura ‘place’ are used with -man to indicate the goal of spatial motion. See example 861a. By contrast, -paq is used with these verbs indicating the office that someone enters or into which he is put. See 861b. (Note: this is not physical entry into an office, but taking on that office as a role or responsibility.)

a. Was-i-man chura-sha.
   house-GOAL place-3PERF
b. Manda-q-paq chura-sha.
   order-sub-PUR place-3PERF
   a. ‘He put it into the house.’
   b. ‘He put him in as boss.’

...apa-ku-ra-n... chunyq hirka-man... warmi-n-paq.
   take-refl-past-3 deserted mountain-60AL wife-3P-PUR
   ‘...he took her ... to a deserted mountain for his wife.’

Chay runa-kuna-ta balumintu-paq ruwa-kun...
that man-plur-OBJ liaison:man-PUR beg-refl-3

‘They beg various men to be their representative... (to represent a suitor’s clan to the family of the prospective bride).’

10.9. -pa ‘GEN’

-pa ‘GEN’ marks a diffuse orientation (in space, in time,...) with respect to the referent of the -po-marked substantive. This manifests itself in various ways, among them the following:

- Through/By way of (see section 10.9.1).
- Along a defined course (see section 10.9.2).
- In the area of (see section 10.9.3).
- Diffuse Goal (see section 10.9.4).
- Admixture (see section 10.9.5).
- Various senses of “over” with hana (see section 10.9.6).
- Orientation to geographical features (see section 10.9.7).

-pa has other uses discussed in various places in this work:

- -pa adverbializer (see section 5.6.1.2).
- -yaflapa adverbializer (see section 14.4).
- *naw + pa manner adverbials (see section 10.12). and

-pa ‘GEN’ used in the possessive construction (see section 12.3).
10.9.1. -pa to Mean 'through/by way of'

In the following examples, the referent of the subject of the clause passes through or goes by way of the referent of the -pa-marked substantive:

Noqa heqa-mu-shaq huk punta-pa...
I come:over-afar-1FUT a ridge-GEN

I will come over a ridge (afar off)...

Niykur llaksa-pa paasa-nchi.
then llaksa-GEN pass:through-12

'Then we go through Laksa (on our way to Wahaq).'

light see-state-afar-prtc be-3PERF window-GEN-IND

'The light had been seen through a window.'

In 867, the object passes through that referred to by the substantive to which -pa is suffixed:

that-ABL rope-OBJ poke-12 make:hole-sub-12P-GEN

'Then we poke the rope through the hole we made.'

In 868 the area through which the light passes is not specified as a particular place, but is specified as to its size:

Mas hatun-pa achikya:-mu-n.
more large-GEN shine-afar-3

'The light shines through a larger (opening)'
when the curtains are drawn back)

10.9.2. -pa to Mean 'along a course'

In the following examples, some course is prescribed along which the subject moves. This motion may be of many types; e.g. in 869 it is sewing a border onto the edge of a poncho and in 870 it is attaching ornaments all around the edge of the platform on which a saint is carried in a fiesta:

Huk reebe tin-ta awa-nchi punchu-pa kantu-n-pa
one edge:strip-OBJ weave-12 poncho-GEN edge-3P-GEN
hirana-n-paq.
sew-sub-3-PUR

'We weave a strip to sew around the edge of the poncho.'

Chay-man wata-rkuU:-ri-r inteeru kantu-n-pa tumari-q
that-GOAL tie-asp-plur-adv all edge-3P-GEN go:about-ADV
adurnu-wan adurna-n.
ornaments-OM decorate-3

'Having tied that to it, they decorate it with ornaments all around its edge.'

871 describes a group of people in a fiesta who form a circle around a tree by holding hands. Then hand in hand they circle around the tree:
-pa to Mean 'along a course' [10.9.2]

Kumun yoora-ta saqta-na-n-paq llapan
community tree-OBJ fell-sub-3P-PUR all
chari-naku-rkU:ri:r tuma-pan inteeru kantu-n-pa
grab-recip-plur-adv go:about entire border-3P-GEN

For the community to fell the tree, having all taken hands they go around the entire border of the tree.

In 872 the course is the two sides of a fox’s mouth. (to form a hole in the middle so the fox can whistle like a bird):
Shimi-ki-ta hira-shun ishka-n-la:-pa.
mouth-2P-OBJ sew-12 two-3P-side-GEN

We will sew up your mouth along its two sides.

In 873 the motion is around the edge of town, along its boundaries:
Kampu tuma-n marka-pan kantu-n inteeru linda-n-pa
campo go:about-3 town-GEN edge-3P entire boundary-3P-GEN
pullan chawpi-pita.
half center-ABL

The campo (administrator responsible for crops) goes about the entire boundary of the town’s edge, half way between.

In 874 the course is 'about the waist':
Nirkur cheqila-n-pa wata-pa-n kurdun-ta.
then waist-3P-GEN tie-gen-3 cord-OBJ

Then they tie a cord about his waist.’ (of preparing a body for burial)

In 875 two courses are contrasted, wayra-pa ‘through the air, along the wind’ and allpa-pa ‘along the ground’:
Qam sha-mu-nki wayra-pa buyla-y-pa y pay sha-mu-n
you come-afar-2 wind-GEN fly-inf-ADV and he come-afar-3
allpa-pa laata-y-lla-pa.
ground-GEN crawl-inf-just-GEN

(of a condor and a frog who have raced) ‘You come flying through the air and he comes crawling along the ground.

Similarly, in 876 hanaq-pa means (roughly) ‘through the sky’:
Noga aywa:-: hanaq-pa buyla-y-pa...
I go-1 high-GEN fly-inf-GEN

I go flying way up (in the air)

10.9.3. -pa to Mean ‘in the area of’
In the following examples, the substantive to which -pa is attached refers to an area: -pa indicates that the event/state described in the clause took/takes place within this area.187

187. The difference between the use of -pa ‘GEN’ and -chaw ‘LOC’ is subtle: with -pa the area is less precisely delineated, i.e., more diffuse, than with -chaw. For example, in 877, the vicinity of the town is not a precisely defined area. If -chaw had been used, it would have indicated motion within a narrower, better defined region (i.e. the town as the concentration of houses about the church and municipality).
Rigidur-na tuma-n hinan marka sirka-lla-n-pa.
rigidur-now circulate-3 same town close-just-3P-GEN

'The rigidur makes rounds right in the vicinity of the town.'

Mas qechwa-pa 1lapan runa armaku-n cara semaana
more valley-GEN all men bathe-3P every week
warmi ollqo-pis.
women man-also

'Farther down in the valleys 11 persons bathe each
week, and men and women alike.'

Chay-wan qongur-ni: chaki-n-pa kuchu-r1-yku-ma-sha
that-COM knee-1P foot-3P-GEN cut-asp-asp=->1-3PERF

'With that he cut me in the area just below my knee.'

Washa-kaq punta-qa iskerra-kaq laadu-pa huk punta ka-n,
other-def peak-TOP left-def side-GEN one peak be-3

Waqra Willka
(name)

'(Considering) the peak on the left, on the left side
of it there is a peak. (named) Waqra Willka.'

Achka yaku-yoq ka-ra-n chay ragra+n aywa-o-ga-qa,
much water-have be-past-3 that valley go-sub-GEN-TOP

'There was lots of water along that valley.'

Chari-q-kaq Rawpa-n-pa ichi-n,
grab-sub-def side-3P-GEN stand-3

'The one grabs it stands along side it.'

Awkin-na-shi ollqo-yka-n, ruri-lla-pa-qa.
old:man-now-IND become:angry-implf-3 inside-just-GEN-TOP

'The old man is now becoming very angry, but just inside
(i.e., he conceals his anger).'

In 884, hauun-pa indicates the area in which the tearing took place—not a particular area but its
size—and in 885, altu-lla-pa indicates the area in which the sheeps wool is cut—not a particular place.
but a distance relative to the sheep’s skin:

Chawra mas hauun-pa rachi-sha rika-ku-n.
so more large-GEN tear-prtc see-refl-3

'So the tear became greater.'
(lit. 'It was seen to be torn larger. ')

...huk deedo altu-lla-pa uysha-pa qara-n-pita
one finger high-just-GEN sheeps-GEN skin-3P-ABL

...pullan deedo altu-pa,
half finger high-GEN

'...about a finger's (length) above the sheep's skin.
...half a finger high'

188The expression qonqurnii chakinpa 'below my knee' is an instance of a spatial genitive. see section 12.3.2.3
10.9.4. -pa to Mean 'diffuse goal'

To indicate the goal of some motion, if the destination is definite some case marker other than -pa is used (e.g. -man ‘GOAL’ or -ta ‘OBJ’). -pa indicates a diffuse goal: it indicates that the destination is to the area of some place, not to a particular place. For example, in 886 the destination is anywhere far off, and in 887 it is some other place:

Karu-pa suwa-naku-r aywa-ku-n. 886
far-GEN steal-recip-adv go-refl-3
'(of a couple eloping) Stealing each other to some far place, they go off.'

Wakin runa-qa huk-la:-pa qeshpi-pa-yku-n. 887
other man-TOP one-side-GEN escape-ben-impact-3
'Other men escape to some other place.'
(to the detriment of those who have come to ask for his daughter’s hand in marriage)

In 888 the musicians travel to many towns (no particular one):

Alli tuka-paku-r puri-ku-na-paq fiesta-n fiesta-n 888
good play-INST-ADV travel-refl-sub-PUR fiesta-3P fiesta-3P
marka-kuna-pa.
town-plur-GEN
'(It would be) good for us to go about playing from fiesta to fiesta among the towns.'

Chay ishkkay kag-qa kara uunu-n-pa mandu-n. ima-man 889
that two def-TOP each one-3P-GEN subordinate-3P what-GOAL
may-pa-pis muna-sha-n oora kacha-ku-na-n-paq.
where-GEN even want-sub-3P time send-refl-sub-3P-PUR
'The two of them each has his own subordinate, so that he can send them after whatever and to wherever when they want.'

Wara apa-nki washa pampa-pa. 890
tomorrow take-2 over-there plain-GEN
'Tomorrow take it to that plain over there.'

To say 'to return home' one says wasi-n-pa kuii-ku:- this could indicate returning to live in the vicinity of one’s parent’s house, not right in it. To use -man or -ta rather than -pa would indicate return right to a particular house.

The expression kaminu-POS-pa aywa-ku:- 'to go on one’s way' is consistent with the -pa’s use as indicating a diffuse goal.

In 891, it is sight directed toward a goal (rather than physical motion toward a goal) which is diffuse:

Noqa rikcha-ku-yka:- inteeru-pa. 891
I look-refl-IMPfv-1 entire-GEN
'I am looking (intently) all about.'

10.9.5. -pa in Reference to Admixtures

-pa ‘GEN’. in combination with -wan ‘COM’, occurs on a substantive referring to a substance mixed with or employed in combination with some other: see examples 892 and 893:
then water-3P-GEN-COM ground-GOAL mud-COM mix-caus-3PERF

'Then he mixed it with mud along with water on the ground.'

arma-n wakin yaku-lla-wan wakin habun-nin-pa-wan
bathe-3 some water-just-COM other soap-3P-GEN-COM

'...they bathe, some with just water, others along with soap.'

10.9.6. -pa with hana 'above'

-pa 'GEN' occurs frequently with hana. Various notions are indicated thereby. In 894 hana-pa means (roughly) 'uphill':

...hana-pa ura-pa aywa-sha-n-chaw...
up-GEN down-GEN go-sub-3P-LOC

'...as one went up the hill and the other went down...'

In example 895, hana-n-pa means (roughly) 'above. over (non-contiguously)':

...kerral hana-n-pa paasa-qpag.
corrul over-3P-GEN pass-result

'...so that he passed over the corral.'

In examples 896 and 897, hana-n-pa means (roughly) 'on top of (contiguously)':

wuusa-n hana-n-pa hati-ku-sha puka 1lachapa-ta...
blouse-3P over-3P-GEN put-on-refl-prtcl red clothing-OBJ

'On top of her blouse she has put on (an item of) red clothing.'

Nykur mantay hana-n-pa awa-nchi chaqlla-wan
then rafter over-3P-GEN weave-12 sticks-COM

teeha qata-na-n-pag-na
tiles roof-sub-3P-PUR-now

'Then we weave with roofing sticks on top of the rafters, so as to roof it with tiles.'

In examples 898 and 899 hana-lla-n-pa means (roughly) 'on the surface of':

Chay-ta hana-lla-n-pa kuchu-nchi tumari-q
that-OBJ over-just-3P-GEN cut-12 encircle-sub

ruri-n-kaq-ta mana daana-y-lla-pa.
inside-3P-def-OBJ not damage-inf-just-GEN

'We cut that just on its surface all the way around, (being careful) not to cut that which is inside.'

Rebuk-sha-n hana-n-pa pinta-sha yorq puntuwa-wan.
plaster-sub-3P over-3P-GEN paint-prtcl white paint-COM

'On top of where it has been plastered, it is painted with white paint.'

10.9.7. -n+pa in Orientation to Geographical Features

-n+pa (into which -pa 'GEN' has become frozen) indicates a geographical feature (such as slope) along which some motion takes place: e.g.:
10.10. -wan ‘COM’

-\textit{wan} ‘COM’ has various uses, among them the following:
- Instruments (see section 10.10.1).
- Co-Participants (see section 10.10.2).
- Conjunctions (see section 10.10.3).
- Subjects of causatives (see section 10.10.4).
- Circumstances (see section 10.10.5).
- Under the authority of (see section 10.10.6).

10.10.1. Instrument

-\textit{wan} ‘COM’ is used to mark instruments (and is the only case marker which does so).

Examples follow:

\begin{verbatim}
Ushachi-sha-n iharu-n-kura beela-wan aechki-pa-n kara
baptize-sub-3 step:child-3P-plur candle-COM shine-gen-3 each
kanta-y-lla-n,
sing-inf-just-3
\end{verbatim}

‘His stepchildren by baptism (to whom he is godfather)
shine a candle for him every time (the cantor) sings.'
...piyun-ta ashi-yku-r arma-chi-n yaku-wan.
peon-OBJ search-asp-adv bathe-caus-3 water-COM

'...having searched (successfully) for a peon, they have him
bathe (the body) with water.'

Chaki-n-ta taka-yku-sha table-wan.
foot-3P-OBJ strike-asp-sub plank-COM

'He struck his foot with a plank. (of a child who was picking
up a plank and dropped it on his foot)'

Kuura kasare-chi-n misa-wan.
priest marry-caus-3 mass-COM

'A priest marries with a mass.'

...yaku-ta manka-kuna-wan achka-za ashta-ku-yku-
water-OBJ pot-plur-COM lots-OBJ carry-refl-asp-adv

arma-kun pushilu-wan hana-n-man wiha-ku-y-lla-pa.
bathe-refl-3 cup-COM top-3P-GOAL pour-refl-inf-just-GEN

'...bringing lots of water with pots, they bathe pouring it
over themselves with a cup.'

...rutu-y-za qalla-yku-nchi tihira-wan...
cut-inf-OBJ begin-asp-12 scissors-COM

'...we begin to cut it with scissors...'

...muula-pa waska-n-wan-shi wata-ku-rku-sha...
mule-GEN rope-3P-COM-IND tie-refl-asp-3PERF

'...tying it up with the mule's rope...'

Chusk-q wintu-n kahun-wan pampa-ku-pty-n. Kahun-nyinaq-lla
four-hum carry-3 casket-COM bury-refl-adv-3P box-without-just

pampa-ku-pty-n ishka-q-lla apa-n kirma-wan.
bury-refl-adv-3P two-prs-just take stretcher-COM

'Four persons carry it if they are going to bury him with the
casket. If they are going to bury him without a casket, just
two persons take him with a stretcher.'

Y runa atog-pa konsehu-n-wan nobillu-n-tya libra-yku-n
and man fox-GEN counsel-3P-COM oxen-3P-OBJ free-asp-3

'And the man was able to free his oxen with the fox's
counsel.'

...awu-ku-n ... gase-q yaku-wan habun-nin-pa-wan.
rinse-refl-3 cold-sub water-COM soap-3P-GEN-COM

'...they rinse themselves ... with cold water and soap.'

-wan 'COM' may mark the material with or from which something is made or done; e.g.:

...awa-nchi chaqila-wan teeha-wan qata-na-paq-na.
weave-12 roofing:sticks-COM tile-COM roof-sub-PUR-now

'...we cover (the rafters) with roofing sticks in order to
roof it with tiles.'

Noqa pecho-:-ta puka-ya:-chi-shka-:: uchu-wan.
I breast-1P-OBJ red-bec-caus-perf-1 hot:pepper-COM

'I made my breast red with hot pepper. (bird to inquisitive fox)'

Nawal-wan tini-ruku-r atapa-nchi-raq.
walnut-COM dye-asp-adv form:skein-12-yet

'Having dyed it with walnut (leaves) we then make a skein.'
10.10.2. Co-Participant

Some verbs require a conjoined subject, i.e., two (or more) co-participants. For example, when kasara- ‘to marry’ is used to express that a man and a woman marry, then one or the other (depending on perspective) will be marked with -wan:189 e.g.:

Churi-ki-wan kasara-shaq.
son-2P-COM marry-1FUT
'I will marry your son.'

pilya- ‘to fight’, parla- ‘to converse’ and tinku- ‘to encounter’ are other verbs which take co-participant subjects:

...chay-wan pilya-na-n-paq kundinaadu-wan.
that-COM fight-sub-3P-PUR condemned-COM
'. . . in order to fight the condemned spirit with that.'

Chay yayku-q-kune-lla-wan parla-n rimoeru.
that enter-sub-plur-just-COM speak-3 first
'First they speak with those who are entering (office).'

tinku- has two meanings, ‘to encounter’ and ‘to be similar to’ both of which take co-participating subjects: First, in the sense of ‘encounter’:

Atoq-wan-shi wanchaq tinku-ra-n huk hunaq.
fox-COM-IND type of bird meet-past-3 one day
'A fox and a bird met one day.'

Second, in the sense of ‘be equal to’:

make-impv-sub-1Z not equal-3FUT-fut-NEG be-impv-sub-COM
'What we are making will not be the same as the one which is.'

The comitative substantive may co-participate in indicating something which--along with the other participant(s) is attractive:

Chuku-wan kama-ra-ak1.
hat-COM fit-state-2
'It looks good with the hat.'
(lit. 'You are fitting with the hat.')

ka- ‘to be’, tiya- ‘to reside’ and qoya- ‘to pass time’ may all be mean ‘to live with (as man and wife)’ when used with co-participating subjects, e.g.:

Mana huk-wan warmi=-: ka-n-man-raq-chu.
not other-COM wife-1P be-3-cond-yet-NEG
'It just could not be that my wife is living with (having an affair with) another (man).'

189. When kasara- ‘to marry’ is used in the sense of a priest performing the act of marriage, then those married by that act will be the object of that act: -wan is not used in this case.
Chay-naw ni-pto-n hipash warmi mana muna-r-qa "mana-mi
that-SIM say-adv-3P young woman not want-adv-TOP not-DIR
qan-wan tiya-::man-chu" ni-n,
you-COM live-1-cond-NEG say-3

'When he says that (i.e. proposes marriage) if she does not
want to (marry him), the young woman says, "I would not live
with you."'

...runa warmi-wan mana ali qoya-pto-n
man woman-COM not good pass:time-adv-3P
pay arrigla-na-n-paq
he fix-sub-3P-PUR

'...for him to reconcile matters if the man and
woman do not live compatibly.'

In examples 928 and 929 there is a co-participant, but of a different kind: the participant
marked by -wan is taken (in hand) by the principle participant:

EskirbaaMu urdin-ta huru-n agent:pita chay urdin-wan
scrivener order-OBJ take:out-3 agent-ABL that order-COM

tuma-na-n-paq:
go:about-sub-3P-PUR

'The scrivener gets an order from the agent in order to go
about with that order.'

Chay:pita-qa chay runa-qa sha-mu-n / listu-n-wan-na...
that-ABL-TOP that man-TOP come-after-3 list-3P-COM-now

'After that, that man comes with a list...'

10.10.3. Conjunction
-wan 'COM' is used in the conjunction of substantives; this is discussed in section 18.1.2. In
this use, -wan co-occurs with other case markers; e.g. in 930 it co-occurs with -ta 'OBJ' and in
931 with -pa 'GEN':

Pushpu-ta ... hara-ta-wan
beans-OBJ corn-OBJ-COM

'beans ... and corn'

rihidur-pa alwasir-nin-pa-wan
rigidur-GEN alguacil-3P-GEN-COM

'of the the rigidur and of his alguacil'

In examples 932-934, -wan marks the conjunction of an object:

...arrus-nin-ta-wan miku-ma::na-n-paq
rice-3P-OBJ-COM eat->1-sub-3P-PUR

'...in order to eat me along with rice.'

Ichik ramita-lla-ta upu-nchi konaka-wan ichik-lla-ta,
little (plant)-just-OBJ drink-12 cognac-COM little-just-OBJ

'We drink a little ramita with a little bit of cognac.'

Desayuno-::ta-qa upu-:: pobri-qa kamcha-lla-ta-wan,
breakfast-1P-OBJ-TOP drink-1 poor-TOP corn-just-OBJ-COM

'((Being) poor; we drink our breakfast just with
toasted corn.)'
The subjects of verbs made reciprocal by the addition of -nakU 'recip' sometimes have co-participant subjects conjoined by -wan 'COM': e.g.:

Hwan-wan Pabl u rika-naku-n.
John-COM Paul see-recip-3

'John and Paul see each other.'

10.10.4. Subject of Causativized (Transitive) Verb

When an intransitive verb is causativized its subject becomes the object of the causative. But when a (di)transitive verb is causativized, its subject is made a comitative (instrumental) (and its object remains as the object of the verb). Examples:

Qam mentira-yki-wan noqa-ta kri y1-chi-una-nki.
you lie-2P-COM 1-OBJ believe-caus-3P

'You make me believe (it) with your lies.'

Ninkur wayra-wan apa-chi-nchi pasha-n-ta.
then wind-COM take-caus-12 straw-3-OBJ

'Then we make the wind take the straw.' (of threshing)

...mayurdoomu willa-chi-n sibinti-n-wan iskirbaanu-ta...
majordomo tell-caus-3 servant-3P-COM scrivener-OBJ

'...the majordomo has his servant inform the scrivener...

Chawra agenti-na mandun-kuna-wan oqay-chi-una-n chay
so agent-now subordinate-plur-COM call-caus-affar-3 that

uyshiru-pa tayta-n-ta mama-n-ta multa-ta
shepherd-GEN father-3 OBJ mother-3 OBJ fine-OBJ

paaga-chi-na-n-paq.
pay-caus-sub-3-PUR

'So the agent has his subordinates go off and tell the shepherd's parents to come, so as to make them pay a fine.'

This is also discussed in section 9.6.3.1.

10.10.5. Circumstance

When -wan 'COM' occurs following an infinitive (formed with -y 'INF') or a clause subordinated by -na, it may mean 'in the circumstance of' or 'being in the condition or circumstance': e.g.:

Rabya-sha ka-y-niki-wan maqa-shka-nki.
angry-prtc be-inf-2P-COM hit-perf-2

'Being angry, you hit him.'

Kuyraa kiru-yki-ta paki-una-wan.
be:careful:lest teeth-2P-OBJ break-sub-3P-COM

'Be careful: lest it break your teeth' (the very hard bread you are chewing on)
...tinri looku-ta-y-11a-wan yaga-ku-sha chay
tiger crazy-bec-inf-just-COM fall-refl-3PERF that
laguuna-man.
lake-GOAL

"...the tiger, (with the circumstance of) becoming crazy,
fell down into that lake."

Chawra buurruta qayku-pa-yka:-sha-=-wan
then donkey-OBJ drive-ben-impv-sub-IP-COM

...yaku apa-ku-n.
water take-refl-3

"Then, as we were driving the donkey (into a
swollen river)...the water took it."

Kanan-ga t uns-shun chanka tuka-y-11a-wan-pis rikra
now-TOP dance-12 leg play-inf-just-COM-even arm

hichka-y-11a-wan-pis.
sceipe-inf-just-COM-even
(a frog to other frogs) 'Now let us dance, playing
our legs and scraping our arms.'

10.10.6. Under the Authority of
muna-y(want-inf) may express the ideas of authority, power, or responsibility: e.g.:

Muna-y-nti-chaw ka-:
want-inf-2P-LOC be-1

'I am under your authority.'

In the following examples, to express "have authority over x" or "be responsible for x" the
substantive phrase denoting x bears -wan 'COM':

Eski上级aani llapan fiesta-kuna-wan muna-y-ntiyq.
scrivener all fiesta-plur-COM want-inf-having

'The scrivener has authority over all the fiesta.'

Muna-y-ntiyq ka-nq a llapan wamra-=-kuna-wan
want-inf-having be-3FUT all child-IP-plur-COM

'He will be responsible for all my children.'

10.11. -naw 'Similarity'

-naw 'SIM' is used to express similarity, either real or hypothetical. This section includes
discussions of the following:
- the order of -naw and other post-transition suffixes (see section 10.11.1).
- -naw indicating 'simile' (see section 10.11.2).
- -naw to indicate manner (see section 10.11.3).
- chay-naw and kaj-naw referring to events (see section 10.11.4).
- chay-naw and kaj-naw referring to speech (see section 10.11.5).
- -naw in 'about to' (see section 10.11.6).
- -naw to mean 'approximately' (see section 10.11.7).
- huk-naw 'different(ly)' (see section 10.11.8).

Section 10.12, concerning -naw-pa 'manner' reports another use of -naw.
The Order of -naw and Other Post-Transition Suffixes

-\text{naw}'SIM' may (and frequently does) co-occur with the other case markers, e.g.,

\begin{verbatim}
Wan\text{-naw}ta-naw rika-shka-\.  
dead-ACC-SIM  see-perf-1
'I saw him as one who had died (but he was actually alive)'
\end{verbatim}

The order of -\text{naw}'SIM' with the other case markers is not well defined: consider for example the following in which either order is permissible (with no detectable difference in meaning):

\begin{enumerate}
\item a. wawqo-n-naw-kuna-ta (brother-3P-SIM-plur-OBJ)
\item b. wawqo-n-ta-naw-kuna (brother-3P-plur-OBJ-SIM)
\end{enumerate}

\begin{enumerate}
\item a. 'to those who were like his brothers'
\item b. 'as though to his brothers'
\item Ishka-n tikra-sha huknaylla-
\item two-3P turn-3PERF just-one
\item a. -\text{naw-ma}-naw
\item b. -\text{naw-man}
\item c. -\text{man}
\item a.b. 'The two of them have become as though one.'
\item c. 'The two of them have (indeed) become one.'
\end{enumerate}

10.11.2. -naw Indicating Simile

The primary use of -\text{naw} in HgQ is to make hypothetical comparisons, i.e., to liken a thing, a manner, an event, to some other.

\begin{verbatim}
Haacha-\text{wan-naw} mutu-n machita-\text{wan}.
axe-COM-SIM  chop-3 machete-COM
'He chops with a machete as though it were an axe.'
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
...sabra-wan kapitaana rasun+pa rima-naku-q-\text{naw}
sabra-COM kapitaana really  speak-recip-sub-SIM
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
iwal  iwal  rima-naku-n.
together  together  speak-recip-3
'
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
...the \text{sabra} and the \text{kapitaana} (two positions in a
certain fiesta ceremony) argue back and forth as though
they were really arguing.'
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
...hati-pa-n  murtashi-ta ... pasay+pa  uma-pita asta
put:on-ben-3  shroud-OBJ  completely  head-ABL  to
chaki  punta-yaq  kuura-pa \text{llachapa-n-ta-\text{naw},}
foot  point-LIM  priest-GEN  clothes-3P-OBJ-SIM
'
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
...they put a shroud on him ... which, like a priest's
clothes runs completely from his head to the tips of his
feet.'
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Parabin n-\text{naw} karu yaku-q runa-pa maka-n-ta hawalla
parabin say-3 cargo enter-sub man-GEN hand-3P-OBJ (greeting)
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
ni-q-\text{naw}  chari-piti-p.
say-sub-SIM  grab-adv-3P
'A "parabin" is when they take the hand of the man who is
entering the office as though to greet him.'
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Hama-ku-q-\text{naw}  rea-pa-\text{-ma-nki}.
rest-refl-SUB-SIM  do-ben-\text{-x1-2}
'Do it for me as though resting.'
\end{verbatim}
-naw Indicating Simile

...ishka-n-pa ka-n baara-n-kuna qaruti-naw.
two-3P-GEN be-3 staff-3P-plur stick-SIM
'...both of them have a baara, like a walking stick.'

Runa sigaaru-ta muka-q-naw aywa-n man cigarette-OBJ suck-sub-SIM go-3
achikya achikya achikya-r.
flash flash flash-adv
'It (a fire fly) goes along flashing like a man smoking a cigarette.'

The following is an instructive example:
Puchu-q-kun-ta shunte-ra-n ganchis kanasta
exceed-sub-plur-OBJ gather-past-3 seven basket
aypa-q-ta(-naw).
suffice-sub-OBJ(-SIM)
'They gathered up what was leftover, enough to fill seven baskets.'

Without -naw, 958 means that there were seven baskets present, and the leftovers filled them; but if -naw is added, it means that the quantity of the leftovers would have filled seven baskets, and does not imply that the baskets were present.

10.11.3. -naw Meaning ‘manner’

-naw ‘SIM’ may be used to mark the substantive (phrase) which indicates the manner in which an action was done: e.g., in 959 chay-naw ‘like that’ indicates the manner in which a frog walks:

like:that I walk-1 that-SIM custom-1P I-GEN that-SIM
'I just walk like that. Its my custom to walk that way.'

The more common way to indicate the manner of an action is with -naw-pa (-SIM-GEN): see section 10.12. I suspect that in this case -naw-pa could have been used instead of -naw, with no appreciable difference in meaning.

Example 960 shows a rather different sort of ‘manner’: the substantive with -naw reports the manner of telling, not in the sense of how spoken, but in the sense that the telling responded directly to a series of questions:

...willa-shka-kuna llapan-ta tapu-ma-sha-n-pita-naw-lla.
tell-perf-11 all-OBJ ask-3>1-sub-3P-ABL-SIM-just
'...we told him everything just as he asked us.'

I suspect that in this case -naw-pa could not have been used, since it indicates ‘manner’ in a much narrower sense.

10.11.4. Chay-naw and Kay-naw Referring to Events

Events are referred to with chay-naw (that-SIM), for a previously mentioned event, and kay-naw (this-SIM), for an event to be mentioned.
Chay-naw and Kay-naw Referring to Events [10.11.4]

...fista-ta rura-na-n-paq kama+ri-ku-r kay-naw rura-n. 961
   fiesta-OBJ do-sub-3P-PUR prepare-refl-adv this-SIM do-3
   '...preparing himself to carry out the fiesta, he does this:'
   (followed by a description of what he does to prepare)

Yapay wasi-n-man chaya-sha chay-naw-na. 962
again house-3P-GOAL arrive-3PERF that-SIM-now

Again he arrived to his house that way
(as he had previously done)

"Noqa mara-kuna-chaw rika-sha-::-naw yayku-shun-qa..." 963
   I town-plur-LOC see-sub-1P-SIM enter-12IMP-TOP

Chawa chay buurru ni-sha-n-naw-shi...
   then that donkey say-sub-3P-SIM-IND

   '"Let's enter like I saw in the towns..."
   Then as the donkey had said..."

The event referred to may not have been previously mentioned, but must be an actual event happening; e.g.:

...sapo kontesta-n, "Saltando brinando kay-naw kay-naw". 964
   frog answer-3 jumping hopping this-SIM this-SIM
   '...the frog replies, "Jumping, hopping, like this,
   like this." (as he demonstrates by jumping)

After telling all that is done to prepare a body for burial, one text continues:

Chay-naw rura-rku-::-ri-r kahun-man wiia-n. 965
   that-SIM do-impact-plur-adv box-GOAL put-in-3

   'Having done that, they put into the box.'

Taksha-kuna hina chay-naw.
   small-plur like:that that-SIM

   'Small children are just like that.'
   (of children squabbling)

Following a description of some ways to circumvent the traditional customs for marriage (e.g.
   elopement), the text continues:

Pooku chay-naw-ga rura-n. 966
   little that-SIM-TOP do-3

   'Little do they do that.'

10.11.5. Chay-naw and Kay-naw Referring to Speech

With ni ‘say’, rima- ‘speak (badly of)’, willa- ‘tell’, and parla- ‘speak’ one refers to something
   previously said with chay-naw and to something about to be said with kay-naw. This is like referring
to events (discussed in section 10.11.4) except that what is referred to in these cases is not the act
of speaking, but the speech itself. Examples follow:

Atot ni-n kay-naw, "Ima-taq rura-nki kanan?" 967
   fox say-3 this-SIM what-?? do-2 now
   'The fox says (like this), "What are you doing now?"

   "... Wara wañu-chi-shun. Chay-naw ni-sha duyũ-::.
      tomorrow die-caus-12FUT that-SIM say-3PERF owner-1
      "... Tomorrow we will kill him." My owners said (like) that.'
Chay-naw willa-yku-pty-n...
that-SIM tell-impact-adv-3
'When he told them (like) that.

10.11.6. -naw in ‘about to’

The combination -q-naw ka-(-sub-SIM be-) means ‘about to’, ‘on the verge of’, or ‘as though to’: e.g.: Taripa-q-naw ka-pty-n mas-raq-sh1 koorri-y-ta
encounter-sub-SIM be-adv-3P more-yet-IND run-inf-OBJ

galla-yku-n.
begin-impact-3

'When he (the fox) was about to catch up to him (the frog). he (the frog) began to run faster.'

Kargu-ty yayku-na-n-paq awwni-q-naw ka-pty-n-qa...
cargo-OBJ enter-sub-3P-PUR agree-sub-SIM be-adv-3P-TOP

'When he is about to agree to enter the cargo....'

10.11.7. -naw to Mean ‘approximately’

-naw ‘SIM’ may be used to hedge quantities: e.g.: Ayka-naw-ta-taq tanta-ta chara-nki?
how-many-SIM-OBJ-?? bread-OBJ have-2

'About how many (pieces of) bread do you have?'

Tapa-sha-n tuta almusa-y oora-naw...
watch-sub-3P morning eat:breakfast-inf time-SIM

'On the morning after they have watched (at the wake), about breakfast time....'

Santu-pa diya-n hunaq-qa chaqcha inti-naw hurqu-n
saint-GEN day-3P day-TOP chew:coca sun-SIM remove-3
rusyun-ta.
procession-OBJ

'On the day of the Saint’s celebration day, about the time of the coca break (approximately 10:30AM) they take out the procession.'

10.11.8. huk-naw ‘different(ly)’

huk-naw (one/other-SIM) means ‘differently, in a different manner’. (This meaning is due to the ‘other’ sense of huk. so huk-naw might be glossed ‘like another.’) Examples follow:

Chakra runa warmi-ta ashi-n huk-naw.
rural man woman-OBJ seek-3 one-SIM

'Rural men seek (to marry) a woman in a different way.'

Tesurreeru huk-naw kargu kustumri-ta rura-n. Mayurdoomu
treasurer one-SIM cargo custom-OBJ do-3 majordomo

mas huk-naw tesurreeru-pita kustumri-ta rura-n.
more one-SIM treasurer-ABL custom-OBJ do-3

'The treasurer carries out his cargo in one way: the majordomo carries out his differently from the treasurer.'
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Chay runa musya-n-na ima-naw+pa warmi-pa tayta-n-ma
that man know-3-nw what-MAN woman-GEN father-3P-GOAL

chaya-na ka-sha-n-ta-pis...
arrive-sub be-sub-3P-OBJ-indef

'That man knows in what manner one should approach the
woman's father... (to ask for her hand in marriage).'

...ima-naw+pa wañu-sha-n-ta-pis sumaq musya-na-n-pag.
what-MAN die-sub-3P-OBJ-indef well know-sub-3P-PUR

'...in order to know precisely how he died.'
(i.e., what caused his death)

10.13. *-niraq* ‘Like’

In HgO, usually *-niraq* ‘like’ is a phonological part of the word it follows, the combination bearing only one stress. Sometimes it occurs as a separate word (with stress both on it and on the preceding word). \(^{190}\)

Like *-naw* and *-naw+pa*: *-niraq* is both case-like and adverbial, and expresses similarity. However, unlike *-naw* ‘SIM’, *-niraq* is limited to ascribing a characteristic (usually a physical one) to a physical object. The contrast can be seen in 986:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Pay miku-n kuchi} & \quad \{ \\
& \text{a. -niraq} \\
& \text{b. -naw+pa} \\
& \text{c. -naw}
\}
\end{align*}
\]

(a. like a pig (in some physical characteristic))

'b. in the manner of a pig (e.g. sloppily)

(c. like a pig/as though he were a pig.

With a substantive which indicates some degree on a scale, as e.g. "old" indicates a degree on the scale of maturity, *-niraq* hedges that degree, i.e. it brings the indicated degree closer toward the mid-point of the scale:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Hipash-lla warmi ka-sha. Awkin-niraq runa ka-sha.} & \\
\text{young:woman-just wife be-3PERF old-like man be-3PERF}
\end{align*}
\]

'His wife was just a young woman.
The man was like old (but not all that old).'

Later the man disguises himself as very old and goes to spy on his wife:

\[
\begin{align*}
\ldots\text{chaya-sha awkin pu:ru chachash-niraq warmi-n-ma.} & \\
\text{arrive-3PERF old completely inclined-Like wife-3P-GOAL}
\end{align*}
\]

'He arrived to his wife's house as a completely old
man. bent over (with age).'

Here *chachash niraq* means 'somewhat inclined'. *chachash niraq* can be said of an elderly person or some thing which has an upward orientation, such as a post.

In 989. I believe *-niraq* is used to avoid speaking too insultingly of those who don't bathe, hedging *inutil* 'humble, worthless':

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Wakin inutil niraq runa-kuna-ga mana-na arma-n-na-pis-chu...} & \\
\text{other humble LIKE man-plur-TOP not-now bathe-3-nw-indef-NEG}
\end{align*}
\]

'Other humble-Like men don't bathe at all...'

\(^{190}\) In many dialects this is the general case.
-niraq ‘Like’ [10.13]

In the following -niraq is part of an idiomatic expression (i.e. one whose meaning is no longer a product of the parts from which it is formed):

tukuy niraq ‘all sorts of’, and

hukniraqa:

(of someone’s countenance) to fall: e.g.:
Chaye-naw ni-q-ta wiya-r huk-niraq-ya-kakuru-ri-n.
that-SIM say-sub-OBJ hear-adv one-like-bec-compl-past-3

‘When he heard what was said, his countenance fell.’

10.14. -pura ‘between/among’

-pura ‘among’ is a dying suffix. There are now only two cases in which it is used. First, it is used in the expression pullan-pura ‘half and half. in equal parts’: e.g.:

Ishkan gellay-ta chura-n pullan-pura.
two-3P money-OBJ put-3 half-among

‘The two of them pay the money half and half.’

Rihidur-wan kampu chay-ta gasta-ku-n pullan-pura.
rigidor-COM campo that-OBJ spend-refl-3 half-among

‘The rigidor and the campo pay for that, half and half.’

Second, it is used with kiki ‘self’ inflected for person: e.g.:

Kiki-n-pura pilya-n
self-3P-among fight-3

‘They fight among themselves.’

Kiki-nchi:-pura-shi miku-naku-shun-shi.
self-12P-among-IND eat-recip-12PUT-IND

‘They say that we are going to eat one another.’

(an expression jokingly used when there is not much food)

10.15. More About Case

In the rest of this section various facts about case marking are considered: the co-occurrence of case markers (section 10.15.1), the interaction of case relationships and pre-transition suffixes (section 10.15.2), instances where choice of case marker significantly affects the meaning of a verb (section 10.15.3), and a situation in which the choice of case marker dictates a logical property (section 10.15.4).

10.15.1. Co-occurrence of Case Markers

Generally only one case marker occurs per substantive phrase. However there are several cases in which more than one occurs. Both -pa and -wan frequently co-occur with other case markers. One common case is when -wan is used used to indicate conjunction, and the substantive phrase already bears a case marker. For example, in 995, Juan-ta is being conjoined with -wan ‘COM’ to Pablu-ta, with the result that it bears two case markers:

Hwan-ta-wan Pablu-ta rika-shka-\
John-OBJ-COM Paul-OBJ see-perf-1

‘I saw John and Paul / I saw Paul with John.’
Another common case is when a possessor of a genitive expression, bearing -pa 'GEN', is further case marked to indicate its relationship to the verb. For example, in 996. Hwan-pa 'of John' is a possessor; because the possessed part of the genitive construction (e.g. wasi-n 'his house') does not occur, multiple case markers result:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Hwan-pa-naco} & \quad \text{aya-wa-yka-}: & \quad \text{996} \\
\text{John-GEN-GoAL go-imprv-1} & \\
& \quad \text{'I am going to John's (house).' }
\end{align*}
\]

Noted that the co-occurring case markers function in quite different ways: the function of -wan in 995 is to indicate conjunction; the function of -pa in 996 is to indicate possession.

A third case involves the markers which are more "adverbial" in function. These co-occur freely with the other case markers; e.g., see -naw 'SIM' in 997:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \quad \text{a. Kiki-n-pa-ta} & \quad \text{maqa-sha, hit-3PERF} & \quad \text{997} \\
& \quad \text{b. Kiki-n-pa-ta-naw} & \quad \text{hit-3PERF} & \\
& \quad \text{self-3P-GEN-OBJ-SIM} & & \\
& & \quad \text{a. 'He hit his own.'} & \\
& & \quad \text{b. 'He hit it as though it were his own.'} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

Again in 997, the co-occurring case markers function in different ways: -naw does not indicate the relationship of 'his own' to 'hit'--which is marked by -ta 'OBJ'--but indicates that the act of hitting something other than his own was as though it were his own.

Weber [39] (section 3.1.3) deals with a type of relativization in which the case marker of the embedded coreferent is retained (when the embedded coreferent is deleted) and is "floated" to the end of the relative clause. A similar process is involved in example 998, in which the case marker -wan 'COM' follows the purpose clause (which ends with the case marker -pag 'PUR') to indicate that "money" bears a role (instrument) with respect to "buy":

\[
\begin{align*}
& \quad \text{Qellay-tepis apa-nki mas achka-ta} & \quad \text{998} \\
& \quad \text{money-OBJ-indef take-2 more much-OBJ} \\
& \quad \text{[yapay ranti-mu-na-yki-pag-wan],} & \quad \text{again buy=afar-sub-2P-PUR-COM} \\
& \quad \text{'Also take much more money with which to again buy.'} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

The final clause of 998 comes about from 999a by the deletion\(^\text{191}\) of qellay 'money' (999b) and the retention and subsequent "floating" of -wan 'COM' (999c):

\[
\begin{align*}
& \quad \text{a. [yapay qellay-wan ranti-mu-na-yki-pag]} & \quad \text{999} \\
& \quad \text{again money-COM buy=afar-sub-2P-PUR} & \\
& \quad \downarrow \text{deletion} & \\
& \quad \text{b. [yapay \text{Ø} -wan ranti-mu-na-yki-peq]} & \quad \text{\textit{\textendash}floating of -wan} & \\
& \quad \text{\textendash} & \\
& \quad \text{c. [yapay \text{Ø} ranti-mu-na-yki-pag-wan]} & \quad \text{999c} \\
& \quad \text{again buy=afar-sub-2P-PUR-COM} & \\
& \quad \text{'...with which to again buy.'} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{191}\) Perhaps it would be better to say that qellay is replaced with a null anaphor; its absence is clearly due to the high degree to which qellay is the theme of this sentence.
10.15.2. Pre-Transition Suffixes Changing Case Relationships

Consider the effect of -\textit{yku} in the following:

\begin{itemize}
  \item [a.] Chay-chaw pu\texttilde{n}-\textit{yka-n}. \textit{(there-LOC sleep-impfv-3)}
  \item [b.] *Chay-man pu\texttilde{n}-\textit{yka-n}. \textit{(there-GOAL sleep-impfv-3)}
  \item [c.] *Chay-chaw pu\texttilde{n}-\textit{yku-n}. \textit{(there-LOC sleep-YKU-3)}
  \item [d.] Chay-man pu\texttilde{n}-\textit{yku-n}. \textit{(there-GOAL sleep-YKU-3)}
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item [a.] 'He is sleeping there.'
  \item [d.] 'He puts (himself) to rest there.'
\end{itemize}

The effect of -\textit{yku} is to change the meaning (and the aspect) of the verb pu\texttilde{n}- 'sleep'. which of itself is an inherently durative verb.

Another case of pre-transition suffixes influencing case marking involves -\textit{ra}: 'state'. When this suffix occurs on a verb of 'placement'\textsuperscript{192} the oblique locative relation is changed from -\textit{man} 'GOAL to -\textit{chaw} 'LOC'. This is due to a change in the meaning from one of 'motion ending at some place' to 'static location at some place'.\textsuperscript{193} Thus we find the following combinations:

\begin{itemize}
  \item [a.] Chay there \{ \textit{-man} \}
  \item [b.] *Chay there \{ \textit{-chaw} \}
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item [a.] chura-n. \textit{place-3}
  \item [b.] \{ \textit{chura-ra-n.}
  \item [b.] \textit{place-state-3}
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item [a.] 'He puts it there.'
  \item [b.] 'It is placed there.'
\end{itemize}

Examples:

\begin{itemize}
  \item Chay-man pampa-y.
  \textit{there-GOAL bury-IMP}
  \textit{'Bury him there.'}
  \item Chay-chaw pampa-\textit{ra-\textit{yka-n}}.
  \textit{there-LOC bury-state-impfv-3}
  \textit{'He is buried there.'}
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{192} These are transitive verbs which entail an object coming to be at some place. They include \textit{chura}- 'place'. \textit{wina}- 'pour/dump into'. \textit{pampa}- 'bury'. \textit{paka}- 'hide'.... see examples 1061-1064 in chapter 11.

\textsuperscript{193} The notional object also become the grammatical subject. Perhaps these changes are best captured by lexical redundancy rules like the following:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{verb-}\textit{transitive}
  \textit{+motion}
  \textit{[\_subj\_NP\_1 obj\_NP\_2 goal\_NP\_3]}
  \textit{\Leftrightarrow verb-mu-}\textit{transitive}
  \textit{+motion}
  \textit{[\_subj+NP\_2 loc\_NP\_3]}
  \item \textit{verb-}\textit{transitive}
  \textit{+motion}
  \textit{[\_subj\_NP\_1 goal\_NP\_2]}
  \textit{\Leftrightarrow verb-mu-}\textit{transitive}
  \textit{+motion}
  \textit{[\_subj+NP\_1 loc\_NP\_2]}
\end{itemize}

Perhaps this should be collapsed into one rule. The change in the feature [+motion] can be defended by testing the verbs with the cis/trans-locative suffix -\textit{mu} and with the purpose-motion construction, which requires a motion verb.
An interesting fact about this role change is that with -ra: it is always effected, whereas the advancement of the object to subject is not always effected by the addition of -ra:. For example in 1005 the verb is intransitive and thus there is no passivization when -ra: is added as in 1006:

Kay-man hama-yku-y.
here-GOAL sit-dir-IMP
'Sit down here.'

Kay-chaw hama-ra-yka-n.
here-LOC sit-state-impfv-3
'He is sitting here.'

10.15.3. Case Markers and Meanings

The meaning of a verb may be significantly altered by the case marker with which it occurs. For example, some verbs which take noun phrases bearing -man 'GOAL' have different (but related) meanings when they occur with another case marker. For example, when chura- occurs with -man it means 'to put at some physical place' but when it is used with -paq 'PUR' it means 'to put into some office/role':

a. Wasi-n-man chura-sha.
house-3P-GOAL place-3PERF
b. Manda-q-paq chura-sha.
order-sub-PUR place-3PERF
a. 'He placed it into his house.'
b. 'He made/put him as boss.'

10.15.4. Referential vs. Non-referential Readings

In a sentence like John wants to marry a Swede, a Swede may refer either to a particular person (who happens to be a Swede) or to any member of the class of Swedes. These are sometimes referred to as the "referential" and "opaque" interpretations respectively; they are possible in "opaque" contexts created by verbs like want, search, find, etc. In HgQ, the choice of case marker on a substantive may dictate whether it is referential or opaque. Consider the difference in 1008 between using -ta 'OBJ', which has a referential interpretation, and -paq 'PUR', which has an opaque interpretation:

a. Kawalli-qa ashita-yka-n.
horse-OBJ seek-impfv-3
b. Kawalli-paq ashita-yka-n.
horse-PUR seek-impfv-3
'a. a particular one
b. any one

In 1009, chakin does not refer to the leg which the unfortunate man lost, but to the prosthesis which a friend (the speaker) is seeking for him: -paq 'PUR' is used (rather than -ta 'OBJ') to give an opaque reading:

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194 Same for yat- 'enter': physical entrance vs. entering an office.
10.15.5. The Scope of Case Markers

Case markers have the whole substantive phrase to which they are attached in their scope, i.e., semantically and syntactically the case marker applies to the whole phrase. In support of this proposition, two arguments are given:

First, while the nominal modifiers (adjectives, relative clauses) generally precede their head, they also occur in the opposite order. But note: the case marker stays on the rightmost element. For example, see 1010:

\[
\begin{align*}
[Maqa-sha-n \text{ runa-1}ta] & \text{ hit-sub-3p man -OBJ} \\
[Runa maqa-sha-n-1] & \text{ see-1}
\end{align*}
\]

"I see the man who hit him."

To describe the change of order of modifier and head, if the scope of the case marker is regarded as including all the substantive phrase, then it is unnecessary to mention the case marker. By contrast, if the case marker is regarded as having only the head in its scope, then the rule must mention how the case marker becomes dissociated from the head and ends up on the modifier. Thus, by simplicity of rule we can reason that the case marker has the whole phrase in its scope.

Second, elements of a single noun phrase may occur discontinuously, but when this is the case, each element bears (a copy of) the case marker of the noun phrase. For example, 1010 could also be said as any of the possibilities in 1011:

a. \([maqa-sha-n-1] rika\aa \text{ runa-1}ta\)

b. \([runa-1] rika\aa maqa-sha-n-1\ta\)

c. \([runa-1] maqa-sha-n-1] rika\aa\)

"I see the man who hit him."

A simple rule (which will be called "case copy") can handle all these cases:

A constituent moved out of the scope of a case marker receives a copy of that marker.

Such a simple rule is possible only because the substantive phrases is recognized to be within the scope of the case marker.

The case copy rule can apply more than once. For example, in 1012, hatun is moved out of the genitive as well as out of the object; in the process it "inherits" first a copy of the genitive marker and then a copy of the object marker:

a. \([[[Hatur \text{ wamra-1}pa} \text{ pelota-n-1}ta] rika\aa]\)

b. \([\emptyset \text{ Wamra-1}pa} \text{ pelota-n-1}ta] rika\aa: \text{ hatun-pasta}\)

a, b. "I see the big boy's ball.'

Compare 1012 with 1013, in which hatun comes out of the object phrase but not out of the genitive portion of it: in this case case copy only applies to add -ta 'OBJ' to hatun 'big':

217
a. [Wamra-na [hatun pelota-n]-ta rika:].
   big -GEN boy ball -3P -OBJ see-1

b. [Wamra-na [Ø pelota-n]-ta rika:. hatun-ta.
   boy -GEN ball -3P -OBJ see-1 b1p-OBJ

a.b. 'I see the boy's big ball.'
11. PASSIVES

The following characterization of passive sentences will be assumed here: A PASSIVE sentence is one whose grammatical subject is its logical (understood) object. For example, example 1015 is a passive of 1014: the logical object of 1014 is wasi 'house'; in 1015 this has become the grammatical object:

\[ \text{Wasi rika-ka-n.} \]
\[ \text{house see-pass-3} \]
\[ \text{The house is seen.} \]

This chapter depends crucially on the properties of subjects outlined in section 10.2: the reader is advised to read it before this chapter. The discussion here is divided into two main sections, the first dealing with the two morphological passives, the second dealing with the syntactic passive.

11.1. Morphological Passives

There are two morphological passives in HgQ. The suffixes involved are -ka: 'pass' and -ra: 'state'. These pre-transition suffixes are introduced in section 7.1.1. The aspectual use of -ra: 'state' is discussed in section 9.5.2.

Both -ka: and -ra: are short, and of course, both undergo foreshortening: e.g.,

\[ \text{yanapa-ka-sha. [yanapakash] from /yanapa:-/ + /-ka:/ = /-sha/} \]
\[ \text{help-pass-3PERF} \]
\[ \text{'He was helped.'} \]

\[ \text{chara-ra-ra-n. [chararara] from /chara:-/ + /-ra:/ =} \]
\[ \text{hold-stat-past-3} \]
\[ \text{'It was in its place / It was being held.'} \]

\[ \text{chara-\text{\textbar}ra-shayki. [charipara:shayki]} \]
\[ \text{charipara:shayki} \]
\[ \text{grab-ben-stat-1=2FUT} \]
\[ \text{'I will be holding it for you.'} \]

-ka: 'passive' and -ra: 'state' differ in that -ka: is as more way to form passives while -ra: 'state' is more restricted, perhaps because it always bears a rather restricted aspectual meaning (stative/durative).

Passive formed with -ka: and -ra: will now be discussed in turn.

11.1.1. -ka: 'passive'

\[195\text{sh(a) 3PERF} \text{ is the reflex of proto-Quechua *-shpa and thus it too foreshortens.}\]
11.1.1.1. Subject properties of -ka: passives.

If -ka: forms passives, then the apparent subject must indeed demonstrate the subject properties listed section 10.2. This section is dedicated to showing that this is the case.

In example 1019 the passive verb agrees with the passive subject (achki 'light') rather than the logical subject ('we'):

Mas mas aywa-pty-nchi mas hatun-na-shi
more more go-adv-dip more big-now-IND
rika-ka-=-mu-n achki.
see-pass-afar-3 light

'The farther on we go, the bigger the light is seen.'

Example 1019 also shows that the switch reference marking of the adverbial clause is sensitive to the passive subject (achki 'light') rather than to the logical subject ('we'). If instead switch reference were sensitive to the logical subject, the verb of the adverbial clause would have been subordinated by -r 'adv (same subject)' since the subject of the subordinate clause is 'we'.

While example 1019 shows that the switch reference marking is sensitive to the passive subject of the superordinate verb, 1020 shows that switch reference marking is sensitive to the passive subject of a subordinate clause in preference to a logical subject. In 1020, the passive verb is maya-ka: 'be heard': its grammatical subject is duyă ů 'owner' and its logical subject is understood as the animals who put themselves to sleep in the house. The switch reference marking is -pti 'adv (different subject)', reflecting the difference between the subject of the main clause and grammatical subject rather than the coreference with the logical subject:

Mana duyă ů maya-ka-pty-n puňu-ku-yku-=ri-5-n-shi chay wasi-chaw.
not owner hear-pass-adv-3P sleep-ref-dir-plur-3-IND that house-LQC...

'Not hearing the owners, they went to sleep in that house.'

Example 1021 is similar, except that in this case passivization brings about a subject (not represented by an overt substantive) which is coreferential to the subject of the superordinate clause (the monster196): thus it is subordinated by -r 'adv (same subject)' rather than -pti 'adv (different subject)'.

Ushaqaq yulita-ka-rku-r maqay-ta-na-shi
completely complete-pass-imm-adv hit-inf-OBJ-now-IND
qalla-yku-n Juan del oosu-ta.
begun-dir-3 John of bear-OBJ

'Upon being completely completed, he began to hit John the bear.'

Thus, whether passivization occurs in the subordinate or in the superordinate clause, switch reference marking is always with respect to the passive (grammatical) subjects and not with respect to the logical subjects.

Examples 1022 and 1023 show that relativization with -q 'sub' is possible with a passivized verb.

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196 The logical object of the complement is a monster who drops from the ceiling in pieces which finally attach themselves to each other, thereby completing the monster. It is this monster which begins to hit John-the-Bear.
Relativization with -q is limited to relativizations into the subject.\footnote{Relativization into the subject means that the embedded coreferent of the modifying sentence/clause is its subject.} Thus, it is natural to ask whether relativization with -q is into the logical subject or into the passive subject (logical object). Examples 1022 and 1023 show that the latter is the case, i.e. it is into the grammatical subject. This confirms that the passive subject is indeed the grammatical subject.

\begin{verbatim}
...y chay shunta-ka-q yaku-ta "lamar" ni-ra-n.
and that gather-pass-sub water-OBJ "sea" say-past-3
"...and he called that gathered-together water "sea".

...iskirbi-sh ...allcha-ka-q-paq
...write-3PERF ...fix-pass-sub-PUR
"...he wrote ...concerning (for) the healed one.

Examples 1024 and 1025 show that a passive subject becomes the object of a causativized verb just like a "regular" subject.\footnote{In the examples given, the passive suffix may now be co-lexicalized with the root: see section 11.1.1.3.}

\begin{verbatim}
Allcha-ka-\textit{\textsc{l}}-\textit{\textsc{r}}-m-a-ra-n.
fix-pass-caus-\textit{\textsc{t}}-\textit{\textsc{r}}-past-3
"He/It healed me. He/It caused me to get well.

shunta-ka-\textit{\textsc{l}}-\textit{\textsc{r}}-\textit{\textsc{r}}-m-a-ra-n-paq
gather-pass-caus-\textit{\textsc{l}}-\textit{\textsc{r}}-\textit{\textsc{r}}-past-3-PUR
"in order to cause that they be gathered (here),
 in order to cause that they congregate (here)
\end{verbatim}

Again, this adds support for the claim that passive subjects are indeed the grammatical subject of their clause.

Finally, passive subjects--like "regular" subjects--require infinitivalization when the subject of a complement is coreferential with the subject of (an appropriate) superordinate verb; e.g.:

\begin{verbatim}
Maqa-\textit{\textsc{t}}-\textit{\textsc{r}}-m-a-r-\textit{\textsc{r}}-ta muna-n.
hit-pass-inf-OBJ want-3ps
"He wants to be hit.

Maqa-\textit{\textsc{t}}-\textit{\textsc{r}}-n-a-n-t-a muna-n.
hit-pass-nom-\textit{\textsc{t}}-\textit{\textsc{r}}-past-3
"He wants him to be hit.
\end{verbatim}

In conclusion, it has been shown that the subjects of passives formed with -\textit{\textsc{t}}-\textit{\textsc{r}}: are indeed grammatical subjects.

\subsection{Limitations on objects made into subjects by -\textit{\textsc{t}}-\textit{\textsc{r}}:}
What sorts of objects can be passivized? Four cases will be discussed--although I lack evidence to decide the issue in each case. First, can an indirect object be passivized? Negative evidence is seen in 1028, which is ungrammatical on the meaning 'I will be given (it).', but grammatical on the rather idiomatic meaning given:

\begin{verbatim}
Maqa-\textit{\textsc{t}}-\textit{\textsc{r}}-n-a-n-t-a muna-n.
hit-pass-nom-\textit{\textsc{t}}-\textit{\textsc{r}}-past-3
"He wants him to be hit.'
\end{verbatim}
Limitations on objects made into subjects by -ka: [11.1.1.2]

"Qo-ka::shaq.
give-pass-1FUT
'I will be transferred (from one job to another).'

Despite 1028. I suspect that indirect objects--like direct objects--can be passivized, as there is generally no syntactic distinction between direct and indirect objects.

Second. can objects which result from the causativization of intransitive verbs be passivized? Yes, they can, as shown by 1029 in which the subject of wañu- ‘die’ becomes the object of wañu-chi-‘kill’ and then, by passivization, becomes the subject of wañu-chi-ka-‘be killed’.

Mana wañu-chi-ka::na-n-paq.
not die-caus-pass-sub-3P-PUR
'in order that he not be killed'

Third. can complement objects (nominalized/relativized clauses) be passivized? Yes, they can:

e.g.:
[Alli-man tikra-sha-yk]i musya-ka::na-n-paq
good-GOAL turn-sub-2P know-pass-sub-3P-PUR
'in order that it be known that you have turned to the good'

1030 corresponds to 1031, in which the complement is a direct object:
[Alli-man tikra-sha-yk]i-ta musya-::
good-GOAL turn-sub-3P -OBJ know-1
'I know that you have turned to be good.'

Further examples:
Wasi-chaw ka::sha-n maya-ka-ra-n.
house-LOC be-sub-3P perceive-pass-past-3
'It was known that he was at his house.'

Wiya-ka::mu-ra-n kay-naw ni-mu-sha-n "shamuy".
hear-pass-afar-past-3 this-SIM say-afar-sub-3P
"come!"

'What he said, "Come!" was heard from afar.'

Example 1033 is the passive of a sentence like 1034:
"Shamuy" ni-mu-sha-n-ta wiya-ra::.
"Come!" say-afar-sub-3P-OBJ hear-past-1
'I heard him say (from afar) "Come!"'

Some subject complements which are subordinate to a passive verb have no corresponding active. For example, the subject of example 1035 is the substantivized clause dembaldilla arooshimaanayki:
Dembaldilla aru::shi-ma::na-yk]i mana-mi kama-ka::n-chu...
without:pay work-accom-⇒1-sub-2P not-DIR arrange-pass-3-NEG
'It is not just/fitting that you help me work without being paid...

One would expect that example 1036, the corresponding active sentence in which the the

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199 A further example: nika-chi-ka-ra-n (see-caus-pass-past-3) 'It was shown.' It might be argued that such cases involve lexicalization of the causativized verb.
Limitations on objects made into subjects by -ka: [11.1.1.2]

substantivized clause is an object, would be grammatical, but it is not:

*[Demba:] [aruba-shi-ma-ya-yki]-ta mana-mi kama-n-chu.
without-work-accusative-2P-obl not-DIR arrange-3-NEG

**Fourth**. there is a morphological object-to-object “raising” process which occurs with infinitives. (This is discussed in detail in Weber [39], section 4.2.2.) For example, 1038 is synonymous with 1038, in which the -ma: ‘⇒1’ occurs in the superordinate verb. (-ma is optional in the infinitive if it occurs in the superordinate verb.)

Maqa-(ma)-y-ta muna-ma-n.
hit-⇒1-inf-obl want-3

‘He wants to hit me.’

Maqa-(ma)-y-ta muna-ma-n.
hit-(⇒1)-inf-obl want⇒1-3

‘He wants to hit me.’

Can such a raised object be passivized? Example 1039 shows that it cannot:

*Maqa-(ma)-y-ta muna-ka:n.
hit-(⇒1)-inf-obl want-pass-1

‘I am wanting to be hit (by him).’

But this is simply because muna- ‘want’ does not allow passivization. And the only other verb which allows morphological object raising, pudyi: ‘be able’, does not allow passivization.

In conclusion, there are probably no restrictions on what sort of object may become a subject by ka: -passivization. Direct objects, even those which are complements, and probably indirect objects, may become subjects. The apparent restrictions on the morphologically raised objects of infinitive complements are due to restrictions on the verb and not the object.

11.1.1.3. -ka: co-lexicallized with verb roots.

-ka: ‘pass’ has become co-lexicallized with many verb roots.200 Example follow:

_allacha + ka:-
‘to get well/over’ is derived from allacha- ‘to fix’.201
enrange-sub-2P-obl recover-2IMP

‘Get over your anger.’ (lit. ‘Be fixed from you having become angry.’)

200 That is, the verb root and the suffix have become (or are becoming) a single, fused unit. In some of the examples which follow, -ka: occurs on an intransitive verb, and could therefore not be used passively.

201 Evidence that allacha + ka:-is frozen is that it can occur in the frame [ ]-chi-naku- ([ ]-caus-recip) ‘to do [ ] to each other’ where a verb = passive combination cannot. Thus i. is acceptable but ii. is not:

i. Allacha-ka:-chi-naku-n.
heal-caus-recip-3

‘They heal each other.’

ii. Maqa-ka:-chi-naku-n.
hit-pass-caus-recip-3

‘They cause each other to be hit.’

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-ka: co-lexicalized with verb roots. [11.1.1.3]

**kama + ka:-**

to be fitting/just. to set to (doing). to be accomodated' from kama- 'to arrange/prepare': e.g.:  

Y chawras kama+ka-sha upu-y-man atoq.  
and then to:set:to-3PERF drink-inf-GOAL fox  
'And then the fox set to drinking (it).'

Chaka-rupti-n hatun qeru chaki-lla-n-man-shi kama+ka-n.  
be:dark-asp-adv-3 big tree foot-just-3P-GOAL-IND be:set-3  
'When it got dark, they were accommodated themselves at the foot of a big tree.'

See also example 1035.

**laqa + ka:-** 'to cohere' from laqa- 'to stick to'

**lluchka + ka:-**

to slip' from lluchka- 'to stomp mud (as in preparing mortar)'. e.g. lluchka+ka-yka::  
(slip-impv-1) 'I am slipping!'  

**mancha + ka:-**

'to be frightened' from mancha- 'to fear/bother': e.g.:202  

Ana mancha+ka-y-chu wardiya-ta.  
not be:afraid-inf-NEG policeman-ACC  
'Don't be afraid of the policeman.'  

**musya + ka:-**

to determine' from musya- 'to know'. With a first person plural inclusive subject. this verb means roughly 'we'll resolve the issue':  

Kan man musya+ka-nchi: gma:n noqta iskhan kabesilla...  
now be:known-12 you or I two leaders  
'Now we will resolve the issue (of who is the greater) you or I, both of us chiefs....'

...hatun awtoridaa-chaw-raq-mi musya+ka-:shun...  
big authority-LOC-yet-DIR resolve-IZFUT  
'yet at the higher authority we will resolve the issue (as to whose it is)...'

**penqa + ka:-**

to irritate (the eye) 'to cause pain to the eyes (of a piercing light)' from penqa- 'to be ashamed'; e.g.:  

Mancha-chi-ma-n. ñawi-:ta penqa+ka-:chi-n.  
fear-caus-1-3 eye-1P-OBJ ??-caus-3  
'It bothers me. It shines in my eyes' (said of the glare of a light shining on the page of a book.)

**puñu + ka:-** 'to doze (off)/to fall asleep' from puñu- 'to sleep'; e.g.:  


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202 C.f. mancakasiku- 'to be really frightened'.
-ka: co-lexicalized with verb roots. [11.1.1.3]

Rikcha-yka-y illaqita chaya-mu-r puñña-ka-sha-ta
look-impf-3IMP suddenly arrive-far-adv doze-off-prtc-OBJ

1047

tari-shu-na-yk-i-ta.
find-->2-sub-OBJ

'Be vigilant lest arriving all of a sudden he
find you having dozed off.'

gasa+k-a-: '(for an angry person) to cool off' from gasa-: 'to be cold to': e.g.
Mas rura-shun-chu gasa+k-a-na-n-kama.
more do-12IMP-NEG cool-off-sub-3P-LIM

1048

'Let's not do more until they have cooled off.'

raki+k-a-: 'to separate' from raki-: 'to choose, divide, set apart': e.g.
Olloq runa warmi-n-pita raki+k-a-na-n konbeeni-n-chu?
male man woman-3P-ABL separate-sub-3P be:just-3-YH

1049

'Is it right that a man separate from his wife?'

Mehur qam-wan noqa raki+k-a-shun shuyni-kama
better you-COM I separate-12IMP apart-LIM

tiya-ku-na-paq.
live-ref-sub-PUR

1050

'Better that you and I separate in order to live apart.'

rura+k-a-: 'to happen' from rura-: 'to do, to make'
Imay-taq chay rura+k-a-nqa?
when-?? that happen-3ref

1051

'When will that happen'

ruraka:- is used somewhat idiomatically with expressions about health:
Mas piyur rura+k-ya-ra-n.
more worse become-impv-past-3

1052

'He was becoming worse (i.e., sicker).'

shunta+k-a-:
'to congregate' from shunta-: 'to gather'
Aypalla runa-kuna chay wasi-pa punku-n-man shunta+k-a-ra-n.
many man-plur that house-GEN door-3P-GOAL gather-past-3

1053

'Many people congregated at the door of that house.'

tinku+k-a-:
'encounter, happen to meet' from tinku-: 'to encounter' e.g.
Tinku+k-a-ra-n sooru-wan kondor-shi...
meet-past-3 fox-COM condor-IND

1054

'(The) condor and (the) fox met...'

203 Example 1054 begins a text. Another text begins with the following, in which the verb is simply tinku- rather than tinku+k-a-:

Atoq-wan-shi wanchaq tinku-ra-n huk hunaq.
fox-COM-IND (bird) meet-past-3 one day

1055

'The wanchaq and the fox met one day.'
uti + ka: 'to be tired' from *uti- e.g., utika::chi-ma-n (be:tired-caus=⇒1-3) 'It makes me tired.'

Hama-ra-y-ta uti+ka-shka::-na.
sit-stat-inf-OBJ be:tired-perf-1-now

'I have tired of sitting.'

usha + ka: 'to end, to run out, to be used up, to be destroyed' from usha- 'to finish' e.g.,

Chay usha+ka-pit-n-raq kara+nuu-n wasi-n-man
that finish-adv=3P-yet each:one-3P house-3P-GOAL

kama aywa-ku-n.
resp go-refl-3

'Each one returns to his own house only when that (fiesta) ends.'

Tapay-chaw usha+ka::na-n-paq rant-in awindi-ta...
wake-LOC use:up-sub-3P-PUR buy-3 fire:water-OBJ

'They buy lots of fire-water and ... to use up in the wake.'

Liapan usha+ka-ra-n haamay-yoo kag:kuna-ra shenqa-y-epa.
all be:ended-past-3 breath-have def-plur-TOP drown-adv

'all those with breath (i.e., who breathed) were destroyed by drowning.'

yama + ka: 'to be fed up with' from yama- 'to tire of': e.g.,

Juan-pita pasaypa yama+ka-sha::na ka-yka::.
John-ABL really fed:up-prtc-now be-impfv-1

'I am really fed up with/on account of John.'

yacha + ka: 'to acclimate' from yacha- e.g.,

Kay-chaw yacha+ka::shka::-na.
here-LOC acclimate-perf-1-now

'I have acclimated/adjusted to this place.'

---

204 This root is used in dialects other than HgQ to mean "to be tired, to give out."

205 Two examples of the verb yama- 'to tire of' follow:

Pukila-y-ta yama-n-chu.
play-inf-OBJ tire:of-3-NEG

'He doesn’t get tired of playing.'

yama-q (tire-sub) 'a person who is gravely ill'.

206 This verb has a wide range of meanings, with various suffixes: yacha- 'to know how to', yacha-kU- 'to learn', yacha-chi- 'to teach', yacha-pa- 'to imitate'.
11.1.1.4. **-ka: fused with other suffixes**

In the just-cited examples, -ka: has become intimately attached to some root. Such intimacy is not limited to roots: -ka: has also become fused with other suffixes to yield new suffixes:

1. -kacha:- from -ka:-cha: (-pass-intent): see section 9.5.4.
2. -ka:kU from -ka:-kU (-pass-refl) means roughly ‘completely’: see section 9.5.5.

11.1.1.5. **Conclusions on -ka: passives**

To summarize this section on -ka: passives, we have seen that:

1. The object of a verb becomes the subject when -ka: is suffixed.
2. Such subjects are the grammatical subjects of their clauses.
3. -ka: is lexicalized with many roots (some of which are intransitive).

11.1.2. **-ra: ‘stative’**

Aspectual uses of -ra: are discussed in section 9.5.2. The use of -ra: to mean ‘exhibit (some property)’ is discussed in section 3.2.6. This section deals with uses of -ra: ‘stative’ to form passives.

11.1.2.1. **Subject properties with -ra: passives**

We will now demonstrate that the passive subjects (logical objects) of clauses passivized with -ra: ‘state’ are indeed subjects.

First, the passive subject has no case marker and controls the verbal agreement of the verb. For example.

```
Chay sunsitu wiñ-a-ra-yka-sha kosta-la-chaw.
that stooge dump:in-stat-impf-3PERF sack-LOC

‘That stooge remained dumped in that sack.’
```

```
runa-kuna pampa-ra-sha-n kaa-lla-pa
man-PL bury-stat-sub-3P det-just-GEN

‘around (where) people were buried’
```

Second, the switch reference marking of adverbial clauses is sensitive to the passive subject (logical object) brought about by passivization with -ra:. For example, in 1063 the subordinator is -r ‘adv (same subject)’ because of the coreference of the passive subject of puñi-ra:- ‘be hidden’ and the subject of the main clause:

```
Paka-ra-r puñi-ra-\-.
hide-stat-adv sleep-past-1

‘Hidden. I slept.’
```

Third, the passive subject (logical object) may trigger infinitivalization: e.g., in 1064, the passive subject of pampa-ra:- ‘to be buried’ (i.e., the logical object of pampa: ‘to bury’) is coreferential to the subject of muna:- ‘to want’, and thus the complement must be subordinated with -y ‘inf’ (rather than with -na ‘sub’, which would be used if the subjects of the complement and main clauses were not coreferential):

```
Kay-chaw pampa-ra-y-ta muna-\-.
here-LOC bury-stat-IMP- ACC want-1

‘I want to be buried here.’
```
Fourth, the passive subject may be relativized with -q ‘agentive’:

- Chapa-ra-yqa-q  
  kicha-ka-nqa-qa  
  cover-stat-imfv-sub open-pass-3FUT

  ‘That which is covered up will be opened.’

Examples 1061-1064, and perhaps 1065, have verbs which entail that the object comes to be at some place or in some position. 207 -ra- passives are not restricted to such verbs, as examples 1066 and 1067 show:

- Chaki-n-chaw wata-ra-q-ta-pis aqolla-q.  
  foot-3P-LOC tie-stat-sub-OBJ-even crush-NARPST

  ‘He crushed even the (irons) which were tied on his leg(s).’

- Chay pururuku-n ruri-n-chaw laqa-ra-n.  
  that cartilage-3P inside-3P-LOC stick-stat-3

  ‘That is attached (is stuck to) the inside of the
  pururuku.’

(In example 1067, ‘that’ refers to the esophagus; ‘pururuku’ is the harder, outer part of the throat. This example is taken from a description of how to butcher a sheep.)

11.1.2.2. The plural form of -ra:

To -ra: ‘stative’ there corresponds a plural form of that suffix -rpa: e.g., compare example 1068, which has a singular subject, with 1069 in which it is plural:

- Punkt wichqa-ra-yka-n.  
  door close-stat-imfv-3

  ‘The door is closed.’

- Punkt-kuna wichqa-rpa-yka-n.  
  door-plural close-state+plural-imfv-3

  ‘The doors are closed.’

This pluralization—like all plural marking in the verb—is optional: e.g., see example 1062, which has a plural subject but no pluralizer in the verb. Another examples of -rpa ‘state + plural’ follows: 208

  a. Rima-  
  b. Tiya-  
  c. *Aru-

  } -yqa-q-ta nasa-rpa-chi-n.

  a. argue-  
  b. fight-  
  c. work-

  } -impfv-sub-OBJ be:col-stat+plural-caus-3

  ‘He caused those who were  
  a. arguing  
  b. fighting  
  c. working  
  to be calmed down.’

---

207 When -ra: ‘stative’ occurs with these, the logical object become the grammatical subject and the oblique locative relation is changed from -mon ‘GOAL’ to -chaw ‘LOC’: see section 10.15.2.

208 This example should be compared with the lexicalized verb nasa-ka-: see section 11.1.13. example 1048.
11.1.2.3. -ra: co-lexicalized with verb roots

Section 11.1.1.3 gave examples of kama- ‘to arrange, prepare’ co-lexicalized with -ka: ‘pass’. These should be compared with examples 1071-1073 in which -ra: ‘state’ has lexicalized with kama to mean ‘to be comely/attractive/fitting/prepared’:

Chuku-wan kama+ra-nki, that-COM/INSTR be:comely-stat-2
‘You look good with the hat.’

Nawi-n mana kama+ra-chi-ra-n-chu Marucha-ta.
eye-3P not be:comely-caus-past-3-NEG Mary-OBJ
‘Mary’s eyes were not befitting to her. (i.e., she was not
good-looking on account of her eyes.)

Chay-pita uchu-ta-shi ashi-mu-n atoq-pa pechu-n-man that-ABL pepper-OBJ-IND search-afar-3 fox-GEN breast-3P-PUR
1073

laqta-na-n-paq puka pechu kama+ra-na-n-paq.
smear-sub-3P-PUR red breast be:comely-sub-3P-PUR
‘Then they look for hot pepper to smear on the fox’s
breast to arrange that he have a red breast.’

11.1.2.4. Conclusions on -ra: passives

To summarize these comments on the -ra: passive, -ra: may be used to form passives, though it
has other uses as well. The subjects of -ra: passives are indeed subjects, and undergo the processes
typical of subjects. There is a plural suffix, -rpa, which corresponds to -ra: ‘state’. And, -ra: may
coop-lexicalize with some verb roots (e.g. kama- ‘arrange’) to form fused lexical items.

11.2. Syntactic Passive

In addition to passives formed with the suffixes -ka: ‘pass’ and -ra: ‘state’, HgQ has a passive
formed by syntactic means. This passive is widely applicable, but limited semantically in that brings
along the notion ‘anterior’.\textsuperscript{209}

The syntactic passive is structurally a participle + auxiliary construction.\textsuperscript{210} It is formed from an
active by:

1. suppressing the logical subject (except as mentioned below).
2. making the logical object the new subject.
3. substituting -sha ‘participle’ for any tense and person marking (subject as well as object) of the
verb. and
4. adding the auxiliary verb ka- ‘be’ which—being syntactically the main verb of that clause—bears
the tense/subordinator and subject agreement suffixes (of that clause).
(In the examples of this section, the participle and auxiliary will be underlined to help the reader
identify it.) For example, 1074b and 1075b are the syntactic passives which correspond to 1074a and
1075b respectively:

\begin{itemize}
\item[209] That is, it implies that the event indicated in the verb occurred prior to the time from which it is viewed.
\item[210] This is also used to form the past perfect (past anterior): see 8.8. What the past perfect and syntactic passive share
semantically is ‘resultant state’: this could be said to be the meaning of the participle + auxiliary construction.
\end{itemize}
Various observations about the syntactic passive will now be made.

First, it is possible to elicit examples like 1076 which suggest that the logical subject of a passivized verb may be indicated in an oblique substantive phrase (in this case ablative).211

\[ Yanapa-sha ka-nqa chay runa gam-pita. \]
\[
\text{help-prtc be-3FUT that man you-ABL}
\]
\[ 'That man will be helped by you.' \]

However, I have never seen a spontaneous instance of this. And when asked, different speakers use different case markers. (I have heard -\textit{pita} ‘ABL’, -\textit{pa} ‘GEN’ and -\textit{wan} ‘COM’.) I therefore doubt that HgQ affords allows the logical object of a passivized verb to be indicated with an oblique substantives.

In rare cases, the logical subject may survive as a sort of compound with the verb. The subject must immediately precede the verb and must not be followed by any suffixes. For example:

\[ rika-na-n-paq \]
\[
\text{see-sub-3P-PUR}
\]
\[ 'in order to see if they have been animal-eaten' \]

Second, the verb-turned-participle need not directly precede the auxiliary \textit{ka}, but may be separated by some other constituent:

\[ Botella-n ka-ra-n rumi-pita rura-sha. \]
\[
\text{bottle-3P be-past-3 stone-ABL make-prtc}
\]
\[ 'Its bottle (i.e. the perfume’s) was made from stone.' \]

Third, the participialized verb may be followed by other suffixes; for example:

\[ llapan wasi-kuna saqta-sha-mi ka-nqa. \]
\[
\text{all house-plur knock:down-prtc-DIR be-3FUT}
\]
\[ 'All the houses will be knocked down.' \]

---

\[ 211 \] The following show that the ablative phrase is not necessarily understood as a passive agent:

\[ Gam-pita maqa-sha ka-shka:-.. \]
\[
\text{you-ABL hit-prtc be-perf-1}
\]
\[ 'I have been hit on your account/*by you.' \]
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The switch reference marking of adverbial clauses is sensitive to the subjects created by the syntactic passive. For example in example 1087 the logical subject of the adverbial clause is the owners. but the grammatical subject after passivization is the speaker, who is also the subject of the main clause. Thus the adverbial clause is subordinated with -r'adv (same subject):

Further examples follow. 1088 shows a different subject adverbial clause with passivization in the subordinate clause: 1089. a different subject adverbial clause with passivization in the main clause: 1090. a same subject adverbial clause with passivization in the main clause:

The passive subjects of the syntactic passive may be relativized with -q 'sub'; e.g. the relative clause (with no following head) in 1091 is into the logical object of rusfka- 'crucify'. which has become the grammatical subject of rusfka-sha ka- 'be crucified':

A sensory verb complement may be a passive, as in 1092 where the verb is passivized with -sha ka- and the logical object (gaga 'boulder') is the grammatical subject:

The subjects of sensory verb complements may be raised (indeed, are preferably raised) to become the object of the verb of perception. A more natural way to express 1092 is 1093, in which the passive subject of the complement has been raised to become the object of the verb of perception:

---

213 See Weber [39], section 4.2.5.2.
Oaga-ta \text{ rika-ra-n} \ [\text{witi-chi-sha} \ _\text{ka-yka-q}] \ _\text{ta}.
\text{boulder-OBJ \ be-past-3 \ move-caus-prtc \ be-impfv-sub-OBJ}

'He saw that the boulder was moved/was being moved.'

This is evidence that the passive subject of the complement is indeed its grammatical subject.

Subjects created by the syntactic passive may trigger infinitivalization. e.g.:

\text{Yanapa-sha} \ _\text{ka-y-ta} \ _\text{muna-\_i}.
\text{help-prtc \ be-inf-OBJ \ want-1}

'I want to be helped.'

Since infinitivalization is limited to cases where the subjects of the subordinate and superordinate clauses are coreferential, this is evidence that the passive subject of the subordinate clause is indeed its grammatical subject.

11.3. Summary

There are two sorts of passive in HgQ: morphological passives are formed by suffixing either \text{-ka}: 'passive' or \text{-ra}: 'state', and syntactic passives are formed by making the main verb into a participle (with the suffix \text{-sha}) and making this participle the complement of the auxiliary verb \text{ka-}\text{be}'. It has been shown that the passive subjects are indeed the grammatical subjects of their clauses.
12. SUBSTANTIVE PHRASES

Substantive phrases are formed by some substantive head (which might be a simple noun-adjective, a nominalized verb, another substantive phrase, etc.) and zero or more modifiers. Modifiers may be of many kinds: a simple noun-adjective, a quantifier, a numeral, an indefinite-interrogative phrase, another substantive phrase, etc. Rarely, a modifier will be followed by a case marker as e.g., in runi-pita wasi (stone-ABL house) 'a house made of stone'.

Modifiers often occur without their understood head: e.g., To say 'I see the big cow', 1095b is just as good as 1095a if the speaker assumes the hearer knows he is speaking of cows:

a. Hatun waaka-ta rika-::
   big crow-OBJ see-1

b. Hatun-ta rika-::
   big-OBJ see-1

a. 'I see the big cow.'
b. 'I see the big one.'

This subject is dealt with in considerably more detail in Weber [39] (particularly in section 3.1.4).

12.1. Modifiers and Heads: Order and Constituency

Substantial modifiers (adjectives, relative clauses) generally precede their head. However, they may also follow them. Example 1096 illustrates this for a simple substantive, and 1097 for a relative clause:

a. [Hatun runa]-ta
   [big man] -OBJ
   rika-::

b. [Runa hatun]-ta
   [man big] -OBJ
   see-1

'I see the man who hit him.'

a. [Maqa-sha-n runa]-ta
   [hit-sub-3P man] -OBJ
   rika-::

b. [Runa maqa-sha-n]-ta
   [man hit-sub-3P] -OBJ
   see-1

'I see the man who hit him.'

The bracketing in these examples is intended to indicate that the case marker applies to the entire phrase, and not simply to the final substantive. As discussed in section 10.15.5, the simplest formulation of the change of order of modifier and head is possible only on that assumption.

Elements of a single noun phrase may occur discontinuously, but when this is the case each element bears (a copy of) the case marker of the noun phrase. This is illustrated for 1096 in 1098 and for 1097 in 1099: ∅ is added to indicate the place where the element occurs in the non-discontinuous version.214

---

214. The examples presented in this summary are obviously "made-up" ones: Weber [39] section 3.1.5 gives a great many found in texts.
a. [Hatun runa]-ta rikaa.
b. [ Hatun Ø ]-ta rikaa runa-ta.
c. [ Ø Runa]-ta rikaa hatun-ta.
d. [ Ø Runa]-ta hatun-ta rikaa.

a-d. 'I see the big man.'

a. [Maqa-sha-n runa]-ta rikaa.
b. [Maqa-sha-n Ø]-ta rikaa runa-ta.
c. [ Ø Runa]-ta rikaa maqa-sha-n-ta.
d. [ Ø Runa]-ta maqa-sha-n-ta rikaa.

a-d. 'I see the man who hit him.'

The following simple generalization can handle all these cases: A constituent moved out of the scope of a case marker receives a copy of that marker. This rule is simple because it is assumed that entire substantive phrases are within the scope of the case marker: see section 10.15.5 for more details.

12.2. Compound Substantives

There are various ways to combine substantives (both phrases and words):
Substantive-GEN Substantive-POS (Genitive construction)
Substantive Substantive-POS (Genitive construction without -pa)
Substantive Substantive (Compound Substantive)

This section focuses on the last category. These generally follow a [modifier head] pattern. i.e., (i) the first substantive is understood as a modifier of the second, and (ii) the referential properties of the second substantive are dominant, i.e. the compound generally refers to a thing or things of the sort referred to by the second substantive. This is widely illustrated below.

I have attempted a rough taxonomy of compounds based on the relationship of the two substantives. This taxonomy may be taken as a guide to some of the types which exist.

12.2.1. Localizer-Area

In the following examples, the second of the compounded substantives refers to some area; the first "localizes" some part of this area:

hawa punku pampa-man (outside door ground-GOAL) 'to the ground just outside the door'
[raqa kantu-n] looma (canyon edge-3P hill) 'the hill at the edge of the canyon'

In the following, the order is inverted:
pampa inisya punku-n (ground church door-3P) 'the ground at the foot of the church door'
The following seem to be related, but is somewhat different from the other cases of localizer-area compounds:

ñawpo: kullu (beside-1P stump) 'the stump which is beside me'
with uchku 'hole': e.g.:
[[[chay machay]-pa ruri-n] uchku]-man that cave-GEN inside-3P hole -GOAL
'into the interior of that cave'

---

The brackets indicate that raqa and (kantu-n) are joined (in a spatial genitive) before this is compounded with looma.

---

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12.2.2. **Source-Object**

In the following the first substantive characterizes the source of the second:

- *haka aycha* (guinea pig flesh) ‘guinea pig meat’.
- *waltapa aycha* (chicken flesh) ‘chicken meat’.

In the following very similar cases, the first substantive gives the material out of which is made a thing of the sort referred to by the second substantive:

- *hacha kaldu* (wild plant soup) ‘a soup made of the leaves of certain (uncultivated) plants’.
- *ichu wasi* (type of grass house) ‘house roofed with ichu’.

And in the following, the first lists the principle ingredient of the second, which names some action directed against that ingredient to yield the object referred to by the whole:

- *yaku timpu* (water boil) ‘a thin broth’.
- *papa yahu-ye* (potato cook-inf) ‘potato soup’.

12.2.3. **Gender Classifier**

The first substantive may characterize the sex of the entity referred to by the compound:

- *warmi dansa* (woman dancer) ‘woman dancer’.

12.2.4. **Occupation-Actor**

The first substantive may characterize the profession of the entity referred to by the compound:

- *hariru runa* (one who drives: pack animals man) ‘a man who by profession is a travelling salesman’.

12.2.5. **Part-Part**

The first substantive may refer to a body part to uniquely characterize some organ/part (e.g. a joint) named by the second:

- *kunka mogo* (neck joint) ‘neck joint’.
- *pacha millwa* (stomach wool) ‘the wool on the stomach’.

12.2.6. **Substance-Container**

The first substantive may characterize a container used for the referent of the second:

- *yaku puyiu* (water jug) ‘water jug’.

12.2.7. **Quantifier-Substance**

A quantifier expression may be used to characterize the amount of the second:

- *[huk tinaaha] waraapu* (one basin: cane beer) ‘a basin of cane beer’.

The substantives compounded may be complex:
12.2.8. Quantifier-Measure

When the second substantive is an expression of measure such as altu 'high', the first may quantify it:

\[
\begin{align*}
[[\text{huk deedu}] \text{ altu}] & \text{ (one finger height) 'one finger high'}, \\
[[\text{puilan deedu}] \text{ altu}] & \text{ (half finger height) 'half a finger high'}, \\
[[\text{huk ruuna ichi-y}] \text{ altu}] & \text{ (one man stand-inf height) 'one man high (the height of one man')}.
\end{align*}
\]

12.2.9. Time-Object

The first substantive may characterize the time of the second:

\textit{chaka-y qasa-y} (be:dark-inf be:cold-inf) 'the night cold'.

Time expressions may be formed by the reduplication of a temporal word followed by \textit{-n} (see 15.2.2):

e.g.:

\textit{wara-n wara-n} (year-3 year-3) 'year after year'.

\textit{wara-n wara-n} (tomorrow-3 tomorrow-3) 'day after day'.

12.2.10. Parallel Numerically Quantified Substantive Phrases

"Indefinite" numbers (see section 12.5.2) exhibit the following patterns: 

a. \[[\text{number number}] \text{ head}-\text{CASE}\]

b. \text{number}-\text{CASE} \text{ number}-\text{CASE}

c. \[[\text{number head}] [\text{number head}]-\text{CASE}\]

d. \text{[number head]-CASE} [\text{number head}-\text{CASE}]

An example of type a:

\[
\ldots[[\text{ishkay timsa}] \text{ hunaq}-\text{paq} \text{ santu-ta} \text{ adurna-chi-na-n-paq}
\text{ two} \text{ three} \text{ day} \text{-PUR saint-OBJ adorn-caus-sub-3P-PUR}
\ldots\text{ to adorn the saint within two or three days}.
\]

An example of type b:

\[
\ldots[\text{balumintu-paq} \text{ ruwa-ku-n} \text{ ishkay-ta timsa-ta}]
\text{ beg-refl} \text{ two-OBJ three-OBJ}
\ldots\text{'...they ask two or three (men) to be liaison...'}
\]

An example of type c:

\[
\ldots[\text{arma-n} \text{ [chuskut hunaq]} \text{ [nichoa hunaq]-ta}
\text{ bathe-3 four day five day -OBJ}
\ldots\text{'...they bathe every four or five days'}
\]

Examples of type d:

\[
[[\text{ishkay hunaq}]-\text{yaq} [\text{timsa hunaq}]-\text{yaq}
\text{ two day -LIM three day -LIM}
\ldots\text{'three or four days'}
\]

237
The following examples would not occur with an overt case marker because they are functionally time adverbs: nonetheless they are instances of parallel, numerically-quantified, compounded substantive phrases:

...ha-n [huk wata] [ishkay wata]...
       rest-3 one year two year
'
...they rest one or two years...

...awi-k-n samaana-chaw [ishkay kuti] [kimsa kuti]...
       rinse-refl-3 week-LOC two time three time
'
...they rinse themselves two or three times a week...

In the following example the numbers are--quite strangely--not consecutive:

ux(Chusku-ta soqta-ta) runa-kuna-ta wañu-chi-sha chay-chaw.
   four-OBJ six-OBJ mon-plur-OBJ die-caus-3PERF there-LOC
‘They killed approximately four to six men there.’

In example 1395 (section 15.2.3) the same number is repeated.

12.3. Genitive Construction

The genitive construction is one of the most frequent (and useful) constructions. Weber [38] gives a complete discussion with many examples; this section is a brief summary of the major facts.

12.3.1. Form and Structure

The structure of the genitive construction is basically

[possessor-pa possessed-POS]

where the possessive suffix indicates the person of the possessor; e.g.:

Hwan-pa was-i-n
   John-GEN house-3P
‘John’s house’

The possessor is optional, e.g., if the speaker assumes the hearer knows he is referring to John, he can simply use was-i-n (house-3P) to refer to John’s house.

The possessed substantive is also optional: e.g., if the speaker assumes that the hearer knows he is talking about houses, he could refer to John’s house simply with Juan-pa ‘John’s’ (followed, of course, by the appropriate case marker): e.g.:

Juan-pa-ta rika-:.
   John-GEN-OBJ see-1
‘I see John’s (house).’

When a case marker follows a genitive construction, it applies to the whole substantive so formed:

[Hwan-pa uma-n] ta rika-:.
   John-GEN head-3P-OBJ see-1
‘I see John’s head.’

As discussed in 13.1.5 for substantive phrases in general, the parts may occur discontinuously. As an instance of this, the possessor of a genitive construction may occur separated from the possessed: e.g.
see Hwanpata in the following:

Hipash-nin-ta kuya- Hwan-pa-ta
daughter-3P-OBJ love-1 John-GEN-OBJ
'I love John's daughter'

12.3.2. Uses of the Genitive Construction

Five categories of use will be discussed:
1. General: part-whole, ownership, social-kinship, etc.
2. Components of a whole.
3. Spatial.
4. Temporal.
5. With quantifiers.

12.3.2.1. General

Part-Whole

qam-pa uma-yki (you-GEN head-2P) 'your head'

Ownership suwa-pa wasi-n (thief-GEN house-3P) 'the thief's house'

Social-Kinship

pay-pa wamra-n / mama-n / kumpaarri-n / arugmasi-n
he-GEN child-3P mother-3P compadre-3P fellow:worker-3P
'his child / mother / co-parent / fellow:townsman'

Origin qam-pa bus-niki (you-GEN voice-2P) 'your voice'

Abstract nouns

gam-pa surti-ki / munay-niki / suyu-yki
you-GEN fate-2P authority-2P dream-2P
'your fate / authority / dream'

12.3.2.2. Components of a whole

When something is conceived of as having components, the whole may be spoken of as possessing
one of the components. For example, in example 1114 coffee and cookies is conceived of as a whole
and cookies as one component:

Kafee-ta upu-shun gallitas-nin-ta-wan.
coffee-OBJ drink-12IMP cookie-3P-OBJ-COM

'Let's drink coffee along with "its" cookies.'

Example 1115 speaks of harvested wheat, composed of chaff and stalk:

Nirkur wayra-wan apa-chi-nchi paaha-n-ta.
then wind-COM: take-caus-12 straw-3P-OBJ

Y shunta-nchi orangu-lla-n-ta-na.
and gather-12 grain-just-3P-OBJ-now

'Then we make the wind take its straw.
And we gather up its grains.'
12.3.2.3. Spatial relationships

In this use of the genitive construction, the "possessed" is always a spatial expression. These are principally formed from hana 'up. above, top', washa 'at the same level' or ura 'down, below': e.g.: 

\textit{Hwan-pa hansa-n-chaw ka-yka-n,} 
\textit{John-GEN top-3P-LOC be-impfv-3} 
\textit{It is on top of John.} 

\textit{Tuni-mu-sha noga-pa hana-n-man.} 
\textit{fall-3PERF 1-GEN top-1P-GOAL} 
\textit{It fell on top of me.} 

The possessor in 1116 (\textit{Hwan}) and in 1117 (\textit{noga}) is followed by -pa 'GEN'. Compare 1118 in which it is absent: 

\textit{Hana-ra-yka-n huk gaga hansa-n-chaw.} 
\textit{sit-stat-impfv-3 one rock top-3P-LOC} 
\textit{He is sitting on top of a rock.} 

The generalization is this: -pa 'GEN' is obligatorily present if the possessor is a person, and otherwise is obligatorily absent.\textsuperscript{216} 

The "up", "same level", and "down" defined by hana, washa (same level) and ura are oriented with respect to gravity. But these words contract with /qa/\textsuperscript{217} to form spatial expressions oriented to slope, i.e., the side of the hill.\textsuperscript{218} 

\textit{han'qa-POS,} 'above x on the hillside' 
\textit{ura'qa-POS,} 'at the same level as x on the hillside' 
\textit{washa'qa-POS,} 'below x on the hillside' 

These follow the same generalization concerning the occurrence of -pa 'GEN'. Examples follow: 

\textit{inliya han'qa-n-chaw} 
\textit{church above-3P-LOC} 
\textit{above the church''} 

\textit{noga-pa washa'qa-n-chaw o livi-sha:- washa'qa-n-chaw} 
\textit{1-GEN level-1P-LOC or live-sub-1P level-3P-LOC} 
\textit{'on beyond me (at the same level) or on beyond where I live'} 

The following is a list (certainly not complete) of the substantives which head a spatial genitive: 

\textit{chaki-POS,} 'at the foot of x', e.g., \textit{punta chaki-n-chaw} (peak foot-3P-LOC) 'at the foot of the peak', 
\textit{fiawpa-POS,} 'beside/in front of x', e.g., \textit{tulpa fiawpa-n-chaw} (hearth side-3P-LOC) 'beside the hearth', 
\textit{gepa-POS,} 'behind x', e.g..
Spatial relationships [12.3.2.3]

. . . mama-n-pa . . . gepa-n-ta . . . aywa-ku-sha.
mother-3P-GEN behind-3P-OBJ go-refl-3PERF
' . . . he went along behind his mother.'

ruri-POSX 'inside X' e.g., meesa ruri-n-chaw (table inside-3P-LOC) 'underneath the table', punsha:
ruri-n-kuna-ta (debris inside-3P-plur-OBJ) 'in amongst the debris'.

chawpi-POSX 'in the middle of X'. e.g., ishka-n chanka-n chawpi-n-pita (two-3P thigh-3P
middle-3P-ABL) 'from between its two thighs',
siki-POSX 'at the base/foot of X'. e.g., kawitu siki-lla-n-man (bed base-just-3P-GOAL) 'to the foot
of the bed'.

serka-POSX 'in the vicinity of X'. e.g.,
. . . noga-pa serka-lla-n-chaw . . . tiya-ne-yki-paq
1-GEN vicinity-just-1P-LOC live-sub-2P-PUR
' . . . in order that you live close to me.'

wagta-POSX 'behind X'. e.g.,
punta wash+wagta-n-pa . . . ura-y-pa . . . ura-anchi.
ridge far:back:side-3P-GEN go:down-adv go:down-12
'We descend by way of the the back side of the ridge.'

kantu-POSX 'at the edge of X'. e.g.,
Munti kantu-n-man . . . chaya-r . . .
forest edge-3P-GOAL arrive-adv
'Arriving at the edge of the forest...'

I believe that spatial relationships form an important part of the Quechua world view.219
Support for this claim is that the spatial orientation in terms of slope is always defined for the
Quechua person: even in a city which is for all intents and purposes flat "downhill" is toward the
river, "up hill" is toward the closest ridge and "at the same level" is perpendicular to these (or parallel
to the flow of the nearest river): from a boat in the middle of a lake "uphill" is toward the inlet.
"downhill" is toward the outlet. and "at the same level" is toward the banks which are neither toward
the inlet or the outlet.

12.3.2.4. Temporal relationships

In the temporal use of the genitive expression, the "possessed" substantive is a (relational)
temporal expression such as those listed below:220
wara(nnin) 'the next day'.
qanyon(nnin) 'the previous day'.
tuta(nnin) 'the next morning'.
wata(nnin) 'the next year'.

219 Related to this, I suggest that the fear of falling is a major preoccupation: the motif of someone falling (usually after
having unbalanced or stepped on the edge of one's support) is a recurring motif in Quechua folk tales. An indirect fact: while
suicide (usually by ingesting poison) is not uncommon. I have never heard of suicide by throwing one's self over a precipice.

220 Some of these end in /n/ in this unpossessed form. e.g. qanyon 'yesterday'. I have listed them with parentheses around
the possessive suffix, with what I regard as the basic form preceding: thus both /n/ 's following wara 'tomorrow' are part of the
possessive. while only qanyon 'yesterday' has one of those /n/ 's as part of it.

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Temporal relationships [12.3.2.4]

If present, the "possessor" must be another expression referring to time, and the expression is interpreted relative to that time. Used without a following possessive suffix, the expression is interpreted relative to the time of speaking. Examples follow:

\[ \text{Miku-sha-n wasan-nin wænu-sha,} \]
\[ \text{eat-sb-3P morrow-3P die-3PERF} \]

'He died the day after he ate them.'

\[ \text{Nirkur chura-nchi wasan-nin muru-na-paq-na.} \]
\[ \text{then store-12 next:year plant-sb-FUT-now} \]

'Then we store them (see potatoes) to be planted the following year.'

Days of the week may "possess" other days, so e.g. one can refer to Tuesday as "Monday's next day":

\[ \text{lunis-pa wasan-nin} \]
\[ \text{Monday-GEN morrow-3P} \]

'the next day with respect to Monday, i.e., Tuesday'

Combined with -ntin (see section 4.2.1.13), \textit{war} and \textit{qanya} form expressions for referring to two days subsequent/previous:

\textit{warantin} 'two days hence (with respect to)'.
\textit{qanyantin} 'two days prior to (with respect to)'.

Without a possessive suffix these mean (respectively) 'day after tomorrow' and 'day before yesterday': e.g.:  

\[ \text{Warantin awa-ku-sha.} \]
\[ \text{day:after:tomorrow go-refl-1FUT} \]

'I will leave the day after tomorrow.'

They may be the possessors or the possessed of a temporal expression, so expressions like the following are possible:

\textit{wara-niin-pa wasan-nin} (tomorrow-tog-GEN tomorrow-3P) 'two days after tomorrow'.
\textit{wara-pa wara-niin-nin} (tomorrow-tog tomorrow-tog-3P) 'the day after two days after today'.
\textit{(lunis-pa) wara-niin-nin} (Monday-GEN tomorrow-tog-3P) 'two days after Monday, i.e., Wednesday'.

12.3.2.5. Quantifiers

Quantifiers such as \textit{huk} 'one', \textit{achka} 'many', \textit{wallka} 'few', etc. may have a possessive suffix to indicate the person of the set being quantified: e.g.:

\textit{huk-niki} (one-2P) 'one of you'.
\textit{llapa-niki} (all-2P) 'all of you'.
\textit{mayqa-niki} (which-2P) 'which of you'.

These never have substantive phrase as possessor. Section 12.4.1 describes their use.

12.4. Pronominal Reference

This section deals with some topics pertaining to pronominal reference. By no means is it intended as complete. The pronominal elements are introduced in section 4.1.
12.4.1. Possessed Quantifier/Referential Words

The following words take possessive suffixes to indicate the person of the object(s) to which the expression so formed makes reference.\[221\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{huk} & \text{hukni-} & \text{one/other} & \text{waki-} \text{wakin} & \text{others} \\
\text{ishka-} & \text{ishkani-} & \text{two} & \text{ka:ra-u} \text{nu-} & \text{each} \\
\text{kimsa} & \text{three} & \text{kiki} & \text{self/emphatic} \\
\text{llapa-} & \text{llapani-} & \text{all} & \text{hapalla-} & \text{alone/only}
\end{array}
\]

If a possessive suffix is added to a word which ends in a consonant, the meaningless suffix -\text{ni} intervenes between that final consonant and the suffix. We will now consider one by one these words, exemplifying their use in referential expressions.

12.4.1.1. \textit{Huk} 'one/other'

\textit{Huk} 'one/article' may be used as an article:

\[
\text{Huk saapo ka-yka-sha mayu-chaw.} \quad \text{1129}
\]

'a frog be-IMP/FRV river-Loc

'There was a frog in the river.' (to begin a text)

It may be used as a quantifying adjective:

\[
\ldots \text{huk deereu altu-lla-pa uysha-pa qara-n-pita} \quad \text{1130}
\]

\ldots one finger high-JUST/GEN sheep-GEN skin-3P-ABL

'just one finger high from the sheep's skin....'

\textit{Huk} may be used to refer, or to contrast one person or thing with another: e.g.:

\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text{Huk} & \text{runa chari-pa: ma-nchi...} \\
\text{other man} & \text{grab-ben} \text{1-3-12}
\end{array}
\]

'Someone else (lit. other man) holds it for us....'

In this use, \textit{huk} may take a possessive suffix to indicate the person of the set with respect to which "one/other" is defined.\[222\] e.g., in \textit{huk-ninchi} (one-12P) the set with respect to which "one/other" is defined is comprised of the speaker and the hearer. The person or thing referred to by \textit{huk-POS} may or may not be member of the set whose person is indicated by the possessive suffix. Thus, \textit{huk-ninchi} could mean 'one of us(incl)' or 'one other than us(incl)'. This is further illustrated in the examples below.

For example, if John, Tom, and Paul are somehow closely associated (e.g., they share a room), then John could say example 1132 to Tom and thereby be blaming Paul.

\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text{Noganchi mana rura-shka-nchi:-chu.} & \text{Huk-ninchi rura-sha.} \\
\text{we(incl) not do-perf-12-NEG} & \text{other-12P do-3PERF}
\end{array}
\]

'We(incl) didn't do it. The other (with respect to us) did it.'

Or if someone else accuses John and Tom of something, then they could reply with example 1133:

\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text{Huk-ninchi rura-sha.} & \text{Huk-ninchi rura-sha.} \\
\text{other-12P do-3PERF} & \text{other-12P do-3PERF}
\end{array}
\]

\text{1133}

\text{rura-sha.}

'He(incl) didn't do it. The other (with respect to us) did it.'

\[221\] The hyphen indicates that the word cannot occur unless followed either by a possessive suffix or by -\text{q} 'human'. \textit{ishka-} is also followed by -\text{q}, but this is not a productive suffix.

\[222\] In the third person \textit{huk} is used rather than \textit{hukni}. Whenever a possessive suffix follows, since \textit{huk} ends in a consonant, the -\text{ni} intervenes between the final consonant and the possessive suffix.
Huk 'one/other' [12.4.1.1]

Mana rura-shka:-:-chu noqa-kuna-qa. Huk(-ni:)-rura-sha. not do-perf-1-NEG I-plur-TOP other-1P do-3PERF

'We(excl) didn't do it. Someone else (with respect to us) did it.'

Or John or Tom might reply with example 1134 and thereby blame Paul:

Noqa-kuna mana suwa-pa-shka:-:-chu. Mas_huk-ni:-kaq 1-plur not steal-ben-perf-1-NEG more other-1P-def
suwa-pa-shka-shu-nki.
steal-ben-perf->2-2

'We(excl) didn't steal it on you. The other of us(excl) stole it on you.'

Further, if two persons are sent to do some task. and then the boss checks up on them. one might say 1135:

Mana \{ 
\begin{align*}
\text{ishka:-:qa} & \quad \text{rura-shka:-:-chu.} \\
\text{two-1P-TOP} & \quad \text{Huk-ni:-:la:-: rura-shka:-:} \\
\end{align*}
\} 
\begin{align*}
\text{not} & \quad \text{do-perf-1-NEG} \\
\text{ishkani:-:qa} & \quad \text{one-just-1P} \\
\text{two-1P-TOP} & \quad \text{do-perf-1} \\
\end{align*}

'The two of us(excl) didn't do it. Just I (the one of me) did it.'

Although huk may have a possessive suffix it never occurs with an overt genitive phrase: one cannot say 'Juan-pa huk(-ni-n) 'one other than John'.

12.4.1.2. Other numerals

The numbers ishka(ni)-POS. kimsa-POS. chusku-POS may be used as huk was used in the previous example, to mean 'the two of x'. 'the three of x'. 'the four of x' respectively. where x is of the person indicated by the possessive suffix: see table 4-1. Examples are 1135 and the following:

...alli ka-yka-nki chusku-nchi muskeeru puri-na-peq... 
\begin{align*}
good & \quad \text{be-impf-2 four-12P} \\
\text{musician} & \quad \text{travel-sub-PUR} \\
\end{align*}

'...you are good for the four of us to travel around as musicians.'

12.4.1.3. Wakin 'others'

waki- ~ wakin is the plural counterpart of huk. and often interchangeable with huk...kuna (one...plurual). Examples follow:

wakin-niki-ga? others-2P-TOP
May-chaw-taq
where-loc-?

huk-niki-kuna-ga? other-2P-plur-TOP

'Where are the others (with respect to you) ?'

kastiga-shaq. 
punish-1->3FUT
kastiga-shayki. 
punish-1->2FUT

'I will punish the others (with respect to you).'

Example 1138 would be used if the hearer is a member of some group (in the speech context) and the
speaker intends to punish the others of the group exclusive of the hearer.

Usually *wakin* is used as the third person form rather than *wakinin*. Example 1139 shows that the reference of *wakin* is with respect to a third person, (i.e. it means 'the others with respect to him'):

\[ Chawra buurrut ni-n-shi, "Watqa-ruku-shaq-chu?" Wakin-kuna-ga 1139 \]
\[ then donkey say-3-IND spy-up-1FUT-YN? other-plur-TOP \]
\[ chawra ni-n-shi, "Maa watqa-ruku-y" ...nirkur then say-3-IND let's:see spy-up-2IMP then \]
\[ rika-sha-n-ta-shi willa-pa-n wakin-kaq kumpani:ru-n-ta, see-sub-3P-OBJ-IND tell:ben-3 other-def companion-3P-OBJ \]

'Then the donkey says, "Shall I spy a little?" *The others* then say, "Let's see, spy a little." ....Thereupon he tells the others of his companions what he saw.'

12.4.1.4. **Mayqa** 'which'

Followed by the appropriate possessive suffix. *mayqa(ni)* is used in various ways:

1. in questions. e.g.:

\[ Mayqa-nchii-qa taq hucha-yog ka-nchi? 1140 \]
\[ which-12P-? guilt-having be-12 \]

'Which of us (incl) is guilty?'

2. in indefinite pronouns. e.g. *mayqa(ni)-yki-pis* (which-2P-indef) 'whichever of you'; or suppose that in jointly doing something (e.g., passing a bowl of soup) something gets knocked over (e.g., a glass of milk) and we don't know exactly which of us did it: then one of us could say:

\[ Mayqa-nchii-pis noqanchi rura-shka-nchi, 1141 \]
\[ which-12P-indef we(incl) do-perf-12 \]

'Whoever of us did it.' i.e. 'One or the other of us(incl) did it.'

3. negative pronouns. e.g. *mana mayqa(ni)-yki-pis* (not which-2P-indef) 'none of you'.

12.4.1.5. **Kiki** 'self'

The emphatic pronoun *kiki* is virtually always followed by a possessive suffix.\(^{223}\) Examples follow:

\[ Chawra "Lella-kyy-khi-chari. Kiki-qa-raq-mi 1142 \]
\[ then lie-refl-2-surely self:IP-yet-DIR \]
\[ warmi:ta watqa-yku-shaq." ni-n-shi, wife:IP-OBJ spy-impact-1FUT say-3-IND \]

'Then "You must be lying. Yet I will spy on my wife." he said.'

\[ Lulla-pa:ma-pti-ki kiki-kii-ta waunu-chi-shayki, 1143 \]
\[ lie-ben-3-adv-2P self:2P-OBJ die-cause-1-2FUT \]

'If you are lying to me, I will kill you (yourself).'

---

\(^{223}\) By elicitation I have gotten assent to examples where *kiki* is not followed by a possessive suffix. But I have never seen such a case in a text or heard one in a conversation.
12.4.1.6. **Liapan ‘all’**  
Examples of *llapa(ni)* follow:  

\[ Y \text{ llapani}: \text{ soqta ka-}: \text{ kimsa allqo y kimsa wami}. \]
\[ \text{and all-1 six be-1 three male and three female} \]
\[ ‘\text{And we all(excl) are six, three boys and three girls.}’ \]

\[ *llapa-vki \text{ qam-kuna fyu ka-nki}. \]
\[ \text{all-2P you-PL bad be-2} \]
\[ ‘\text{All of you(plural) are bad.}’ \]

\[ *llapa(ni)-nchi aywa-shun. \]
\[ \text{all-12P go-12IMP} \]
\[ ‘\text{All of us(incl) will go. Let’s all of us go!}’ \]

12.4.1.7. **Hapallan ‘alone’**  
*hapa-* *lla-* means roughly ‘by one’s self’.\textsuperscript{224} e.g.:  

\[ Noga \text{ hapa+lla-}: \text{ mana aywa-:chu}. \]
\[ \text{i alone-1P not go-1-neq} \]
\[ ‘\text{I am not going by myself.}’ \]

\[ Hapa+lla-n \text{ aywa-sha}. \]
\[ \text{alone-3P go-3PERF} \]
\[ ‘\text{He went alone.}’ \]

12.4.1.8. **kara-u:nu ‘each one’**  
The Spanish expression *cada uno* has been borrowed into Huallaga Quechua as one word, a word that belongs to the class of words under discussion. Thus, *kara-u:nu-n ‘each one of them’*  
*kara-u:nu-yki ‘each one of you’ etc.

12.4.1.9. **Unmotivated -ni alternation**  
The following words, which must be followed by a possessive suffix as just discussed, generally are free variants.  

\[ \text{ishka-POS}_x^{\text{*}} \text{ishkani-POS}_x \text{ ‘two of x’} \]
\[ \text{mayqa-POS}_x^{\text{*}} \text{mayqani-POS}_x \text{ ‘which of x’} \]
\[ *llapa-POS}_x^{\text{*}} *llapani-POS}_x \text{ ‘all of x’} \]

Note that the phonological motivation for the presence of *-ni* discussed in 23.8.12 is absent in these cases.

Generally, *-ni* is a meaningless suffix. Example 1150 shows the only type of case where there is a clear contrast between a form with *-ni* and one without:

\[ \]

\textsuperscript{224}hapa-* *lla-* is certainly historically two morphemes: hapa-*lla-.
12.4.2. Disjoint Reference Forced by a Noun Phrase

Consider 1151 and 1152, both of which contain object complements. In both, a substantive in the complement (in the first case a pronoun, in the second a name) must be interpreted as not coreferential to the subject of the superordinate clause. By contrast, the absence of a substantive at these positions allows an interpretation in which this the object of the complement is understood as coreferential to the subject of the superordinate clause:

Pay musya-n he know-3  
\{a. Ø \} qeshya-yka-sha-n-ta.  
\{b. pay he \} be:sick-1mpfv-sub-3P-OBJ

'He knows that \{a. he_{i/j} \} is sick.'

\begin{align*}
\text{Maria muna-n} \quad & (a. Ø) \quad \text{muucha-na:-ta.} \\
\text{Mary want-3} \quad & (b. Maria-ta) \quad \text{kiss-sub-1P-OBJ}
\end{align*}

'Mary wants me to kiss \{a. her_{i/j} \}  
\{b. Mary \}_{i,j}

I am at present not able to characterize the class of environments in which a substantive must have disjoint reference, am optimistic that a properly elaborated theory of reference could do a lot toward that end.\footnote{There may be a factor which complicates matters in HgQ: in some cases the pronouns occur seemingly for no other reason than to support some suffix. For example, I believe that (in contrast to 1152b) a coreferential interpretation is possible in the following, in which the pronoun is present to support -pis 'also':}

\begin{align*}
\text{Maria muna-n pay-ta-pis} \quad & \text{muucha-na:-ta.} \\
\text{Mary want-3} \quad & \text{her-OBJ-also kiss-sub-1P-OBJ}
\end{align*}

'Mary wants me to kiss her_{i/j} too.'

If this is correct, then there is no hope of giving a structural characterization of such contexts.

\footnote{There may be a factor which complicates matters in HgQ: in some cases the pronouns occur seemingly for no other reason than to support some suffix. For example, I believe that (in contrast to 1152b) a coreferential interpretation is possible in the following, in which the pronoun is present to support -pis 'also':}
Tom’s son. In the discussion below, J > T indicates that in the preferred reading wamran ‘his son’ refers to John’s son, and T > J indicates a preference for Tom’s son. J = T indicates that wamra-n can equally refer to either John’s or Tom’s son, without preference for either. J > T indicates that wamra-n can refer to John’s son but not Tom’s. Consider 1153 and 1154:

Hwan [Tumas wamra-n-ta(T)J] maqa-yka-q]-ta rika-ra-n. 1153
John son-3P-OBJ hit-impfv-sub-OBJ see-past-3
‘John saw Tom hitting his child.’

Hwan rika-ra-n [Tumas wamra-n-ta(T)J] maqa-yka-q]-ta. 1154
John see-past-3 son-3P-OBJ hit-impfv-sub-OBJ

I assume that 1153 is the most “basic” order. Neither 1153 nor 1154 involves any raising. 1154 differs from 1153 only in that the complement object follows rather than precedes the main verb. Note that in both, wamra-n preferentially refers to Tom’s rather than John’s son (as indicated by the notation T > J). This seems to be because in both, Tumas is the referential element which most immediately precedes wamra-n. (For this reason I have underlined Tumas.)

Consider what happens when wamra-n is raised into the higher clause (see section 13.3.2.4) and Hwan rather than Tumas precedes:

Hwan wamra-n-ta(J *T) rika-ra-n [Tumas maqa-yka-q]-ta. 1155
John child-3P-OBJ see-past-3 Tom hit-impfv-sub-OBJ

Hwan rika-ra-n wamra-n-ta(J *T), [Tumas maqa-yka-q]-ta. 1156
John see-past-3 child-3P-OBJ hit-impfv-sub-OBJ

In 1156, both Hwan and the person marker on rikaran are underlined. As I both are referential elements. Since in either case an element referring to John most immediately precedes wamra-n, it refer only to John’s son.

Let us see what happens when neither Tumas nor Hwan are clausemates of wamra-n. In the following, Tumas has been raised to become the object of rika-ra-n ‘he saw’:

Hwan Tumas-ta [wamra-n-ta(T)J] maqa-yka-q]-ta rika-ra-n. 1157
John Tom-OBJ child-3P-OBJ hit-impfv-sub-OBJ see-past-3

Hwan rika-ra-n Tumas-ta [wamra-n-ta(T)J] maqa-yka-q]-ta. 1158
John see-past-3 Tom-OBJ child-3P-OBJ hit-impfv-sub-OBJ

Hwan [wamra-n-ta(J)T] maqa-yka-q]-ta rika-ra-n Tumas-ta. 1159
John child-3P-OBJ hit-impfv-sub-OBJ see-past-3 Tom-OBJ

In each of these cases the possessive suffix of wamra-n prefers the most immediately preceding noun phrase as its referent.

A further case of this sort is the following, which is structurally ambiguous between wamra-n-ta

226 I consider this methodology as somewhat suspect but highly suggestive, and it was the best that I could do for this study. I am grateful to Hernán Quiñones for contributing the judgements given below. Hernán speaks Huari (Ancash) Quechua, which I regard as close enough to HgQ to be valid for the results below, given that they are meant as suggestive and not definitive.

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being a member of the subordinate or of the main clause.\textsuperscript{227}

\begin{verbatim}
Hwan  wamr\-n\-ta(T) [Tumas maqa-yka-q]-ta  rika-ra-n.
  John  child-3P-OBJ   Tom  hit-impf\-v-sub-OBJ  see-past-3
\end{verbatim}

1160

The conclusion we reach on the basis of 1157-1160 is that the possessive suffix of \textit{wamr\-n} prefers the most immediately preceding referential element. However, there are some apparent counter-examples to this claim. Consider the following:

\begin{verbatim}
Hwan  Tumas-ta rika-ra-n [wamr\-n\-ta(T)\+J] maqa-yka-q]-ta.
  John  Tom-OBJ  see-past-3  child-3P-OBJ  hit-impf\-v-sub-OBJ
\end{verbatim}

1161

\begin{verbatim}
Tumas-ta rika-ra-n [wamr\-n\-ta(T)\+J] maqa-yka-q]-ta  Hwan.
  Tom-OBJ  see-past-3  child-3P-OBJ  hit-impf\-v-sub-OBJ  John
\end{verbatim}

1162

Here we might expect a preference for John since the third person subject marker on \textit{rikaran} is the closest preceding noun phrase, but instead we find no preference at all. I conjecture that this is because a bound pronoun is less referential than an overt substantive phrase: it seems that in 1161-1162 a balance is achieved because the bound pronoun (referring to John) is closer than the substantive (referring to Tom).

In the last two examples to be discussed (1163 and 1164) the rule of "most immediately preceding referential element" fails. Example 1163 is like 1156 except for "comma intonation," which I assume to reflect a clause boundary:

\begin{verbatim}
Hwan  rika-ra-n. [wamr\-n\-ta(T)\+J] Tumas maqa-yka-q]-ta.
  John  see-past-3  child-3P-OBJ  Tom  hit-impf\-v-sub-OBJ
\end{verbatim}

1163

In example 1163, the possessive suffix of \textit{wamr\-n} refers to \textit{Tumas}, which follows, but which is a classmate.

I have no idea why, in example 1164 \textit{T} = \textit{J} rather than the expected \textit{J} \textgreater{} \textit{T}:

\begin{verbatim}
  Tom-OBJ  see-past-3  John  child-3P-OBJ  hit-impf\-v-sub-OBJ
\end{verbatim}

1164

This concludes our discussion of such phenomena, a discussion which has obviously just barely scratched the surface. A great deal of work is needed to (i) verify the facts presented here, (ii) expand the body of such facts, and (iii) incorporate these facts into a theory of reference.

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{227}The two bracketings would be as follows:

\begin{verbatim}
Hwan  [wamr\-n\+ta  Tumas  maqa-ykaq]-ta  rikan\+ar.
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Hwan  wamr\-n\+ta  [Tumas  maqa-ykaq]-ta  rikan\+ar.
\end{verbatim}

Evidence of this ambiguity is seen if we replace \textit{wamr\-n\-ta} by \textit{qam\-ta} (you-OBJ): the transition of \textit{rik\-a} 'see' can be either \textit{3} \textgreater{} \textit{3} (for the case that \textit{qam\-ta} (you-OBJ) is the object of \textit{maqa\-a}) or \textit{3} \textgreater{} \textit{2} (for the case that it is the object of \textit{rik\-a}):\

\begin{verbatim}
Hwan  qam\-ta  Tumas  maqa\-yka\-q\-ta  \{rika\-ra\-n,  (3\textgreater{}3)
  John  you-OBJ  Tom  hit-impf\-v-sub-OBJ  \{rika\-shu\-ra\-yki,  (3\textgreater{}2)
        see-past-3                  see-past-2
\end{verbatim}

'John saw Tom hitting you.'
\end{footnotesize}
12.5. Number Formation

12.5.1. Basic Numbers

The Quechua number system is quite well preserved in HgQ. (In areas to the west and south, it has largely been replaced by Spanish numbers.) For example, the following are possible numbers in HgQ:

11 -- chunka huk
13 -- chunka kimsa
20 -- ishkay chunka
50 -- isqon chunka
500 -- pichqa pachak
3000 -- kimsa waranqa
20,000 -- ishkay chunka waranqa
900,000 -- isqon pachak waranqa

A NUMBER is a digit or a number expression. There names for the digits (the numbers from one to nine), are as follows:

1 -- huk
2 -- ishkay
3 -- kimsa
4 -- chukuy
5 -- pichqa
6 -- saqqa
7 -- qanchis
8 -- pusaq
9 -- isqon

A NUMBER EXPRESSION has three parts:

(MULTIPLIER) NUCLEUS (ADDER)

The NUCLEUS is a power of ten: the possible nuclei are:

10 -- chunka
100 -- pachak
1000 -- waranqa

The MULTIPLIER and ADDER are numbers, and (as indicated by the parentheses) are optional. The value of a number expression may be calculated by multiplying its multiplier by the nucleus and then adding the adder.

To illustrate where the multiplier and adder are digits, in chunka pichqa (ten five) 'fifteen', chunka 'ten' is the nucleus and pichqa 'five' is the adder. In kimsa pachak (three hundred) 'three hundred'. kimsa 'three' is the multiplier and pachak 'hundred' is the nucleus. In pusaq chunka ishkay (eight ten two) 'eighty two'. pusaq is the multiplier. chunka 'ten' is the nucleus, and ishkay 'two' is the multiplier.

When the multiplier or adder is a number expression, its nucleus must be smaller than the nucleus of the number expression of which it is a part, so e.g. if the nucleus is pachak 'hundred', then the nuclei of a multiplier or adder could only be chunka 'ten'. See examples 1168 and 1169 and the corresponding analysis into multiplier, nucleus and adder.
When a number is used as a pre-nominal modifier, and when it has an adder whose nucleus is chunka ‘10’, then -n may be added either after the entire adder (see 1170a and 1171a) or after chunka (see 1170b and 1171b). This -n (as with -n ‘3P’) is -nin following consonants.²²⁸

```
a. pachak pusaq chunka chunka pichaqa n wata
   100 8 10 5 year
   '186 years'

b. pachak pusaq chunka chunka n pichaQA wata
   100 8 10 5 year
   '186 years'
```

Of course, when no adder follows chunka then -n directly follows; e.g. in pachak chunka (hundred ten) ‘110’ the adder is chunka so pachak chunka-n wata ‘110 years’; similarly pachak pichaqa chunka-n wata (hundred five ten-N year) ‘150 years’. isgon pachak kimsa chunka-n wata-yoq (nine hundred three ten-N) ‘930 years old’.

---

²²⁸ I do not identify this -n with e.g. the third person suffix. nor do I give it a gloss. I regard it as simply a marker within the system of forming numbers: whether it is related to some other suffix (either synchronically or diachronically) is a very moot point.
12.5.2. Indefinite Numbers

Two consecutive digit numbers indicate a rough idea of number: e.g., ishkay kimsa (two three) means roughly two or three (not necessarily exactly two or three); pichqa sogta (five six) 'five or six'. Other examples follow:

Chay-pita ashi-pa-sha kimsa chusku awkis muula-kuna-ta-shi.
that-ABL seek-ben-3PERF three four old mule-PL-OBJ-IND

'After that he looked for three or four old mules.'

12.5.3. Number Roots/Stem

In the preceding sections ishkay has been treated as a single morpheme. Actually it is formed from the root ishkya+ 'two', which combines with three suffixes:

ishkya+ { *y 'two' (the quantity) 1173
          *n 'the two of them' (a pronoun. see 12.4.1.2)
          *q 'two persons' (see 4.2.1.10)

If -lla 'just' occurs with ishkya+n it precedes the -n: ishkya—lla+n 'just the two of them'. As with some other quantifying roots (e.g., lapa+ 'all', mayqa+ 'which'), ishkya+ 'two' may be followed by -ni230 and a possessive suffix to refer to various sets of two: see sections 12.4.1.1 and 12.4.1.2. (The forms preceded by question marks are acceptable, but much less preferred to the corresponding form.)

?ishkya—?. ishkya—ni—?. 'the two of us (excl)'
?ishkya—yki ishkya—ni—yki 'the two of you'
ishkya—n ?ishkya—ni—n 'the two of them'
ishkya—nchi: ?ishkya—ni—nchi: 'the two of us (incl)'

12.6. -kama ‘respectively’

(#)kama ‘respectively’ is a postposition which may (or may not) be criticized to the preceding word. Following possessive suffix, kama restricts its reference.231 Consider 1175:

Juan raki-ra-n wamra-n-kuna-ta
John separate-past-3 child-3P-plur-OBJ

a. wamra-n-kuna-ta-wan.
   child-3P-plur-OBJ-COM
b. willka-n-kuna-ta-wan.
   grandchild-3P-plur-OBJ-COM
   kama.
c. wamra-n-kuna-ta-wan kama.
   child-3P-plur-OBJ-COM resp
   grandchild-3P-plur-OBJ-COM resp

229 This applies only when there are fewer than nine. (This is not used in e.g., qanchis chunka pusaq chunka (seven ten eight ten) 'seventy or eighty'.

230 This -ni is not motivated (as in most cases) by a need to avoid a cluster of three consonants between the preceding stem and the following suffix.

231 It is not clear whether this restriction is structurally or syntactically determined: it might be definable in terms of “wide” or “narrow scope”. It seems more likely that the “scope” is inferentially rather than structurally determined.

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1. /5a means ‘John separated his children and their children’ and would be used if John had separated his children together with his children’s children into one group out of some larger group. 1175b means ‘John separated his children and his grandchildren’ and would be used if John separated his children and his grandchildren into one group out of some larger group. Thus, 1175a and 1175b show that the third person possessive suffix -n in the last word can be coreferential to either the subject of the sentence or to the immediately preceding noun phrase (as in 1175b).

1175c means ‘John separated his children and their respective children’ and would be used if John had separated his children and their offspring into various groups such that each group consisted of one (and only one) of his children together with that person’s own children. 1175d means ‘John separated his children and their respective grandchildren’; it could not be used if only three generations are involved (that of John, that of his children, and that of his grandchildren). But 1175d may be used if John’s children have grandchildren to indicate that John separated his children and their grandchildren into groups such that each group consisted of one (and only one) of John’s children together with that person’s grandchildren. Thus, 1175c and 1175d show that kama restricts (at least in this case) the reference of the third person possessive suffix -n immediately preceding kama to the referent of the most immediately preceding noun phrase. Whereas in 1175a and 1175b it was seen that it could be coreferential with either the subject or object noun phrase, in 1175c and 1175d, it may only be coreferential with the object noun phrase.

The following example further documents the effect of kama to restrict reference:

```
Kimsa warmi-n-chaw ka-ra-n pichqa wamra-n-kuna
three wife-3P-loc be-past-3 five child-3P-plur b. kama
a. Ø
```

'By his three wives (literally “in” his three wives) there were his five children.'

When kama is absent (as in 1176a) it means he had five children in all: when kama is present (as in 1176b), it means he had five children by each wife, for a total of fifteen! Kama restricts the possible reference of the preceding third person possessive suffix (the one that is underlined): in 1176a, -n may refer to the wives (so a meaning of three children by each wife is possible), whereas in 1176b it can only refer to the husband.

In 1177, the effect of kama is to indicate that for each member of some presupposed set there corresponds one element (as e.g., if someone were to pass out hats, where for each person there was one hat):

```
kara-unu-n-pa huk-kama
each-one-3P-GEN one-resp
1177
```

‘one for each’

This use is possible with higher numbers as well (as e.g., if someone were passing out shoes, and to each person there corresponded two):

```
kara-unu-n-pa ishkay-kama
each-one-3P-GEN two-resp
1178
```

‘two for each’
12.7. -kaq 'Definite'

(-)kaq is historically the verb ka- 'to be' followed by the substantivizer -q; it has become a marker of (approximately) "definiteness". It is sometimes a suffix; e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Hatu} & \text{-kaq-ta go-ma-y} \\
\text{big-def-OBJ give-IMP} \\
& \text{\textquote{Give me the big one.}}
\end{align*}
\]

Sometimes it is a separate word; e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Chay-chaw} & \text{ ka-g-ta go-yku-y} \\
\text{there-LOC be-sub-OBJ give-IMP} \\
& \text{\textquote{Give it to those who are there.}}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{...hama-rpa-yka-n} & \text{ llapan chay-chaw kaq-runa-kuna-qaa.} \\
\text{sit-plur-IMP pem-3 all that-LOC be-sub man-plur-TOP} \\
& \text{\textquote{...all the men that are sitting.}}
\end{align*}
\]

In 1179, -kaq is glossed 'def' for 'definite'; in 1180 and 1181 it is the root ka- 'be' followed by the substantivizer -q. 1182 and 1183 are indeterminate between these two alternatives:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Qeru-pita} & \text{-kaq-ta rupa-chi-shun.} \\
\text{wood-ABL-def-ACC burn-caus-IMP} \\
& \text{\textquote{Let's burn that/those which are made of wood.}}
\end{align*}
\]

Note that 1179 and 1182 show that -kaq (as a suffix) has no strict ordering with respect to the case marking suffixes.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{oiliq-pa kasta-n kaq-kuna-qaa} \\
\text{male-GEN clan-3P def-plur-TOP} \\
& \text{\textquote{the man's relatives}}
\end{align*}
\]

When native speakers of HgQ write their language, they are often uncertain whether ka+q should be written as part of the word it follows or as a separate word.

In some cases ka+q is clearly a suffix, and in others it is a separate word. It is a suffix when:

1. it shifts stress: [magamāšan] 'which hit me' becomes [magamāšā́k̂ax] 'the one which hit me' rather than [magamāšā́k̂a];
2. it is phonologically contracted with the preceding morpheme; e.g. /y(ə)k̂ax/ (2P-def) may become [(y)k̂ax] (with varying degrees of palatalization of the [k]). so kaq must be considered a suffix. An instance: /ayw-sha-yki-kaq-man/ [aywashayk̂axman] 'to the place where you are going'.

The following are rough guidelines for when -kaq should be considered a suffix and when a separate word:

1. When kaq directly precedes kaq, the first will be considered a separate word ka-q; the second is considered a suffix; e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Chay-chaw} & \text{ kaq-kaq-qaa} \text{ wara-ra-n punta-lla-chaw.} \\
\text{there-LOC be-sub-def-TOP dawn-past-3 ridge-just-LOC} \\
& \text{\textquote{Those who were there came into the new day right there on the ridge.}}
\end{align*}
\]

2. Except in the case of ka-q-kaq, whenever kaq follows /q/ 'sub'. it is a separate word; e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Chawra} & \text{ chay saqta-q} \text{ kaq...} \\
\text{then that topple-sub def} \\
& \text{\textquote{Then the one who toppled it...}}
\end{align*}
\]

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In many cases the issue of whether kaq is a suffix or a separate word is complicated by a secondary stress occurring on a preceding syllable when kaq has following suffixes. In general, the more suffixes kaq bears, the more likely it is a separate word from the word it follows.

Perhaps the issue must be settled on other than phonological grounds. A reasonable distinction would be this: when ka+q follows X, if X would not have a referent without kaq then it should be considered a separate word ka-q 'be-sub', whereas if it would have the same referent without kaq then it should be considered as a suffix -kaq 'def'.

In the examples below, kaq is treated as -kaq 'def' or as ka-q 'be-sub', with little importance attached to whether it is criticized to the preceding word.

12.7.1. ka+q Marks Definite Reference

-kaq makes the substantive it follows definite, corresponding roughly to a definite article: e.g.:

a. Hətun-ta
   \text{muna-}
\text{want-1}

b. Hətun-kaq-ta
   \text{big-def-OBJ}

   \text{I want a/the big one.}

b. \text{I want the big one.}

It is natural that kaq should be a marker of definiteness if by "definite" one means a claim of existence and of uniqueness. ka-q 'be-sub' very literally means 'which is': i.e., it is a claim of existence. This does not explain a claim of uniqueness, but it is not clear that kaq really makes such a claim.

1187 suggests that kaq is more appropriate when the object referred to by the substantive which kaq follows is definite:

a. Kəwallu-kaq-ta
   \text{hours-def-OBJ}

b. Kəwallu-n-kaq-ta
   \text{horse-3P-def-OBJ}

\text{He is looking for}

a. \text{the horse.}

b. \text{his horse.}

1187a sounds strange. something like 'He is looking for the thing which is a horse.' But 1187b is quite natural. something like "He is looking for the horse which is his."

kaq is often used in cases where two or more referents have been introduced together, and then a particular one is singled out by reference to some distinguishing property. For example, in describing a picture of a man and woman, the text runs as follows:

\text{Those two are a man and a woman. The woman (warmi-kaq woman-def) is holding the man's (ollip-kap-qa male-def-GEN) left arm. Both have put on new clothes... The man (ollip-kaq male-def) has put on blue pants... The woman (warmi-kaq woman-def) ...}"

A text on butchering runs as follows:

\begin{itemize}
\item The use of English "the" for does not make a claim of uniqueness: the in The man who beats his wife probably doesn't love her, does not imply either the uniqueness of the man nor the existence of any such man.
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item It would probably sound fine in a universe in which there was only one horse.
\end{itemize}
Another person (hak runa one man) holds it very tightly by the neck... The one who cuts it with the knife (kuchili-un kuchu-q-kaq knife-COM cut-sub-def) grasps the sheep's jawbone. The one who holds it (chari-q-kaq grab-sub-def) stands by its side...

1190 (from section 12.9, example 1219) considers alternatives for referring to one particular pencil out of a set of four pencils of varying sizes: 'pita...kaq makes the definite reference based on size relative to the largest (or smallest):

a. Hatun-pita mas taksha+rp=q kaq-ta qo=ma-y.
   bigABL more smaller def-OBJ give=3-2IMP

b. Taksha-pita mas hatu+ll+a+n kaq-ta qo=ma-y.
   smallABL more bigger def-OBJ give=3-2IMP

a. 'Give me the one which is a little smaller than the biggest.'

b. 'Give me the one which is a little bigger than the smallest.'

Chawra-qa parla-n chay awni-q runa-wan mayqa-n-kaq
then-TOP speak-3 that agree-sub man-GEN which-3P-def
mayordoomu-ta yayku-na-n-paq-pis.
majourdowo-OBJ enter-sub-3-PUR-indef

'Then they speak with that man who has agreed about which one of them should enter as the majordomo.'

Another example:

...sirin llapan-ta warmi-pa kasta-n kaq-kuna-ta-qa usha+qpaq.
   serve all-OBJ woman-GEN clan-3P def-plur-OBJ-TOP completely

'...they serve all of the woman's relatives (which are there).' See also 1332.

12.7.2. -kaq to Refer to Place
Substantives followed by kaq often refer to a place where the referent of that substantive is located: e.g.:

 tulipa kaq-chaw
 hearth be-sub-LOC

'...in the place where the stove is/was'

...chay warmi-ta ashi-sha-n kaq-chaw-qa...
   that woman-OBJ seek-sub-3P def-LOC-TOP

'...at the place where they are seeking that woman'
(i.e., seeking her hand in marriage for another)

...apa-sha tinri-ta siwraa-man paarrinu-n kuura kaq-man
   take-3PERF tiger-OBJ city-GOAL godfather-3P priest def-GOAL

'...he took the tigers to the city, to where his godfather the priest lived.'

12.7.3. -pita kaq 'those except'
The sequence X-pita kaq may mean 'those except the members of X';\(^\text{234}\) e.g.:

\(^{234}\)Other meanings are possible, e.g. 'the one descended from X'.
12.7.4. **huk-kaq 'the other'**

The combination of *huk* 'one/other' and *kaq* 'def' is now largely frozen as simply *hukaq* 'the other one'; e.g.:

...kargu-ta  hukaq-ta  ruka-na-n-paq.
cargo-OBJ the:other-OBJ exchange-sub-3P-PUR

'... in order to exchange the office with the other one.'

**Hukaq**-man  taku-chi-shaq.
the:other-GOAL mix-caus-1FUT

'I will mix it into the other.'

In some cases *hukaq* means 'a particular one' of various possible referents; e.g.:

Chay-pita  huk  mayur  suwa  ni-n  hukaq  suwa-ta...
that-ABL one superior thief say-3 one thief-OBJ

'A after that one of the boss, thieves says to (a particular)
one of the other thieves...'

**Hukaq** nobillu-yki-ta  qo-may  miku-na-n-paq.
one oxen-2P-OBJ give-3P-1IMP eat-sub-1P-PUR

'Give me one (a particular one) of your oxen so I can eat it.'

After introducing a group of referents, if the first reference to one member of that group is made with *huk-kaq*, then this creates the expectation that one or more other members will be similarly singled out for discussion. For example, if one says 'There were two boys,' and continues with *hukkaq pa huitin Pablo* 'The name of one of them was Paul', it creates the expectation that subsequently the name of the other boy will be given. But continuing with *hukpa huitin Pablo* 'The name of one of them was Paul' creates no such expectation.

12.7.5. **wakin-kaq 'the others'**

Corresponding to *huk-kaq* 'the other' is the plural form *wakin-kaq* 'the others'. This is frequent in a text such as "The Four Musicians", in which there are multiple, interacting participants, often with one participant interacting with the other three:

Then the others *(wakin-kaq other-def)* say... Then he tells the others, his companions *(wakin-kaq kumpaniru-n-ta other-def companion-3P-OBJ)* what he saw... Then the others *(wakin-kaq qa other-def-TOP)* say... .

Similarly, an explanation of how fiestas are administered speaks of the group of ministers, often contrasting one with the others; e.g.: 235

---

235 Compare example 1202 to 1211. page 259.
Chay minisru-kuna-chaw eskirbaanu manda-n waki-n-kaq
that minister-plur-LOC scrivener order-3 other-3P-def
minisru-kuna-ta,
minister-plur-OBJ

'Among those ministers, the scrivener is over ("orders") the
other ministers.'

They look for five men, all of whom know how to dance... ...there should be 1203
one who knows how to dance better than the others (waki-kaq-pita-qa
(other-def-ABL-TOP)).

12.7.6. chay-kaq 'the other'
At best, the combination of chay 'that' and kaq 'def' in chay-kaq seems redundant. since chay is
a definite pronoun and kaq is a marker of definiteness. Chay-kaq means roughly 'that one (in
contrast to the aforementioned one)' (where 'that' bears heavy stress); e.g., chay-kaq in the following
bit of text refers to the second-mentioned servant and not the first-mentioned.236

There is one servant at the table. There is another servant to feed those 1204
that are seated on the ground. That servant (chay-kaq sirbim: that-def servant)
serves them starting at one edge until he finishes.

The text preceding 1205 describes various ways some fathers react negatively to a delegation
coming to ask for their daughter's hand in marriage: 1205 describes a positive reaction:

Wakin runa-kuna-qa alli. Chay-kaq-qa hama-chi-n...
other man-plur-TOP good that-def-TOP sit-caus-3

'Other men are good. Those (in contrast to the afore-mentioned)
seat them...'

A further example illustrating this point:

...eskirbaanu ashi-n-na aikaldeesa-ta rihidoora-ta
scrivener seek-3P-now mayoress-OBJ rigidora-OBJ
ruka-na-n-paq watam chay-kaq-na rura-na-n-paq,
xchange-sub-3P-PUR next:year that-def-now do-sub-3P-PUR

'...the scrivener seeks women to become mayoress and rihidoora,
so that the following year those (the new ones found, not the
afore-mentioned women who are presently carrying out the roles)
do it.'

12.7.7. mana-kaq 'insignificant'
The combination of mana 'no, not' and kaq 'def' means 'insignificant, worthless'. This
idiomatic expression undoubtedly has its origin in mana ka-q 'which is not'. For example,

Mana+kaq  papel-1la-n-wan-mi gaana-na-sha...
insignificant paper-just-3P-COM-DIR beat–>1-3PERF

'He beat me just with his worthless paper...'

1208 is how the tiger insults the wasp:

236 (Followig this, the text then describes how the first-mentioned servant serves: to the scrivener first, who passes the dish
on according to rank...)
12.8. -pacha 'continuous'

Another postposition which applies to substantive phrases is (#)pacha 'continuous'. It cliticizes to some degree or another (with some variation from speaker to speaker) to the preceding word. Pacha must co-occur with the case markers -pita 'ABL' or -man 'GOAL', which as seen in chapter 10, may indicate a path (in space or time), and indicates that the event referred to by the main verb of that clause happened continuously along this path. If φ is a substantiv, referring to Φ, then φ-pita#pacha means 'continuously from φ' and φ-man#pacha means 'continuously to φ'. An example follows:

Wañu-sha-n-pita pacha waqə-sha.
die-sub-3P-ABL cont cry-3PERF

'She has cried ever since he died.'

12.9. Contrast, Covariation and Comparison

This section comments on contrast, covariation and comparison.

First, the use of -qa 'TOP' to express contrast is discussed in considerable detail in section 20.2.3.2.

Two referents may be contrasted: the one which is the basis of contrast is marked with -pita 'ABL', as in 1210 and 1215:

Chay-naw ka-rka-vka-sha-n-pita wakin runa-qa mana ashi-n-chu.. 1210
that-SIM be-PL-mpfv-sub-3P-ABL other man-TOP not seek-3NEG

'By contrast to those who are like that, other people don't seek...'

Chay-pita ka-q-qa 11apan-ta manda-n eskirbaamu rigidur-ta.... 1211
that-ABL be-sub-OBJ-TOP all-OBJ order-OBJ scrivener rigidor,...

'With the exception of that one, the scrivener is the boss of (orders) all of them, the rigidor...'

Second, COVARIATION expresses a variation of some object/event as a function of (according as) some other variation. Example 1212 illustrates this: the size of the light is said to vary with the progress of the participants toward it:

Mas mas aya-pa-n mas hatun-na-shi rika-ka:-mu-n achi. 1212
more more go-adv-3P more big-now-IND see-pass-afar-3 light

'The farther they went, the larger the light was seen (to be).'

Third, COMPARATIVES are formed with
- mas 'more' before the phrase expressing the QUALITY or GROUND OF COMPARISON (e.g., size, color, speed, manière...), and
- the STANDARD OF COMPARISON (i.e. the object to which compared) as an ablative (substantive) phrase.

For example:
Contrast. Covariation and Comparison [12.9]

'Noqa mas hatun ka-yka-: pay-pita.
I more big be-impv-1 he-ABL
GROUND STANDARD

'I am bigger than he.'

Tesureeru ... qellay-ta mas achka-ta gasta-n
treasurer money-OBJ more lots-OBJ spend-3

majoordomo gasta-sha-n-pita-qa.
majordomo spend-sub-3P-ABL-TOP

'The treasurer spends lots more money than what the majordomo spends.'

Koorri-y-ta wacha-n mas wakin-kuna-pita.
run-INF-OBJ know-3 more other-PL-ABL

'He knows how to run better than the others.'

Huk-pis ka-na-n mas dansa-y-ta vacha-q wakin kaq-pita-qa.
one-indef be-sub-3 more dance-INF-OBJ know-sub other def-ABL-TOP

'There should be one who knows how to dance better than the rest of them (i.e., with respect to the others)'

Mayurdoomu mas huk-naw tesureeru-pita kustumri-ta rura-n.
majordomo more other-SIM treasurer-ABL custom-OBJ do-3

'The majordomo does a custom different than the treasurer (does).'

The expression taksharpuq means 'slightly smaller'.

Chay punchu noqa-pa punchu:-:pita mas taksha-rpu-q.
that poncho me-GEN poncho-IP-ABL more small-up-sub

'That poncho is somewhat smaller than mine.'

Suppose that there are four pencils of different size. To refer to one by its size relative to the others one would say (from the largest to the smallest):

a. hatun kaq
b. hatun-pita mas taksha-rpu-q kaq
c. taksha-pita mas hatu-lla-n kaq
d. taksha kaq

a. 'the big one'
b. 'the one which is a little smaller than the big one'
c. 'the one which is a little bigger than the small one'
d. 'the small one'

---

237 Perhaps this is really taksha-rpu-q (be:small-up-sub)?

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13. **SUBORDINATE SUBSTANTIVIZED CLAUSES**

This chapter includes sections on the following topics:
- relative clauses (see section 13.1).
- participles (see section 13.2).
- complementation (see section 13.3), and
- adverbial uses of substantivized clauses (see section 13.4).

All these topics are treated in greater detail in Weber [39].

### 13.1. Relative Clauses

This chapter contains the following sections:
- Basic Concepts and Definitions (see section 13.1.1).
- Basic Relativization in Quechua (see section 13.1.2).
- Choice of Substantivizer (see section 13.1.3).
- Relative Juxtaposition (see section 13.1.4). and
- Discontinuous Modifiers (see section 13.1.5).

There is much more that could be said about relative clauses in Quechua. The reader is referred to chapter 3 of Weber [39] for a more complete treatment.

#### 13.1.1. Basic Concepts and Definitions

A **RELATIVE CLAUSE** is a modifier of a substantive derived from a clause (or sentence). For example, consider two sentences *The man is coming* and *He hit you*. Suppose one wants to specify which man is coming by reference to the event of his hitting you. In English we could say *The man [who hit you] is coming.* The sentence *He hit you* has been made a modifier of *man*. *He*, the coreferring expression in the modifying sentence, has been replaced with the relative pronoun *who*. The relative clause so formed is placed after the noun it modifies.

In this example *he* is the subject of *He hit you* so we can say we have RELATIVIZED ON the subject. If *he* were the object, as in *You hit him* we could relativize on the object; the result would be *The man [who(m) you hit] is coming.*

#### 13.1.2. Basic Relativization in Quechua

The simplest sort of Quechua relative clauses is formed by:
1. making the transition of the verb of the modifying sentence be the appropriate substantival form.
2. deleting the coreferring expression in the modifying sentence (along with any suffixes it might have), and
3. placing the clause so formed before the substantive it is to modify.

For example, suppose we wish to modify *runa* in 1220 with 1221 (where it is assumed that *pay* ‘he’ refers to the man):
Basic Relativization in Quechua [13.1.2]

Runa sha-yka:-mu-n.  1220
man come-impfv-afar-3

'A/The man is coming.'

Pay qam-ta maqa-shka-shu-nki.  1221
he you-OBJ hit-perf->2-2

'He hit you.'

Substituting the appropriate (substantivizing) transition and deleting the coreferring expression, the modifying sentence becomes qam-ta maqa-shu-q (you-OBJ hit->2-sub). Placing this before the substantive to be modified results in 1222:

[Qam-ta maqa-shu-q] runa sha-yka:-mu-n.  1222
you-OBJ hit->2-sub man come-impfv-afar-3

'The man who hit you is coming.'

Qamta is optional (the idea of a second person object being adequately indicated by the object marker) and would ordinarily not occur, so more naturally one would say 1223:

Maqa-shu-q runa sha-yka:-mu-n.  1223
hit->2-sub man come-impfv-afar-3

'The man who hit you is coming.'

Suppose the modifying sentence is 1224 in which the coreferring expression is an object:

Qam pay-ta maqa-shka-nki.  1224
you he-OBJ hit->2-2

'You hit him.'

The modifying sentence becomes Qam maqa-sha-yki (you hit-sub-2p) so the complete sentence is 1225:

[Qam maqa-sha-yki] runa sha-yka:-mu-n.  1225
you hit-sub-2p man come-impfv-afar-3

'The man whom you hit is coming.'

(Again, one would ordinarily omit qam 'you'.)

13.1.3. Choice of Substantivizer

How does one determine which is the appropriate substantivizer? There are two considerations: 1. the grammatical role of the coreferring expression in the modifying sentence. The principle constraint is this: -q can only be used when the coreferring expression is the subject of the modifying sentence.

2. the time of the event referred to by the modifying sentence relative to the time of speaking (or the time of the superordinate verb).

The following diagram summarizes the main facts:

---subsequent... -na (irrealis)

---temporal---

---non-subsequent -sha (prior/cotemporaneous)

---non-temporal............... -q (past/present/future/habitual)

Table 13-1: THE CHOICE OF SUBSTANTIVIZER
13.1.4. Relative Juxtaposition

**Relative Juxtaposition** is simply placing the relative clause after the modified substantive rather than before it. For example, 1226 and 1227 correspond to 1222 and 1225 respectively:

\[ \text{Runa maqa-shu-q sha-yka:-mu-n.} \quad 1226 \]
\[ \text{man hit-} \rightarrow \text{2-sub come-impv-afar-3} \]

'The man who hit you is coming.'

\[ \text{Runa maqa-sha-yki sha-yka:-mu-n.} \quad 1227 \]
\[ \text{man hit-sub-2P come-impv-afar-3} \]

'The man whom you hit is coming.'

Since case markers in Quechua are attached to a whole substantive phrase, when a modified substantive and the modifying sentence are juxtaposed, the case marker does not go along with the modified substantive. For example, application of relative juxtaposition to 1228a yields 1228b rather than 1228c:

a. [Maqashoq runa]-ta rikaa. \quad 1228
b. [Runa maqashoq]-ta rikaa.
c. *Runa-ta maqashoq rikaa.

Application to 1229a yields 1229b:

a. [Maqashayki runa]-ta rikaa. \quad 1229
b. [Runa maqashayki]-ta rikaa.

13.1.5. Discontinuous Modifiers

As discussed in section 12.1, the elements of a single noun phrase may occur discontinuously.\(^{238}\) When this is the case each element bears (a copy of) the case marker of the noun phrase. An example involving a relative clause is 1099, (page 235).

I wish to make a few speculative remarks about the utility of discontinuities in HgQ. I feel that they provide a way organize a sentence so that it is easier to process. Since HgQ generally observes SOV word order, the verb is often late (i.e., far to the right) in the sentence. Until a hearer/reader identifies the main verb of a sentence or clause, he is unable to integrate its parts. So if adverbs, adverbial clauses, modifiers, complements, etc. always occurred pre-verbally, then the hearer/reader would often face an excessive number of words before finding the main verb. This is seen quite clearly in the reading of newly literate persons: given a long sentence with the verb far toward the end, they are not able to read through the sentence to the main verb.\(^{239}\) So HgQ affords (among others) the mechanism described above for deferring some of the complexity to after the verb. For example, compare 1230, the basic order, and 1231, in which constituents have been moved. For example, I believe that 1231, with the verb as the third word, is substantially easier to process than 1230, with the main verb as the sixth word:

\[ 238\text{The parts must not be interrupt other constituents, but beyond this there seems to be little constraint on where the parts may occur in a sentence.} \]

\[ 239\text{They experience what in computational terms is called "stack overflow", i.e., they cannot keep the various parts active until they are to process them.} \]
13.2. Participles

PARTICIPLES are de-verbal substantives which characterize an object as persisting in some state; in HgQ, three suffixes can be considered to form participles:

1. *sha 'part' forms PAST PARTICIPLES: the object characterized by the participle persists in a state brought about by a prior event/action (as indicated by the verb to which *sha is suffixed); see 13.2.2.

2. *ni 'without' forms NEGATIVE PARTICIPLES: the event/action indicated by the verb to which *ni is suffixed is indicated as not having happened, and consequently not having changed the state of the object characterized by the participle; see 13.2.3.

3. *q 'subordinator' forms ACTIVE PARTICIPLES: the object characterized by the participle persists in the state indicated by the verb from which the participle is formed; see 13.2.4.

Participles are like relative clauses in that both are substantives, and both may modify other substantives, but they contrast with relative clauses both structurally and semantically. For example, structurally, the participle in example 1232a differs from the relative clause in 1232b by not being followed by a possessive suffix: that these differ semantically can be seen by comparing the glosses:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{wa}^\text{n}u\text{-sha-ta,} \\
& \quad \text{die-prtc-OBJ} \\
\text{b.} & \quad \text{wa}^\text{n}u\text{-sha-n-ta,} \\
& \quad \text{die-sub-3P-OBJ}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{I found the sheep dead.} \\
\text{b.} & \quad \text{I found the sheep which had died.}
\end{align*}
\]

13.2.1. The Syntax of Participles

The facts mentioned in this section apply to all participles, despite all the examples being formed with *sha 'part'.

It is tempting to say that the verbs from which participles may be derived are limited to those which imply some change of state; however, virtually any verb may imply a change of state. I would not have said that tiya- 'live, reside at' could involve a change of state, but it can: a house can (or can not) be in the state of having been lived in (see example 1247).

Participles are not limited to characterizing the logical subject or object of the verb from which they are formed: in example 1247, the "house" being characterized is the location of the event indicated by verb (tiya- 'to live') which is participialized. I doubt that there are formal constraints on

\[\text{\textsuperscript{240}This is only one of the various ways that *q 'sub' is used.}\]

\[\text{240}\]
The Syntax of Participles [ 13.2.1 ]

how the object characterized must relate to the verb from which a participle is formed: perhaps it is constrained only by the imagination of the speaker or hearer. 241

While participles (as all de-verbal substantives) are formed by the addition of a suffix to a verb, they may be formed from verb phrases: e.g., in 1233 the phrase qerupita llaqlla ‘hew from wood’ is made a participle: 242

\[ \text{qeru-pita llaqlla-sha ka-n numra-n.} \]
\[ \text{wood-ABL hew-prtc be-3 lentil} \]

'it has a lentil hewn from wood.'

When an object forms part of a participle, it loses its object marker. 243 e.g., uchu aqa-sha-wan (pepper grind-prtc-COM) 'with the ground pepper' rather than *uchi-ta aqa-sha-wan (pepper-OBJ grind-prtc-COM).

When a participle modifies a substantive, it may precede it, follow it, or occur discontinuously from it: e.g.:

a. wañu-sha runa-ta
   die-prtc man-OBJ

b. runa wañu-sha-ta
   man die-prtc-OBJ

c. runa-ta ... wañu-sha-ta
   man-OBJ die-prtc-OBJ

a, b, c. 'dead man (object)'

However, there seems to be a strong preference for not placing the participle directly before the head.

A participle may be pluralized and may be followed by a case marker; e.g. see -kuna 'plur.' and -ta 'OBJ' in example 1235 and -niraq 'SIM' in 1236:

...muna-. chha-yaw llaki-sh-kuna-ta alli-ta willa-pa:-na:-paq.
   want-i that-SIM sad-prtc-plur-OBJ good-OBJ tell-ben-sub-1P-PUR

'...I want (to know) so that I can tell good news to those who are sad like that.'

...chaya-sha awkin puuru chacha-sh-niraq warmi-n-pan.
   arrive-prtc old complete incline-prtc-SIM wife-3P-6OAL

'...he arrived to his wife really old, as though stooped (with age).'

A participle may be a complement to ka 'be': e.g.:

---

241 I made this claim in Weber [39]: an English example much to the point is a wind blown single: the relationship between single and the wind blew (the ball) involves considerable interpretation guided by a knowledge of baseball (that singles are achieved by moving a ball), that wind can help move a ball, etc.

242 An example from the Quechua of southern Des de Mayo:

\[ \text{[tsay [(atq miku-sh(qa)] kwarpu-n)]-ta rika-r-shi...} \]
\[ \text{that fox eat-prtc body-3P-OBJ see-adv-IND} \]

'Aupon seeing those their fox-eaten bodies....'

243 This is the only step toward object incorporation taken in these cases: the object and the verb are clearly maintained as distinct words.

265
The Syntax of Participles [13.2.1]

13.2.2. Past Participles (with -sha 'part')

13.2.2.1. Forms of the participializer -sha

-sha 'part' is derived from proto Quechua */-shqa/. Despite the loss of the /q/ in HgQ, this morpheme continues to fore-shorten: e.g., wara- 'dawn' followed by -sha 'part' becomes warasha 'having dawned'.

The /a/ of -sha 'part' may drop. If the preceding syllable would have been the penultimate (before dropping /a/) then stress is maintained on it: e.g., kushi-sha (become:happy-prtc) 'happily' may be pronounced [kushisha] or [kushī]. If -sha 'part' would have born the stress, when /a/ is dropped the stress shifts to the preceding syllable, e.g., wañu-sha-ta (die-prtc-OBJ) 'dead' may be pronounced [wañūshāta] or [wañūshā]. The dropping of /a/ will not impede the "pulling" of stress by another morpheme: e.g., wara-sha-raq 'dawn-prtc-yet' may be pronounced [warashārax]. [warāshāx] (with /a/ dropped and stress shifted to the preceding syllable) or [warashrā:] (with stress pulled by -raq). Of course, in cases like wañu-sha-kuna-ta (die-prtc-plur-OBJ) 'dead ones', the dropping of /a/ will not affect stress: [wañūshakunāta] or [wañūshkunāta].

When followed directly by ka- 'be', the /a/ of -sha 'part' is virtually always dropped: e.g., aywa-sha ka-ran (go-prtc be-past-3) 'he had gone' is pronounced [aywaša karaŋ]. [aywaša karaŋ] is probably a possible pronunciation, but a very strange one.

13.2.2.2. Meaning and use of -sha

The object referred to by a participle persists in a state brought about by a prior event/action. that event/action being indicated by the verb from which the participle is formed.

To classify the types of verbs from which participles are formed would serve no useful purpose (and is probably impossible anyway). However, one common case deserves special mention: A common use of participles is to express states of mind brought about by some change, e.g., kushisha 'happy' from kushi- 'become happy', llakisha 'sad' from llaki- 'become sad', haqasha 'sad, resentful' from haqa- 'be sad', manchasha 'frightened, afraid' from mancha- 'be afraid', machasha 'drunk, intoxicated' from macha- 'to become intoxicated', upyasha 'drunk, intoxicated' from upya- 'to drink something intoxicating', etc.

Other examples of past participles follow:
Meaning and use of -sha [13.2.2.2]

*kacha-ka-sha* (release-pass-prtc) 'loosed, untied'

*kawru-sha* 'to be cold to the bone': e.g.

\[
\text{Chawra ushma-sha aywa-sha-:-:kuna kawru-sha-na tamya-wan.} \quad 1240
\]
\[
s\text{o soak-prtc go-perf-1-plur be:cold-prtc-now rain-COM}
\]

'So we went on sopping wet and cold to the bone with the rain.'

*qaq-sha* 'united, standing together' (from qaqa- 'to be side-by-side': e.g.

\[
\text{Miku-n warmi-wan-qa, ishka-n, qaga-sha.} \quad 1241
\]
\[
eat-3 \text{ woman-COM-TOP two-3P put:parallel-prtc}
\]

'He and the woman eat, the two of them, together (side by side, as one)'

*taku-sha* 'mixed together' fr 'm taku- 'mix',

*tallu-sha* 'mixed together' from tallu- 'mix'.

13.2.2.3. Other uses of -sha 'part'

- *sha* 'particle' has a special use to indicate that an article of clothing is put on. If the substantive ends in a consonant (e.g. pantalun 'pants') then -ya: 'become' precedes -sha.\(^{244}\) otherwise -sha directly follows the substantive: e.g.

\[
\text{Olloq-kaq ka-yka-n asul pantalun-ya-sha, wana sapatu-sha} \quad 1242
\]
\[
\text{male-def be:imprv-3 blue pants-bec-prtc black shoe-prtc}
\]

*yana-gaaku-sha vorcaq kemisa-sha wana-korbaTi-sha.*

black coat-prtc white shirt-prtc black tie-prtc

'The man had on blue pants, black shoes, black coat, white shirt, and black tie.'

- *sha* 'particle' is used in the formation of the perfect tenses: e.g.

\[
\text{Kanan-qa leetu-ta gaana-sha-na-mi ka-nchi.} \quad 1243
\]
\[
\text{now-TOP suit-OBJ win-prtc-now-DIR be-12}
\]

'Now we have won the suit.'

The formation of the present and past perfect tenses are discussed in section 8.8.

- *sha* 'particle' is used in the formation of the "syntactic" passive: e.g.

\[
\text{Rika-sha ka-ra-:.} \quad 1244
\]
\[
\text{see-prtc be:past-1}
\]

'I was seen.'

Syntactic passives are discussed in section 11.2.

13.2.3. Negative Participles with -:ni

Negative participles are formed with -:ni 'without having': the event/action indicated by the verb to which -:ni is suffixed is indicated as not having happened, and consequently not having

\(^{244}\)Since *sha* 'part' derives from */*shqa/, the intervening of -ya: would have been necessary to avoid the cluster of three consonants that would have resulted if *shqa* followed directly a substantive ending in a consonant.
changed the state of the object characterized by the participle.\textsuperscript{245} For example, in 1245, the speaker persisted in the state of not having eaten (the action of eating not having taken place) when he came:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lc}
Miku-\textit{n}i-\textit{l}a & sha-mu-shka-: \quad 1245 \\
est-without-just & come-afar-perf-1\
'I came without eating.'
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

In 1246, he persisted in the state of being dressed (his undressing not having taken place) for the time that he slept:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lc}
Lloqt\textit{i}-ku-\textit{n}i-\textit{l}a & pu\textit{n}u-shka-: \quad 1246 \\
undress-refl-without-just & sleep-perf-1\
'I slept without undressing.'
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

In examples 1245 and 1246 the referent characterized by the participle was the logical subject (agent) of the verb from which the participle was formed: 1247\textit{a,b} show that this is not necessarily so, since in no sense is the house the subject of buy or sell:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lc}
\textit{a}. & Wasi-\textit{t}a ranti-shka-: tiya-\textit{n}i-\textit{t}a. \quad 1247 \\
house-OBJ buy-perf-1 & live-without-OBJ \quad \\
\textit{b}. & Tiya-\textit{n}i-\textit{t}a rantiku-sha. \quad 1247 \\
live-without-OBJ & sell-3PERF \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lc}
a. & 'I bought the house without anyone having lived in it.' \\
\textit{b}. & 'He sold it (a house) un-lived in.' \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lc}
\begin{tabular}{lc}
(\textit{i.e.} before anyone lived in it) \\
\end{tabular} & \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

Of an incomplete tournament one can say:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lc}
Chusu parti\textit{u} pu\textit{k}lla-\textit{n}i keera-sha. \quad 1248 \\
four matches play-without remain-3PERF \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

'Four games were not played (\textit{i.e.}, remained unplayed).'

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lc}
Chira-\textit{n}i-man muru-\textit{p}ti-n-qa mana papa wayu-n-chu. \quad 1249 \\
fertilize-without-GOAL plant-adv-3P-TOP not potato produce-3-NEG \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

'If they plant where it has not been fertilized, the potatoes will not produce.'

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lc}
...po\textit{q}o-n urya-\textit{n}i-\textit{l}a-na ka\textit{a}\textit{s}i. \quad 1250 \\
mature-3 cultivate-without-just-now almost \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

'...they mature (and produce fruit) almost without our thereafter cultivating them.'

The syntax of negative participles is roughly the same as that of other participles; see 13.2.1.

The negative participle of 1251\textit{a} is equivalent to the negated participle in 1251\textit{b}. Note how these differ from the active participle of 1251\textit{c}:

\textbf{\textsuperscript{245}A negative participle is probably present in most varieties of Quechua B, although it has been little reported. The following is from the department of Pasco:}

\begin{itemize}
\item[i]. Llaabi-\textit{n}i-\textit{l}a \quad ka-ya-n pwerta. \\
\textit{be} locked-without-just \quad \textit{be}-IMPFL-3 door \\
'The door is locked.'
\end{itemize}

The form may be different: for Lita (Huanuco) Quechua Solá (in Sola [35], pg. 37) gives the following example:

\begin{itemize}
\item[i]. yaku-\textit{y}i-\textit{sh}qa-\textit{qa} \\
\textit{water}-without-prtc-top \\
'without water' (Sp. 'sin agua')
\end{itemize}
13.2.4. Active Participles (with q)

Active participles are formed with -q 'subordinator'. The object characterized by the participle persists in the state indicated by the verb from which the participle is formed: e.g., in 1253b, whatever is found persists in the process of dying. The past participle is given for contrast in 1253a; note that it implies that whatever is found died at some prior time.

a. Tari-n wañu-sha-ta
   find-3 die-ptrc-OBJ
b. Tari-n wañu-yka-q-ta
   find-3 die-impfV-sub-OBJ

1253

a. 'He finds it dead.'
b. 'He finds it dying.'

Note. 1253b could also be interpreted as a relative clause, one without an overt head, in which case the meaning would be something like 'He finds the one which is dying'.

The syntax of active participles is as discussed above in section 13.2.1.

13.3. Complementation

Substantivized clauses may be the subject, the object, or play some other role (e.g. purpose) in a clause/sentence. They are only summarized here.²⁴⁶

13.3.1. Subject Complements

In 1254, the bracketed portion is a clause, substantivized by -na 'sub', which is the subject of the clause in which it is embedded:

[Millu-na-n] pishi-n.
wind-sub-3P need-3

'It needs to be wound.'

13.3.2. Object Complements

A substantivized clause may be the (direct) object of the clause/sentence in which it is embedded. There are various possibilities, now to be discussed.

13.3.2.1. -na complements

When the subject of the object complement is not the same as the subject of the superordinate verb, the appropriate subordinator is -na: e.g. in 1255 the subject of the substantivized clause (the one who is to do the kissing) and the subject of the main clause (the one who wants the kissing done) are different, and so -na is the appropriate substantivizer:

\[
\text{[Mucha-\textit{ma}:\textit{-na-n}]\text{-ta muna-n.}} \quad 1255
\]
\[
\text{kiss-\textit{\textasciitilde 1-sub}\textit{-3P-OBJ} want-3}
\]
\[
'He\text{ wants him\textsubscript{j} to kiss me.'}
\]

13.3.2.2. Infinitive object complements

When the subject of the object complement is the same as the subject of the superordinate verb, the appropriate subordinator is -\textit{\textasciitilde 1-\textit{inf}}. These are referred to as INFINITIVE OBJECT COMPLEMENTS. An example follows:

\[
\text{[Mucha-\textit{\textasciitilde 1-y}]\text{-ta muna-\textit{\textasciitilde 1}}.} \quad 1256
\]
\[
\text{kiss-\textit{\textasciitilde 1-inf-OBJ} want-1}
\]
\[
'I\text{ want to kiss her.'}
\]

13.3.2.3. Factive complements

Another sort of object complement is the FACTIVE COMPLEMENT: these are subordinate to verbs like \textit{\textasciitilde 1-musa-} ‘know’ which presuppose the truth of their complement. The appropriate subordinator for factive complements is -\textit{shqa}.

\[
\text{[Qanyan aywa\textsubscript{\textasciitilde 2}-\textit{shqa-yk}]\text{-ta musya-\textit{\textasciitilde 1}}.} \quad 1257
\]
\[
\text{yesterday go-sub\textsubscript{\textasciitilde 2P-OBJ} know-1}
\]
\[
'I\text{ know that you went yesterday.'}
\]

13.3.2.4. Sensory verb complements

Sensory verb complements report some perceived action. The appropriate subordinator is -\textit{\textasciitilde q}:

\[
\text{Rika\textit{-shka-:} [Hwan Marya-\textit{ta mucha-yka-q}]\text{-ta.}} \quad 1258
\]
\[
\text{see-perf-1 John Mary-OBJ kiss-\textit{\textasciitilde 1mpfV-sub}\textit{-OBJ}}
\]
\[
'I\text{ saw John kissing Mary.'}
\]

The logical subject of a sensory verb complement may be coded as the object of the verb of perception (i.e., the superordinate one):\textsuperscript{247} compare 1258 with 1259:

\[
\text{Juan-\textit{ta} rika\textit{-shka-:} [ \emptyset Marya-\textit{ta mucha-yka-q}]\text{-ta.}} \quad 1259
\]
\[
\text{John-OBJ see-perf-1 Mary-OBJ kiss-\textit{\textasciitilde 1mpfV-sub}\textit{-OBJ}}
\]
\[
'I\text{ saw John kissing Mary.'}
\]

\textsuperscript{247}This object raising process is discussed in Weber \cite{weber1939}, section 4.2.5.2
Placing a sensory verb complement after the verb while placing its object before the verb seems to make it considerably easier to process. (See discussion in section 13.1.5.) For example, compare 1260 and 1261 (in which the bracketed is a sensory verb complement):

Maria [noga Pabluy-pa mishi-n-ta qara-yka-q-ta] rika-ra-n.  
Mary 1 Paul-GEN cat-3P-OBJ feed-impfv-sub-OBJ see-past-3

'Mary saw me feeding Paul's cat.'

Maria noga-ta rika-ma-ra-n [Pabluy-pa mishi-n-ta qara-yka-q-ta]  
Mary 1-OBJ see-past-3 Paul-GEN cat-3P-OBJ feed-impfv-sub-OBJ

'Mary saw me feeding Paul's cat.'

Example 1261 seems to be far easier to process than 1260 in large measure--I conjecture--because main verb (which is underlined) is the third rather than the sixth word. The interpretation of the main clause early in the sentence provides the hearer/reader something in terms of which to assimilate the other parts.

13.4. Adverbial Uses of Substantivized Clauses

Substantivized clauses have a wide range of uses which are adverbial in nature.\(^\text{248}\) These are discussed at length in Weber [39], chapter 5. The following list is given to illustrate the range of possibilities.

13.4.1. Time

Substantivized clauses may be used to indicate the time of an event/state; e.g.:

chaya-mu-sha-n-pita
arrive-affar-sub-3P-ABL

'since he arrived'

aruy-ta usha-sha-n-pita-raq
work-inf-OBJ finish-sub-3P-ABL-yet

'(some time) after he finished working'

ganra llogshi-na-n-yaq
dirty leave-sub-3P-LIM

'until the dirtiness comes off'

mana puydi-sha-n-kama
not be:able-sub-3P-LIM

'until he was no longer able'

ishkay wata-yaq ka-na-n-yaq
two year-having be-sub-3P-LIM

'until he is two years old'

Pukila-shun tamya-sha-n-yaq.
play-12FUT rain:sub-3P-LIM

'Let's play while it is raining.'

\(^{248}\) That is functionally they are adverbs while syntactically they are substantival.
13.4.2. Place

Substantivized clauses may be used to indicate the place where an event takes place: e.g.

puhū-sha-ː-ː-chaw
sleep-sub-3P-LOC

'where I slept'

uchku-sha-nchaː-ː-pa
hole-sub-12P-GEN

'through where we have made a hole'

13.4.3. Circumstance

Substantivized clauses may be used to indicate the circumstances of an event/state: this includes both the time and place of an event: e.g.

eskuyla-chaw ka-yka-shaː-ː-pita
school-LOC be-impfv-sub-1P-ABL

'after/from being in school'

13.4.4. Purpose

There are three types of purpose clause. (i) the common type formed with -na 'sub' and -paq 'PUR'. (ii) purpose-motion clauses formed with -q 'sub', and (iii) negative purpose clauses (which lack an overt negative morpheme). These will now be discussed in turn.

13.4.4.1. Common purpose clauses

The common type of purpose clause is substantivized by -na 'sub' and marked with the case marker -paq 'PUR': e.g.

allī-ta willa-paː-ː-naaː-bap
good-OBJ tell-ben-sub-1P-PUR

'in order that I tell them good'

13.4.4.2. Purpose motion clauses

The purpose motion complement is subordinated by -q. It has several restrictions:

- the subject of the purpose clause must be coreferential to the subject of the superordinate clause.
- the verb to which it is subordinate must be a motion verb, and
- the event indicated by the purpose clause must be understood as happening at the end point of the path of motion indicated by the superordinate clause.

An example follows:

`Huru-q-n-na pampa-o`  
`remove-3-now bury-sub`  
'They took him out to bury him.'

**13.4.4.3. Negative purpose clauses**

In some cases—as illustrated in example 1276—a substantivized clause subordinated by `-na 'sub' is interpreted as a negative purpose clause, despite the absence of any overt negative morpheme (like `mana 'not'):

`qeshpi-na-n-ta`  
`escape-sub-3P-OBJ`  
'so that he won't escape'

`atoq miku-na-n-pita`  
`fox eat-sub-3P-ABL`  
'lest a fox eat it'

`pillchi-pa:-ma:-na-nchi:-pita`  
`splatter-ben-1-sub-12P-ABL`  
'so that it won't splatter on us'

Of course, 1276 could be expressed as a common purpose clause with an overt negative morpheme:

`mana qeshpi-na-n-paq`  
`not escape-sub-3P-PUR`  
'so that he won't escape'

**13.4.5. Result**

A clause subordinated with `-g+ paq (-sub+PUR) indicates the result of the event indicated by the superordinate clause: e.g.

`Shikwa-sha paki-g-paq`  
`fall-sub break-sub+PUR`  
'It fell with the result that it broke.'

`Riti-sha wau-n-g-paq`  
`press-sub die-sub+PUR`  
'It crushed him so that (with the result that) he died.'

**13.4.6. Reason**

A substantivized clause may indicate the reason something (as indicated in the superordinate clause) is done: e.g.

`maqa-ma-sha-n-pita`  
`hit-1-sub-3P-ABL`  
'because he hit me'

273
mana rispita-sha-n-pita
not respect-sub-3P-ABL
'because he didn’t respect him'

tamya-na-n-pita
rain-sub-3P-ABL
'because it is going to rain'

13.4.7. Manner
A substantivized clause may indicate the manner in which the event indicated by the superordinate clause was done:
Rura-shun rika-sha-::-naw.
do-12IMP see-sub-1P-SIM
'let’s do it like I saw (them do it)'

mana qesnya ka-sha-::-naw
not sick be-sub-1P-SIM
'not like when I was sick'

13.4.8. Hypothetical Comparison
A substantivized clause, in conjunction with -naw ‘SIM’, may be a simile. This is discussed at length in section 10.11.2. An example follows:
Haacha-wan-naw mutu-n machiti-wan.
axe-COM-SIM chop-3 machete-COM
'He chops with a machete as though it were an axe.'

Rura sigaarru-ta muka-o-naw aywa-n achikya achikya-r.
man cigarette-OBJ suck-sub-SIM go-3 flash flash flash-adv
'It (a lightning bug) goes flashing like a man smoking a cigarette.'

Kuntista-pa-n wañu-ra-va-n-naw.
answer-ben-3 die-state-imptv-sub-SIM
'He answers as one dying.'

13.4.9. Correlation "according as"
A substantivized clause may be used to indicate the correlation of one activity/event with another: e.g.:
Kuba-n finaaru-pa ima-n-pis ka-sha-n-pita.
charge-3 deceased-GEN what-3P-even be-sub-3P-ABL
'He charges according to the wealth of the deceased.'

tapu-ma-sha-n-pita-naw-lla
ask-='1-sub-3P-ABL-SIM-just
'just according as he asked us'
13.4.10. Comparison

A substantive clause may be the standard of a comparison: e.g.:

Mas achka-ta gasta-n mayurdoomu gasta-sha-n-pita-ga.
more much-ORJ spend-3 majordomo spend-sub-3P-ABL-TOP

"He spends more than the majordomo spends."
14. ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

This chapter deals with the adverbial clauses formed by the suffixes -r, -shpa, -pti, and the combination -y+(lka)+pa. These differ from the adverbial uses of substantivized clauses—which functionally are adverbs but structurally are substantives—in that these are not substantives and thus are not followed by suffixes like -kuna ‘plural’ and by the case markers. Further, the adverbial discussed here evidence switch reference phenomena (the adverbial uses of substantivized clauses do not) and this will be a major topic in this chapter.

The adverbial clauses formed by -y+(lka)+pa, discussed in section 14.4, in some sense stand midway between the adverbial uses of substantivized clauses and the adverbial clauses formed with -r, -shpa, -pti. This is because -y+(lka)+pa is derived from the substantivizer -y ‘infinitive’ and the case marker -pa ‘GEN’. But it is becoming (or has become) frozen as a single adverbializer, and is treated here as such.

Adverbial clauses of the type discussed here and the adverbial uses of substantivized clause cover many of the same functions: e.g., both can indicate ‘reason’. It is not possible to say when and why a speaker chooses to use one or the other.

14.1. The Basic Facts

14.1.1. The Adverbial Clause Markers and Switch Reference

Adverbial clauses are formed with an appropriate transition on the clause-final verb: see sections 8.16.1, 8.16.2, and 8.16.3. The adverbial clause markers indicate whether the subject of the subordinate clause is the same or different as the subject of the superordinate clause. Some must be followed by a possessive suffix, and others may not. The subordinators for HgQ are as given in 14-1:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{REQUIRE - POS} \\
\text{\hspace{1cm} -pti} \\
\text{\hspace{1cm} -shpa} \\
\text{REFUSE - POS} \\
\text{\hspace{1cm} -r} \\
\text{\hspace{1cm} -y+(lka)+pa} \\
\end{array}
\]

Table 14-1: ADVERBIAL CLAUSE MARKERS

Consider examples 1293-1295:

Maqa-rku-ma:- (a. *pti-n (adv-SP)) hayta-shu-ra-yki. 1293
hit-thereupon-=-1 b. shpa-n (adv-SP) kick->=Z-past-2P
hit-thereupon-=-1

Maqa-rku-ma:- (a. *pti-ki (adv-2P)) hayta-shu-ra-yki. 1294
hit-thereupon-=-1 b. *shpa-yki (adv-2P) kick->=Z-past-2P
hit-thereupon-=-1

Maqa-rku-ma:- (a. *pti-n (adv-SP)) hayta-shu-ra-yki. 1295
hit-thereupon-=-1 b. *shpa-n (adv-SP) kick->=Z-past-2P
hit-thereupon-=-1

a. ‘After he hit me, he kicked you.’
Examples 1293-1295 show the following:
1. `-pti` and `-shpa` both require a following possessive suffix (see 1293b and 1294a).
2. `-shpa` may only be used when the subject of the subordinate and of the superordinate clause is the same: thus it is acceptable in 1293b because the subjects are the same, but not in 1294b and 1295b because they are different.
3. When the subject of both the subordinate and superordinate clauses is third person, then `-shpa` is appropriate if they refer to the same person/object (see 1293b) and `-pti` is appropriate if they refer to different persons/objects (see 1295a).
4. Neither the subject of the subordinate clause nor that of the superordinate clause need be expressed by an overt noun phrase.

**14.1.2. The Difference Between -shpa and -r**

Example 1296 shows that either `-r` or `-shpa` may be used to form adverbial clauses with a subject the same as the superordinate clause. But note `-shpa` requires a following possessive suffix (see 1296a) whereas `-r` does not allow one (see 1296c):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Maga-rku-hi thereupon} & \quad \text{-shpa} \quad \{ \\
& \quad \{ \text{a. } -\emptyset \} \\
& \quad \{ \text{b. } -n \} \\
\text{hayta-ma-ra-n.} & \quad \text{kick} \rightarrow 1-\text{past-3} \\
\text{-r} & \quad \{ \\
& \quad \{ \text{c. } -\emptyset \} \\
& \quad \{ \text{d. } -\text{nin} \} \\
\text{b.c. 'After he hit him, he kicked me.'}
\end{align*}
\]

There seems to be no appreciable semantic difference between `-r` and `-shpa`: example 1297 shows that the two can be used in completely parallel ways:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Qam-binsi-ma-r } & \quad \text{noqa-ta miku-ma:-nk} \quad \text{noqa} \\
& \quad \text{you beat} \rightarrow 1-\text{adv me-OBJ eat} \rightarrow 1-2 \\
\text{binsi-shpa-: } & \quad \text{qam-ta-pis usha-shayki.} \\
& \quad \text{beat-ADV-3P you-OBJ also finish} \rightarrow 1-2 \text{FUT} \\
& \quad \text{'If you beat me, you will eat me, and if I beat you, I will finish you.'}
\end{align*}
\]

While `-shpa-POS` and `-r` are semantically equivalent. `-shpa` allows person marking and `-r` does not. Since `-shu `=-`2` is preferably followed in the same word by an explicit second person suffix. 1298a is marginally acceptable while 1298b is fully acceptable:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Maga-rku-shu-hi thereupon} & \quad \{ \\
& \quad \{ \text{a. } -\text{r} \} \\
\text{hayta-ma-ra-n.} & \quad \text{kick} \rightarrow 1-\text{past-3} \\
& \quad \{ \text{b. } -\text{shpa-yki} \} \\
\text{adv-2P} & \quad \text{'After hitting you, he kicked me.'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[249\text{/ni/ is required following a consonant: see 23.8.12.}

\[277\]
14.1.3. Switch Reference and Subject Inflection

Recall the subject marking anomaly discussed in 8.1.2: in the 3⇒2 and 3⇒12 transitions, the person or possessive suffix agrees in person with the object. so for example, the combination -shu-nki (=⇒2-2) indicates a second person object and a third person subject. despite the person marker being second person.

Switch reference marking is not sensitive to surface grammatical person marking, but to same or different referent. This can be seen in example 1293 and 1294:

1. The possessive suffix of 1294b is -(y)ki ‘2P’ in both the adverbial and main clauses: nevertheless, -shpa (same subject) is unacceptable because these suffixes indicate different referents.

2. The possessive suffixes in the adverbial and main clauses of 1293a are different (third person and second person respectively): nevertheless. -pti is not acceptable because these indicate the same referent.

Again, in example 1299 the subordinate clause is marked as having a same subject even though the possessive suffixes of the adverbial and superordinate clauses are different. This is, again, because in the system they indicate the same person: 250

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Maqa-ma-shpa-nchi hayta-shu-ra-yki.} \\
&\text{hit}⇒3\text{-adv}⇒1\text{-P} \text{ kick}⇒2\text{-past}⇒2 \\
&\text{‘After he hit us(incl), he hit you.’}
\end{align*}
\]

A final example: the possessive suffix of the adverbial clause in example 1300 is second person. but since it follows -shu ‘⇒2’ it indicates a third person subject. Similarly, in the main clause, -(y)ki ‘2P’ refers to a third person. Consequently either -pti or -shpa may be used, with the corresponding meanings of same or different subject:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Maqa-rku-shu-} \\
&\text{hit-thereupon}⇒2 \begin{cases} a.\ pti \\ b.\ shpa \end{cases} \\
&\text{hayta-shu-ra-yki.} \\
&\text{kick}⇒2\text{-past}⇒2 \\
&\text{‘After} \begin{cases} a.\ he \\
&\text{ b. he} \end{cases} \text{ hit you, he kicked you.’}
\end{align*}
\]

To reiterate: the switch reference system is not working in terms of the superficial person markers, but in terms of the logical subjects.

14.1.4. Switch Reference and Subordination

Switch reference is not defined in terms of the order of clauses (as say, by reference to the immediate following clause, or to the preceding clause, or to the last clause of the sentence,...). Rather, it is based on the relation of subordination, i.e., same/different subject is always with

\[250\text{Both the subordinate and superordinate clauses have third person subjects even though the possessive suffixes used are 12P and 2P (respectively).}\]
reference to the immediately superordinate clause.\textsuperscript{251}

It is not always obvious what is subordinate to what. In fact, it can sometimes be quite subtle. Although there are some formal constraints on what can be subordinate to what, it is probably not possible to give a formal procedure for determining the subordination relations. Extra-syntactic considerations certainly enter into determining the chains of subordination.

To indicate subordination relations, labelled bracketing such as the following will be used:

a. \([ \text{A}(x) ]_{ss} \text{B}(x)\)

b. \(\text{B}(x) [ \text{A}(x) ]_{ss}\)

c. \([ \text{A}(x) ]_{ds} \text{B}(y)\)

d. \(\text{B}(y) [ \text{A}(x) ]_{ds}\)

The subscript "ss" indicates same subjects; "ds" indicates different subjects. For example, 1301c indicates that A is an adverbial clause whose subject is x; it is subordinate to B, whose subject y, is different. The subordination of example 1297 would be diagrammed as follows:

\([\text{beat(you)}]_{ss} \text{eat(you)}\) AND \([\text{beat(1)}]_{ss} \text{finish(1)}\)

There is sometimes ambiguity about which clause an adverbial clause is subordinate to. In 1302, it is not clear whether the first clause is subordinate to the main clause or to the infinitive clause:

\begin{verbatim}
Taripa-q-naw  ka-pti-n mas-rag-shi
catch:up:to-sub-SIM be-adv-3P more-yet-IND
koorri-y-ta qalla-yku-n.
run-inf-OBJ begin-dir-3

'When he\textsubscript{j} was about ("as though") to catch up to him\textsubscript{j}, he\textsubscript{j} began to run even harder ("yet more").'
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{251}This is true across Quechua dialects. Consider the following example from Cuzco Quechua (from a text recorded by Lorio\textsuperscript{[24]} where "qti" adv different subject and "spa" adv same subject:

\begin{verbatim}
Manuel-chaq-a phwaylla haykurusha-qti-n
Manuel-dim-TOP quickly enter-impv-adv-3P
runa-kuna-taq hap'i-spa tanqayurusha-qti-n
man-plural-emphatic grab-adv push-adv-3P
Manuel-chaq-a hap'iparquku-spa lluqsi-riqu-sqa
Manuel-dim-TOP grab-adv get:out-pst
t'uqu-manta.
hole-abl

'When, after Manuel quickly entered, the men grabbing pushed him, Manuel grabbing hold (of something) got out of the hole.'
\end{verbatim}

The subordinations are as follows, where M=Manuel and m=men:

\([[[\text{enter(M)}]_{ds} \text{grab(m)}]_{ss} \text{push(m)}]_{ds} \text{grab(M)}]_{ss} \text{getout(M)}\)

The different subject adverbializer ("qti") is used to subordinate the first clause (even though that subject is coreferential to the subject of the main clause) because the first clause is directly subordinate to the to the second clause, whose subject is different (and not to the main clause). To reiterate, the same/different subject marking is sensitive only to the subject of the immediately superordinate clause.
The following express these two possibilities:\footnote{The subscript "INF" is intended simply to signal that the bracketed portion is subordinated as an infinitive complement.}

a. \[ [\text{be}:\text{about}:\text{to}:\text{catch}:\text{up}()_{ds} \text{run}()]_{\text{INF}} \text{ begin}()]_{i}\]

b. \[ [\text{be}:\text{about}:\text{to}:\text{catch}:\text{up}()_{ds} [[\text{run}()]_{\text{INF}} \text{ begin}()]_{i}]\]

There are sometimes formal constraints on what the subordination relations are. We shall now see one case. Certain clitics occur only on constituents of the main clause. These are sometimes clues to the subordination relations of a sentence. One such clitic is the so-called "topic marker" -qa. Consider the following example:

Toopa-ykU-chi-pty-n mishi-qa "chash" ni-r
touch-dir-caus-adv-3P cat-TOP say-adv
kaara-n-pita-shi runa-ta raska-r usha-ykU-n
face-3P-abl-IND man-OBJ scratch-adv finish-dir-3
shillu-n-wan,
fingernail-3P-with

'When he\textsubscript{1} caused it to touch him\textsubscript{2}, the cat\textsubscript{3} splitting
(lit.: saying "chash"). scratching the man\textsubscript{4} in his face,
damages (lit.: finishes him\textsubscript{4} with his\textsubscript{5} claws.)'

In example 1304, c = cat and m = man:

a. \[ [\text{touch}(m)_{ds} [c-qa [\text{say}(c)]_{ss} \text{ scratch}(c)]_{ss} \text{ damage}(c)]\]

b. \[ [[[\text{touch}(m)_{ds} c-qa \text{ say}(c)]_{ss} \text{ scratch}(c)]_{ss} \text{ damage}(c)]\]

Example 1304a is correct; 1304b is not correct because NP-qa does not occur as a constituent of a subordinate clause in HgQ.

14.1.5. The Order of Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses usually precede the clause to which they are subordinate, as seen above, but they may also follow: e.g. the adverbial clause of 1305 (used as a conditional, see section 14.2) follows the main clause:

Waki-n-kuna kantiina-pita ranti-yka-n [qellay-nin
other-3P-plur store-ABL buy-impvt-3 money-3P
ka-pty-n].
be-adv-3P

'Others buy from the store if they have money (lit.: if their money is).'

14.1.6. Identity or Inclusion Defining Switch Reference

Is strict identity of the subjects of the adverbial clause and the main clause required to use the same subject marking? A test can be made with the first person plural inclusive (12) which includes the speaker, the hearer, and possibly others associated-in the context-with the speaker or hearer. Example 1306 shows that inclusion is not sufficient; despite the subject of the main clause (the speaker) being included in the subject of the adverbial clause (the speaker and the hearer), the switch
reference marks these with -pti 'adv (different subject)':

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Chaya} & \text{ arrive-} \begin{cases}
  a. & \text{-r} \\
  b. & \text{-pti-nchi} \text{-adv-12P}
\end{cases} \text{ qoyku-shaq.} \\
\text{you-OBJ carry} & \begin{cases}
  a. & \text{-r} \\
  b. & \text{-pti-pis} \text{-adv-1P-indef}
\end{cases} \text{ mana-mi chaya-shun-chu.}
\end{align*}
\]

"When we (incl) arrive, I will give it to him."

In example 1306, the set (we = \{I,you\}) is in the adverbial clause and the member included in it is in the superordinate clause. What if the set (we = \{I,you\}) is the subject of the main clause and a member of it is the subject of the adverbial clause? Example 1307 shows that, again in this case, having one subject included in the other is not a sufficient condition for them to be treated as the same subject.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Qam-ta apari-} \begin{cases}
  a. & \text{-r} \\
  b. & \text{-pti-pis} \text{-adv-1P-indef}
\end{cases} \text{ mana-mi chaya-shun-chu.} \\
\text{you-OBJ carry} & \begin{cases}
  a. & \text{-r} \\
  b. & \text{-pti-pis} \text{-adv-1P-indef}
\end{cases} \text{ not-DIR arrive-12FUT-NEG}
\end{align*}
\]

"Even if I carry you, we will not arrive."

Thus, identity of subjects—and not inclusion—is a necessary condition to marking an adverbial clause as having the same subject as the superordinate clause.

14.1.7. Switch Reference and kuyraa 'be careful lest'

Kuyra: 'be careful lest' is borrowed from Spanish cuidado. It takes complements to indicate that against which someone is cautioned. If the (logical) subject of the complement is the hearer, then subordination is with -r 'adv (same subject)', as e.g. in 1308:

\[
\text{Kuyra: } \text{ be:careful:lest fall-adv(ss)}
\]

Otherwise (i.e., if the subject of the complement is not the hearer) the complement is given as a substantive clause with -na followed by a comitative case marker, as e.g. in 1309 and 1310:

\[
\text{Kuyra: } \text{ pay pusha-shu-na-yki-wan.} \\
\text{be:careful:lest he lead-2P-2P-COM}
\]

"Be careful lest he lead you astray."

\[
\text{Kuyra: } \text{ kiru-yki-ta pak1-na-n-wan.} \\
\text{be:careful:lest tooth-2P-OBJ break-sub-3P-COM}
\]

"Be careful lest it break your tooth/teeth."

Kuyra: is the only verb in HgQ (of which I am aware) that can take a same-subject adverbial clause but not a different-subject adverbial clause. (I take this as a highly idiosyncratic property of kuyraa.)

---

253 Example 1306a is acceptable to say "When I arrive, I will give it to him."

254 The starred variant of 1307 is ill-formed in all cases.
14.1.8. -pti + 12 Reduced to -sha

Ordinarily, a different subject adverbial clause with a first person plural inclusive subject will be subordinated by -pti-nchi (adv-12). In rare cases, however, one finds instead simply sha, which will be glossed ‘ptrc’ (for ‘participle’). These cases all occur in contexts where it is clear that the subject is 12 ‘we(inclusive)’. Examples follow:

\[
\text{a. ka-rka-yka-sha,} \\
\text{be-plur-impfv-prtc}
\]
\[
\text{b. ka-rka-yka-pti-nchi,} \\
\text{be-plur-impfv-adv-12P}
\]

\text{Nogakuna-paq alli-mi ka-yke-n qam-kuna-wan} \\
\text{us(excl)-PUR good-DIR be-impfv-3 you-plur-COM}

\text{a.b. 'It is good for us to be with you.'}

\text{Mayna usha-yka-shwan-na ka-ra-n mana} \\
\text{already finish-impfv-12COND-now be-past-3 not}

\text{wiya-ra:chi-ma-sha-qa.} \\
\text{interrupt-caus->1-ptrc-TOP}

\text{'We would have been finishing now if he had not interrupted us.'}

\text{Kapas ura-yka-sha-qa mana ku-yka-sha-qa kiki-n} \\
\text{perhaps pray-impfv-prtc-TOP ask-refl-impfv-prtc-TOP self-3P}

\text{tiinti-pis chiki-yka-r-pis rigi-kunqa kapas.} \\
\text{lieutenant-even hate-refl-impfv-adv-even believe-refl-3FUT perhaps.}

\text{'Perhaps if we pray and ask (God), the lieutenant, in spite of his persecution will believe.'}

\text{Qam-ta mana ima-pis qo-kunsh-shn-ki-chu noqanchi} \\
\text{you-OBJ not what-indef give-refl->2-2-YN? we(incl)}

\text{tallpu-ka-yka-sha-pis?} \\
\text{swamp-pass-impfv-prtc-even}

\text{'Doesn't it matter at all to you if we sink?'}

14.1.9. Other Switch Reference Mechanisms

Switch reference is primarily a feature of adverbial clauses formed with -r, -shpa and -pti. However, there are other phenomena that serve to indicate a change of referent, among them the following:

infinitivalization

---

255 This phenomenon is not limited to HgQ: the following example is from Pantoja [25], text 97, line 73:

\text{Nogantsik yuri-ku-tsi-pu-shpa-qa 1lapa-ntsik-ta-chi} \\
\text{we(incl) appear-refl-caus-ben-ptrc-TOP all-12P-OBJ-CNJ}

\text{rey wanu-yku-tsi-ma:shun.} \\
\text{king die-impact-caus->1-12FUT}

\text{'If we make it (the ring) appear, surely the king will have us all killed.'}

This is found in more distantly related Quechua languages as well: the following is from F. Quesada’s \textit{Gramática Quechua: Cajamarca-Canaris} (Ministerio de Educación, Lima Perú, 1976), page 88:

\text{Chay puyu-qa-m pak-i-ra-n lanka-shpa-qa.} \\
\text{that jug-TOP-DIR break-past-3 touch-ptrc-TOP}

\text{'That jug broke when/because we touched it.'}
The subjects of the infinitive clauses must be the same whereas those of 
-na-complements must be different; see sections 13.3.2.1 and 13.3.2.2. Adverbs 
formed with -y+ lla+ pa also respect a same subject condition: see section 14.4.

**overt pronouns**

See section 12.4.2.

### 14.2. The Uses of Adverbial Clauses

An adverbial clauses may be related to the superordinate clause either temporally or logically.

Many temporal relationships can be expressed; e.g.:

**while/during**

\[
\text{Awya-ra-yka-r parr-shun.} \\
\text{go-state-impfv-adv converse-12IMP} \\
\text{'Let's converse as we go along.'}
\]

**immediately thereupon**

\[
\text{Miku-rku-r aywa-ku-shaq.} \\
\text{eat-asp-adv go-refl-1FUT} \\
\text{'I will go right after I eat.'}
\]

**before**

\[
\text{Mana-rao sha-mu-r arma-ku-y.} \\
\text{not-yet come-afar-adv bathe-refl-2IMP} \\
\text{'Bath before you come!'}
\]

Which time relation is intended (or indicated) is a matter of interpretation, but one that is influenced 
by the pre- and post-transition suffixes used with the adverbial clause. For example, -rayka:-
(state-impfv) in the adverbial clause (as in example 1315) biases the interpretation toward 'while', and 
-ru 'asp' (as in example 1316) biases it toward 'thereupon' as a natural consequence of the aspectual 
meaning of those suffixes. (This is discussed in more detail in section 9.5.6.)

Among the logical inter-clausal relations which may be indicated by an adverbial clause are the 
following:

**reason**, e.g.:

\[
\text{Chiki-ma-r-qa maq-ma-n.} \\
\text{hate-impv-1-adv-TOP hit-impv-1-3} \\
\text{'He hits me because he hates me.'}
\]

**concession/versative**, e.g.:

\[
\text{Chay-naw ni-ma-hti-n-qis simri aywa-shaq.} \\
\text{that-SIM say-impv-1-adv-3P-indef always go-1FUT} \\
\text{'Even though he told me that, I still intend to go.'}
\]

**condition**, e.g.:

\[
\text{Shamu-hti-ki go-yku-shayki.} \\
\text{come-adv-2P give-impact-1-2FUT} \\
\text{'If you come, I will give it to you.'}
\]

283
Again, which relation is indicated is a matter of interpretation, but one that is influenced by the pre- and post-transition suffixes used with the adverbial clause. For example, -pis 'indef' on the adverbial clause (as in 1319) biases the interpretation toward 'adversative/concession', while -qa 'TOP' biases it toward 'reason': I do not know why.

Adverbial clauses are also used as a cohesive device, as discussed in section 14.6.1.

14.3. Adverbialization in Relation to Other Processes

This section explores the interaction of adverbial clause formation (with switch reference) and other syntactic processes. It will be argued that in some cases adverbial clauses are within the scope of the morphemes which form (i) causatives (see section 14.3.1), (ii) substantive clauses (see section 14.3.2), and (iii) reciprocals (see section 14.3.3).

14.3.1. Causativization

Compare examples 1321 and 1322:

1321

Palla-rku-r cachi-chi-nchi.
pick-thereupon-adv dry-cause-12

'Having picked them, we(incl) dry them.'

1322

Raka-r goya:-chi-ma-n.
suffer-adv abide-cause-=>1-3

'He causes me to pass time suffering.'(favored reading)

'He suffers in causing me to pass time.'

Example 1321 is straightforward in respect to the marking of adverbial clause: the "pickers" and those who "cause to dry" are the same persons, and hence the use of -r 'same subject'.

Example 1322 seems to be a counter-example to the claim that -r is used when the subjects of the subordinate and superordinate clauses are the same, since the one who suffers and the one who causes the suffering are two different persons. It is understandable though, if one allows adverbialization (with switch reference marking) to apply within the scope of causativization (since causativization is responsible for making the understood subject of goya:- 'abide/pass time' the object). The bracketing which reflects this is 1323:256

[ Raka-r goya:-chi-ma-n.
suffer-adv abide-cause-=>1-3

'He causes me to pass time suffering.'

14.3.2. Substantivization

Adverbial clauses may be within the scope of substantive clauses. In example 1324 the subject of the adverbial clause (uitkar) is coreferential to the subject of the (substantivized) purpose clause (hamakunaapag): both refer to the speaker. The subject of the main clause, the chair, is not coreferential to the subject of uitkar.

256 Using the notation described above and \( X \)-CAUSE(y) for 'y cause X', this is:

\[
[ \text{A(1)} ] \_ss \text{B(1)} \_-\text{CAUSE(HE)}
\]
Substantivization [14.3.2]

Utika-n hamaku-na--paq-mi kay silleeta (kaykana).
tire-adv rest-sub-1P-PUR-DIR this chair (lit:is)

'This chair is for me to rest on when I get tired.'

If the structure were 1325b, then -r 'adv (same subject)' would be used for different subjects (the speaker and the chair), contrary to its meaning. The correct structure is 1325a:

a. [[TIRE(I)]]ss REST(I)PURPOSE BE(chairst)

b. [TIRE(I)]]ss [[REST(I)]]PURPOSE BE(chairst)

Similarly, in 1326, adverbialization—without switch reference considerations—occurs within the scope of the formation of the purpose clause. There are two cases. First, infirman aywar 'going to the infierno' is subordinate to asta- 'whip'; they have the same subject and thus -r 'adv (same subject)' is the appropriate adverbializer. Second, kañiptin 'if they bite' is subordinate to asta- 'to whip'; they have different subjects, so -piti 'adv (different subject)' is the appropriate adverbializer. Note that kañikuq allqukonata is the object of asta- 'whip', and is thus not part of the adverbial clause allqukonata kañiptin.

Chay-ta wata-pa-n [[infirn-m an aywa-r]]
that-OBJ tie-to-him-3 inferno-GOAL go-adv(ss)

[kañikuq allqukonata kañi-piti-n] asta-ku-na-n-paq].
bite-sub dogs-OBJ bite-adv(ds)-3P whip-refr-sub-3P-PUR

'They tie that to him so that as he goes to the inferno, if they attack him, he can whip the biting dogs.'

The purpose clause can only be analyzed as follows:

[[go to the inferno]]ss biting dogs [if they bite]]ds he whip]PURPOSE

14.3.3. Reciprocal formation

I will assume that a prototypical reciprocal is a verb phrase, marked as reciprocal; the referents of the subject of which it is predicated are understood as carrying out the action referred to by the predicate one to another. Diagrammatically, 1328a is understood as the two propositions in 1328b. where φ is a transitive verb which refers to the two-argument proposition Φ(x,y), and -RECIPI is reciprocal marking:

a. [ φ ]-RECIPI Subj:{x,y}

b. [ Φ(x,y)] AND [ Φ(y,x)]

For example, to the propositions HIT(x,y) and HIT(y,x) there corresponds the verb phrase hit each other, where each other is the reciprocal marking. The reciprocal corresponding to HIT(l,you) and HIT(you,me) would be We hit each other where we = {I,you}.

Consider example 1329:

Mayqa-nchi-si mas:naw:puntata chaya-r miku-naku-shun.
which-12-indef first arrive-adv eat-recip-12

'Whichever of us(incl) arrives first will eat the other.' (lit.: Whichever of us arrives first, we will eat each other.)

The only way to make sense of example 1329 is to consider that adverbialization (along with switch
reference marking) is within the scope of the reciprocal.\textsuperscript{257} 1329 is understood as the following propositions:

\[
[((\text{If } x \text{ arrives first}) \text{$_{ss}$ } x \text{ eat } y) \text{ where } x=\text{me and } y=\text{you}]
\]

\[
\text{AND}
\]

\[
[((\text{If } x \text{ arrives first}) \text{$_{ss}$ } x \text{ eat } y) \text{ where } x=\text{you and } y=\text{me}]
\]

Therefore the scope of the reciprocal includes the entire conditional:

\[
[((\text{If } x \text{ arrives first}) \text{$_{ss}$ } x \text{ eat } y)\text{-RECIPROCAL where } x=\{\text{you,me}\}]
\]

Indeed, 1329 clearly means that it is the relation of eating the other on the condition of arriving first which holds reciprocally between the speaker and the hearer, and not the relation of mutually eating one another!

To conclude, adverbial clauses are sometimes within the scope of reciprocals.

\section*{14.4. Adverbial Clauses Derived by $-y(\mathit{+lla})+$pa}

A clause formed by substantivizing with $-y\text{`inf}$ and then followed by $-pa\text{`GEN}$ may be used adverbially. In rare cases, a possessive suffix may come between $-y\text{`inf}$ and $-pa\text{`GEN}$: e.g.,

\begin{itemize}
  \item Mana musya-$y$-$ni$-$pa$ wille-shka-$llap$-ta...  
  \item not know-inf-3P-ADV tell-perf-1 all-OBJ
\end{itemize}

'Unwittingly (lit `not knowing') we told him everything...'

This mechanism for forming adverbial clauses via substantivization has given rise in HgQ to another adverbializer: $-\mathit{y}$...$-pa$. Because $-lla\text{`just}'$ frequently comes between $-y$ and $-pa$, I will write $-y(\mathit{lla})$-$pa$ and treat this combination as a single suffix, one which forms adverbial clauses. It will be glossed simply as 'adv'. I will also write $-y$+$pa$ 'adv' and $-y$+$lla$+$pa$ 'adv': whether $-lla\text{`just}^\prime$ occurs seems to make no appreciable difference in meaning.

The subject of adverbial clauses formed by $-y+lla$+$pa$ always have the same subject as the verb they modify. This is due to the infinitive marker $-y$ from which they are formed: the subject of an infinitive clause must be coreferential to the subject of the superordinate clause.

In most cases $-y(lla)pa$ derives one-word adverbs; but as examples 1332-1334 show, they may be longer.\textsuperscript{258}

\begin{itemize}
  \item kuchu-nchi... [ruri-n ka-q-ta mana dañña-$y$+$lla$+$pa$].  
  \item cut-12 inside-3P be-subOBJ not damage-ADV
\end{itemize}

'...we cut it ... not damaging that which is inside.'

Wakin runa-kuna [mana tistamintu-ta rura+$yll(appa)$ wañu-n.  
other man-plur not will-OBJ make-ADV die-3

'Other people die without making a will.'

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{257}Some Quechua speakers have judged 1329 to be marginal--although the more they think about it the more they accept it. I assume that it is acceptable since it is from a tape recorded story by a native Quechua speaker.
  \item \textsuperscript{258}Thus, $-ylla$pa cannot be considered simply a derivational suffix.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Adverbial Clauses Derived by -\( \gamma \)(+ \( lla \)) + \( pa \) [14.4]

\( \ldots \text{arma-}ku-\text{n} \) [push\( \ldots \text{him-}n\)-man wi\( \text{na-}k\)u-\( v\)ella-\( pa \)]

bathe-refl-3 mug-COM top-3P-GOAL pour-refl-adv

\'...they bathe pouring water over themselves with a cup.\'

Adverbial clauses formed by \(-\gamma + lla + pa\) are used most frequently to express "manner" or "means", though their use runs considerably beyond these. We will now sketch the range of uses of these adverbs.

### 14.4.1. Manner

In the following cases, the adverbial clause formed by \(-\( lla \)pa\) indicates the manner of the action of the superordinate clause.

\begin{align*}
\text{Weqro-} + \text{lla} + \text{pa} & \quad \text{purin-ki}.
\text{limp-adv} \quad \text{walk-2}
\end{align*}

'walk limply'

\begin{align*}
\text{Wengo-} + \text{pa} & \quad \text{aywa-}y\text{ka-}n \text{ yaku}.
\text{twist-adv} \quad \text{go-1mpfv-3 water}
\end{align*}

'the water is going along twisting (whirlpools)'

\begin{align*}
\text{aywa-} + \text{na-}n\text{chi-} + \text{pa} & \quad \text{lla-}\text{li-}n\text{aku-} + \text{ppa}
\text{go-sub-12P-PUR race-recip-adv}
\end{align*}

'so that we can go racing'

\begin{align*}
\text{Rusa-} + \text{chi-} + \text{vella-} + \text{pa} & \quad \text{wili-}n\text{chi}.
\text{cross-caus-adv} \quad \text{form:} + \text{warp-12}
\end{align*}

'we form the warp crossingly' (i.e. each new pass of the thread crosses the old)

\begin{align*}
\text{Tapri-} + \text{pa} & \quad \text{tupa-} + \text{ppa} \quad \text{usha-} + \text{yku-} + \text{n}.
\text{tip-adv} \quad \text{knock-adv} \quad \text{finish-impact-3}
\end{align*}

'He is knocking it this way and that.'

\begin{align*}
\text{Wanu-} + \text{chi-} + \text{sha} & \quad \text{illa-} + \text{pa}.
\text{die-caus-3PERF shoot-adv}
\end{align*}

'he killed it, shooting it.'

\begin{align*}
\ldots \text{pampa-} + \text{pa} & \quad \text{koorri-} + \text{ylla-} + \text{pa}
\text{ground-GEN run-adv}
\end{align*}

'(go) running along the ground'

\begin{align*}
\text{mishki-} + \text{chi-} + \text{pa-} + \text{ylla-} + \text{pa} & \quad \text{miku-sweet-caus-ben-adv eat-}
\end{align*}

'to eat savoringly (causing to be tasty)'

\begin{align*}
\text{ronka-} + \text{ylla-} + \text{pa} & \quad \text{punu-snore-adv sleep-}
\end{align*}

'to sleep snoring'

\begin{align*}
\text{shawata-} + \text{pa} & \quad \text{apa-carry:over:shoulder-adv take-}
\end{align*}

'to carry hung over the shoulder' (something like a bag with a strap)
Rima-naku-wpa parla-n.
   speak-recip-adv converse-3
   'they converse arguing.'

...rura-pa-n llangi-ta-pis palma-pita pilita-wpa
   make-3 ben-3 sandal-OBJ indef palm-ABL braid-adv
   'they make sandals for him, braiding them out of palm (fiber)'

Noqa apari-wpa apa-shayki.
   carry-on:back-adv take-1>2PUL
   'i will take you by carrying you on my back.'

Qam shamu-nki wayra-pa buyla-wpa y pay shamu-n allpa-pa
   you come-2 air-GEN fly-ADV and he come-3 ground-GEN

laata-willa-pa
   crawl-ADV
   'you come flying through the air. and he comes crawling along the ground.'

Awha-wan mashta-nchi may:::ytu tinku-chi-pa-willa-pa.
   needle-COM spread-12 very meet-caus-ben-adv

   'we spread it out evenly with a needle.'

The adverbial clause of 1350 indicates the manner of resting:
Chay-ta kumil-ruk-ru simri hama-n huk wata ishkay wata
   that-OBJ finish-asp-adv always rest-3 one year two year
[mana ima awturidaa-pis ka-willa-pa],
   not what authority-indef be-adv
   'having finished that, they rest a year of two, not being any authority.'

In examples 1351-1355, the action of the main clause was carried out in a manner that concealed it from someone else:
...yupa-pa-n chawra-qa llulla-pa-willa-pa.
   count-3 ben-3 so-TOP lie-ben-adv
   '...so he counts them for him, deceptively.'

Paka-wpa rura-sha
   hide-adv do-3PERF
   'he did it on the sly (hiddenly)'

Tayta-n-ta mama-n-ta mana musya-chi-willa-pa
   father-3P-OBJ mother-3P-OBJ not know-caus-adv
paka-willa-pa puri-paa-naku-n.
   hide-adv walk-ben-recip-3
   'not letting their parents know they get together hiddenly.'

Chay-pita paka-ykacha-willa-pa qeshpi-rqa:- noqa.
   there-ABL hide-iter-adv escape-past-1 I
   'i escaped from there hiding here and there.'

...wasi-n-man pusha-ku-n mana pi-ta-pis willa-pa-willa-pa.
   house-3P-GOAL lead-refl-3 not who-OBJ indef tell-ben-adv
   'he leads her to his house without telling anyone.'

In the following cases, an adverb formed with γilla-pa is immediately followed by the superordinate verb expressing the result of the action expressed by the adverb:
manner [14.4.1]

qasha-y+ pa kuchen (slash-adv cut-) 'to cut slashing'
roqo-y+ pa paki (rip-adv break-) 'to part tearing'
shengey+ pa wan (to die drowning)

Mayu-chaw shenga-y+pa-na-shi waxu-n atoq.
river-LOC drown-adv-now-IND die-3 fox

'The fox dies drowning in the river.'

By contrast, in 1357 the adverbial clause formed by -yalla+pa seems to express the result of the action expressed in the superordinate clause: the main clause expresses breaking; the adverbial clause expresses that this did not result in a clean break.

Mana qasha-y+pa rechi-sha-chu.
not slash-adv break-3PERF-NEG

'It didn't break cleanly.' (i.e., it didn't part with a smooth motion, leaving a smooth edge)

14.4.2. means

Adverbs formed by -yalla+pa may indicate the means by which the action/event of the superordinate clause was accomplished: e.g., in 1358 the condor was able survive the cold by thawing out his feet (under the fox's tail):

Y kondor-ga chaki-n-ta chulla-chi-pa yalla+pa
and condor-TOP foot-3P-OBJ melt-caus-ben-adv

awanta-yka-n qasa-y-ta hanka-chaw.
tolerate-imf-v-3 be:cold-inf-OBJ peak-LOC

'And the condor, by thawing his feet survived the cold on the snow-capped peak.'

Other examples follow:

...tinku-chi-nchi chawpi qasha-sha-nchi-man qasha-yalla+pa.
meet-caus-12 middle slash-sub-12P-GEN slash-adv

'...we make the cut meet the middle where we have cut by slashing.' (lit. 'we cause it to meet by slashing...')

...ashi-nchi qewa ulta-na-n-ta ... kunka-n-pa ura-n-pa
seek-12 grass swallow-sub-3P-OBJ neck-3P-GEN below-3P-GEN

qasha-y+pa kuydadu-lla.
slash-adv careful-just

'...we search for its grass swallower ... carefully slashing on the underside of its neck.'

Qam chaki-chi-ndi-man-chu kay yaku-ta upu-yalla+pa?
you dry-caus-2-cond-YN? this water-OBJ drink-adv

'Could you dry up this lake by drinking it?'

Uma-yalla-n-ta-shi kani-yalla+pa horo-ku-ri-n mishi.
head-just-3P-OBJ-IND bite-adv remove-refl-asp-3 cat

'The cat takes his head off by biting it.'
14.4.3. Other Uses

In this section, various other uses of adverbial clauses formed with -\textit{ya}l\textit{la}pa are illustrated.

In example 1364 the adverbial clause expresses the color that something shines, i.e., it shines blue-ly:

\begin{verbatim}
Nina-naw hana-n-kuna schikya-n asul-ya-yl\textit{la}na+pa.
  fire-SIM top-3P-plur shine-3 blue-bec-adv
\end{verbatim}

'It's top shines blue like a flame.'
(describing a type of light-emitting worm)

In 1365 the adverbial clause expresses the color of a skirt:

\begin{verbatim}
...qarcha-y\textit{la}na+pa rahi-sha qarwash-wan puka raya raya
drag-adv skirt-prtc yellow-COM red line line
\end{verbatim}

'...dressed in a red and yellow stripped skirt.'
(lit 'skirted stripped alternately red and yellow')

In example 1366 the adverbial clause formed by -\textit{ya}l\textit{la}pa expresses the length of time (into the evening) of the event expressed by the main clause (stay, pass time):

\begin{verbatim}
Lunis huna-qis puri-yka-r qoy-an tardi-pa-y\textit{la}na-na-qa.
  mon-SIM day-even walk-impv-adv pass:time-3 late-verb-adv-nom-TOP ...
\end{verbatim}

'They pass Monday walking about until it gets late (in evening).'

Similarly, the adverbial clauses of 1367 and 1368 indicate that the event/action of the superordinate clause is carried out unceasingly:

\begin{verbatim}
...be\textit{la}-qa rata-yka-na-n mana pish\textit{hi}-y\textit{la}na
candle-TOP burn-impv-sub-3 not be:lacking-adv
\end{verbatim}

'...a candle should be burning unceasingly/constantly'

\begin{verbatim}
...mana ultimu chawa-y\textit{la}na
  not final complete-adv
\end{verbatim}

'...never ending'/never coming to completion'

In examples 1369-1371 the adverbial clause formed by -\textit{ya}l\textit{la}pa indicates the direction of motion or orientation of the action/event expressed in the superordinated clause:

\begin{verbatim}
...ura-y\textit{la}na aywa-shun.
go-down-adv go-12IMP
\end{verbatim}

'...let's go downhill.'

\begin{verbatim}
Atoq-shi ural-y\textit{la}na apuraado koorri-na-n-paq ...
fox-IND go:down-adv fast run-sub-3P-PUR
\end{verbatim}

'The fox, in order to run fast downhill...'

\begin{verbatim}
Ama ukpa-y\textit{la}na. Tiyachi-y\textit{la}na tiyachi-y.
not be:inverted-adv put:upright-adv put:upright-2IMP
\end{verbatim}

'Not upside down. Set it upright.'
The adverbial clause of 1372 seems to be a complement to *qallay* 'begin':

\[ \text{\textit{\ldots qalla-yu-nchi [maki-n, chaki-n, moqo-n-pita kuchillu-wan}} \]
\[ \text{begin-asp-12 foot-3P hand-3P joint-3P-ABL knife-COM} \]
\[ \text{kuchu-pa-v+llapa} \]
\[ \text{cut-ben-adv} \]

'\ldots we begin cutting from the joints of its forelegs and hind legs with a knife.'

14.4.4. Reduplication with *-y(+lla)+pa* 'adv'

Subordination with *-y+lla+pa* may serve as the mechanism by which a verb is reduplicated, i.e. if **φ** is a verb root/stem, then *φ*-y(-lla)+pa **φ** is one way to reduplicate **φ**. Examples follow:

\[ \text{Y punta wash+waqta-n-pa ura-vapa ura-nchi.} \]
\[ \text{and ridge far+back-3P-GEN go:down-adv go:down-12} \]

'And we go down on the backside of the ridge.'

\[ \text{\ldots usha-vapa usha-r kanta-nki...} \]
\[ \text{finish-adv finish-adv sing-2} \]

'\ldots crow again and again without ceasing...'

See also the examples of section 15.3.2, which discusses this type of reduplication.

14.5. Dialect Differences in Use of Adverbial Clauses

Across Quechua dialects there are many differences in the switch reference systems. Here I will consider only those differences which involve dialects closely related to HgQ. There are several interesting differences between HgQ and Huaraz (Ancash) Quechua (HzQ), a dialect far to the west.

First, whereas in HgQ -r does not allow a following possessive person marker and -shpa requires one, in HzQ almost the opposite obtains: -shpa does not allow a following possessive marker; -r allows (but does not require) one. This remains a supreme mystery!

Second, whereas in HgQ the complements of phasal verbs ('begin', 'continue', 'finish',..) are infinitives, in HzQ they are subordinated by -r. Thus the difference:

\[ \text{HgQ: aru-y-ta usha- (work-INF-OBJ finish)} \]
\[ \text{Huaraz: yapy-a-r usha- (work-adv(ss) finish)} \]

'to finish working'

This is not the case for complements to non-phasal verbs: in both HgQ and Huaraz Quechua an infinitive object complement would be used for expressions like the following (with the difference that Huaraz Quechua allows a possessive person marker following the infinitive and HgQ does not):

\[ \text{Maqa-ma-y-(ni):-ta muna-n, hit=1-INF-(1P)-OBJ want-3} \]

'He wants to hit me.'

Third, in certain temporal adverbial expressions it seems that an adverbial clause is used as the modifier of a temporal head (looking--except for the subordinator--like a relative clause). An example (from Pantoja [25] Vol. 2, p. 376. 82:65):
Dialect Differences in Use of Adverbial Clauses [14.5]

14.6. Discourse Function of Adverbial Clauses

Two ways that adverbial clauses are used in discourse are discussed below. Section 14.6.1 deals with "recapitulative" adverbial clauses; these contribute heavily to the cohesiveness of a discourse. Section 14.6.2 deals with very long sentences ("mega-sentences") which occur at the peak of a folk tale/narrative.

14.6.1. Recapitulative Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses formed with -r and -pti play a major role in giving discourse cohesion. An adverbial clause often recapitulates—in a very summary way—the contents of the preceding sentence. The resultant pattern is as follows:

...A happened. A having happened. B happened. B having happened...

For example, 1378 is a familiar pattern:

...mikuran. Mikurkur,...

eat-past-3 eat-asv-adv

...he ate. Having eaten,...

We will refer to such adverbial clauses as RECAPITULATIVE adverbial clauses.

The verb of the recapitulating adverbial clause need not be identical to the main verb. There are two common cases:

1. The recapitulating clause has some sort of "pro-verb." In some cases this is ni 'say', even though the action/event it recapitulates is not one of speaking. For example, one text begins 'One day a man was working his plot with his team' and continues:

Ni-yka-pti-n-shi say-imprv-adv-3P-IND arrive-ben-asv-3 bear

'As he was doing so (literally "saying"), there arrived a bear.'

Of course ni 'say' cannot be taken literally in 1379: it is a pro-verbal form referring to the man's plowing.259

2. The recapitulating adverbial may indicate a related event; e.g. "going" can be recapitulated by its completion, namely "arriving":

...Pillku-man aywe-ra-n. Chaya-rku-r...

Pillku-GOAL go-past-3 arrive-asv-adv

'...he went to Pillku. Upon arriving....'

The adverbial clause does not recapitulate the action of going, but it does directly relate to it in that it states the terminal point of the going, and thus indirectly recapitulates the "going". (Note: it sounds exceedingly strange to the Quechua ear to hear something like "John went to

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259. The use of ni 'say' as a "pro-verb" in recapitulative adverbial clauses has given rise to one of the most common "links" (i.e., sentence initial words which provide juncture to the preceding sentence). This is nirku, which might be glossed 'then, thereupon'. Historically it was certainly ni-rku-r (say-aspect-adv), but it is now taken as a single word.

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the store and bought a shirt." Rather one says--in Quechua--"John went to the store. Having arrived he bought a shirt." Quechua seems to have an intense preoccupation with getting people to where they are going.)

The recapitulating adverbial clause need not immediately follow the clause/sentence that it recapitulates. In example 1767 (page 358) it is separated from it by about 110 words of explanatory (background) material. Indeed, the function of the recapitulative adverbial of 1767b is to return to the spatial/temporal orientation of 1767a which were suspended in the intervening material.

The reader may get the impression that adverbial clauses are used exclusively for recapitulating prior assertions. That is not the case; an adverbial clause may bear new information. A speaker may make many of his primary assertions in the form of adverbial clauses.\textsuperscript{260} Indeed, sometimes it seems that adverbialization is simply the mechanism for conjoining two clauses.\textsuperscript{261} For example, rather than say "John came home and went to bed", the Quechua speaker is more likely to say "Having come home, John went to bed" making one clause an adverbial.

The mechanism of adverbial clauses allows the speaker to tailor his text to his hearer, balancing factors of the rate of information flow and thematicacy.

Let us consider various alternatives, using \textacutedual{\textsuperscript{[X]}_{ss/ds}}\textacutedual{\textsuperscript{[X]}_{ss/ds}} to symbolize an adverbial clauses with same or different subject marking. 1381 shows three alternatives (among others) for organizing four clauses A, B, C and D:

\begin{itemize}
  \item a. A. B. C. D...
  \item b. A. [ [ A ]_{ss/ds} \textsuperscript{[X]}_{ss/ds} B. [ B ]_{ss/ds} C. [ C ]_{ss/ds} D...
  \item c. [ [ A ]_{ss/ds} B ]_{ss/ds} C ]_{ss/ds} D...
\end{itemize}

1381a may result in a very disjointed text, where the hearer is given no help in getting from one sentence to the other. If 1381b is followed to an extreme, i.e., too many recapitulative clauses are introduced, then the text becomes tedious and "talks down" to the hearer ("as though to a child"). One can equally go overboard in the direction of 1381c: the speaker packs too much into one sentence using the rich mechanisms of subordination afforded by the language. Then the text becomes difficult to understand. (But 1381c is appropriate at the peak of an episode: see section 14.6.2.)

Not surprisingly, a fair amount of the editing which must be done to get from colloquial speech to good written Quechua (or the other way around) involves the juggling of the possibilities afforded by "recapitulating" adverbial clauses.

\textbf{14.6.2. Mega-sentences}

The second discourse role of adverbial clauses is in the formation of appropriately long sentences used at critical points in the discourse. Typically, at the peak of an episode in a Quechua story there is a "mega-sentence" like 1382 which involves a great deal of subordination, mainly adverbial clauses:

\textsuperscript{260} This is certainly constrained by many factors.

\textsuperscript{261} Sometimes the choice of which clause is to be main and which is to be subordinate seems quite arbitrary.
Mega-sentences [14.6.2]

Chawra-ga salteadur-kuna-ga "Ima-taq chay tuni-yka:-mu:n?"  
then-TOP highwayman-pl-TOP what-?? that fall-impv-afar-3

ni-i-shi qeshpi-r aywaku-sha lllapam qellay-nin-ta  
say-adv-IND flee-adv go-3PERF all money-3p-OBJ

yupa-yka-sha-n-ta kacha-riyku-r.  
count-impfv-sub-3p-OBJ leave-aspect-adv

'The highwaymen, saying "What is that falling on us?" left fleeing, leaving behind all their money  
which they had counted.'

The structure is as follows (where h = highwaymen):  
So-ga h-ga ["..." say(h)]-shi ss [flee(h)] ss go(h) [leave(h, money)] ss

While mega-sentences usually involve adverbial clause formation to achieve length and  
complexity, other subordination mechanisms come into play as well. For example 1383a is a  
mega-sentence at the climax of a folk tale which uses a purpose clause (the bracketed portion)  
to achieve complexity. Note that the anticlimax (1383b-1383d) is a series of very short, disjointed  
sentences:

b. Y runi apakurkur aywakun.

c. Mayuyaq paasachikun.

d. Wañushanashe.

e. Chayasha mayuman atoq.

f. Sapo gaanasha apustita atoqta.

a. And the fox, in order to run downhill fast, tied a round  
stone to his tail.

b. And taking the stone, he went.

c. It made him pass on into the river.

d. He died.

e. The fox arrived to the river.

f. The frog won the bet with the fox.

---

262 Because -ga occurs only on constituents of a main clause we know that salteadurkunaqa 'the highwaymen' is the subject  
of aywakusha 'they went' rather than the subject within one of the subordinate clauses.
15. REDUPLICATION

Reduplication, the repetition of an element either identically or in a highly similar form, is an important process in HgQ. This discussion is organized in terms of what sort of unit is reduplicated and by what mechanism. Sections 15.1 and 15.4 deal with reduplication in the formation of lexical items. Section 15.2 deals with various sorts of reduplication of non-verbal words. Section 15.3 deals with various sorts of reduplication in which the first occurrence of the element is subordinate to the second as an adverbial clause. Section 15.5 deals with cases in which the first occurrence of the reduplicated element is an incomplete verb stem. Section 15.6 deals with cases in which both occurrences of the reduplicated element are finite verbs. Section 15.7 deals with the reduplication of infinitives.

15.1. Reduplication Within Lexical Items

Many lexical items transparently involve the reduplication of some element: e.g.:

machamacha 'a wild berry (reputed to make one dizzy or drunk)', cf. macha 'to be drunk'.
pakapaka 'a species of bird (regarded as a bad omen)' cf. (paka-) 'hide'.

Many other lexical items suggest reduplication, but less transparently than those just illustrated. The interested reader is referred to Willem Adelaar's careful treatment of such cases in his grammar of Tarma Quechua: see Adelaar [1].

15.2. Reduplication of Simple Words

This section treats various ways in which non-verbal words are reduplicated. Words may simply be repeated, 15.2.1: they may be repeated with -n following each word. 15.2.2: and they may be repeated with a case marker following each word, 15.2.3.

15.2.1. Word-Word Reduplication

Substantives which refer to a property of an object may be reduplicated to indicate various occurrences of that property: e.g.:

mukru-mukru
'uneven (part thin, part thick, e.g. wool which has been spun unevenly)' cf. mukru 'a small ball' (e.g. a lump of food').
kapti-kapti 'of the edge of cloth) fluted. pinke from kapti 'a small cut in the edge'; e.g.,
taksha kapti kapti (small cut cut) 'fine fluted edge'.
raya raya 'striped' from raya 'line'; e.g.,

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|}
\hline
\text{qarwash-wan puka} & \text{raya raya} \\
\text{yellow-COM} & \text{red} \\
\text{line} & \text{line} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

'red and yellow (alternating) stripes'

Quantifiers may be reduplicated, in which case the expression so formed indicates an

\[\text{263} \text{Verbal reduplication is discussed in sections 15.3 and 15.5, and 15.6.}\]

\[\text{264} \text{kapti may be a verb which means 'to cut into the edge of'.}\]
approximation to the quantity expressed in the quantifier. (These are frequently followed by -lla 'just'.) For example:

wallka-wallka-lla

'roughly a few' from wallka 'few'.

ichik-ichik-lla

'a little bit' from ichik 'small'.

mas mas-lla 'just a bit more than, roughly' from mas 'more'; e.g.:

...uchku-n ruri-ta huk runa ichi-y altu-ta dig-3 inside-OBJ one man stand-inf tall-OBJ

mas mas-lla-ta,
more more-just-OBJ

'...they dig down just a little more than the height of a man standing.'

Mas mas aywa-yka-sha-n-chaw-na-shi tari-n...
more more go-impv-sub-3P-LOC-now-IND find-3

'As they are going farther on, they find...'

In the following, the reduplicated expression indicates a reduced intensity relative to the meaning of the word from which it is formed:

chaka-chaka-lla

'pre-dawn when it is still dark' from chaka 'dark'.

rama-rama-lla

'just enough light to make out shapes'.

The following indicate various instances scattered in space of the object referred to by the substantive from which the reduplication is formed:

chakra chakra

'from field to field' from chakra 'field'.

Pay-kuna tuma-n chakra chakra miku-y-kuna-ta rika-r...
he-plur go:about-3 field field eat-inf-plur-OBJ see-adv

'They go about from field to field checking the crops...'

munti munti-lla 'scattered brush' from munti 'forest'; e.g.:

...chunyag-pa-na-shi aywa-rka-yka-n munti munti-lla-pa.
wilderness-GEN-now-IND go-plur-impv-3 woods woods-just-GEN

'...in the wilderness now they are going along through the scattered woods.'

Adverbs may be reduplicated; e.g. from iwal 'together' one gets iwal iwal 'back and forth, one to another':

---

265 Perhaps this is derived from chaka- chaka-y-lla (be:dark be:dark-inf-just), reduplicating the verb root chaka 'be dark' where y 'inf' has been dropped?

266 I do not think there is a free word rama.

267 chakra chakra of 1397 should be compared with the reduplications discussed in section 15.2.2; semantically it is like them but does not have -n on the reduplicated element.
15.2.2. Reduplication with -n

A substantive may be reduplicated, putting -n on each occurrence of the reduplicated element. This -n seems to be little more than a mechanism for binding the reduplicated froms together: it contributes little or nothing to the meaning of the reduplicated expression.

If the reduplicated element refers to a time expression, the reduplication indicates a sequence of times: e.g., waran waran 'day after day. daily' as used in the 1398:

\[
\text{Wakin arma-n wara-n.} \\
\text{some bathe-3 tomorrow-N tomorrow-N} \\
\text{Some bathe daily.}
\]

\[
\text{Pooku arma-n wara-n. Mas arma-n karu karu.} \\
\text{little bathe-3 tomorrow-N tomorrow-N more bathe-3 far far} \\
\text{Little do they bathe daily. More commonly they bathe infrequently.}
\]

If the reduplicated element refers to a place, the reduplication refers to a path going from one such place to another, and then another... e.g.,

\[
\text{marka-n marka-n} \\
\text{from town to town' from marka 'town}. \\
\text{ragra-n ragra-n} \\
\text{from one gorge/valley to another' from ragra 'gorge, valley'}. \\
\text{punta-n punta-n} \\
\text{from one peak/ridge to another' from puna 'peak, ridge'}. \\
\text{wasi-n wasi-n} \\
\text{from house to house' from wasi 'house': e.g.,}
\]

\[
\text{Chay-kuna puri-n wasi-n wasi-n. Chaya-n eskirbaanu-pa} \\
\text{that-plur travel-3 house-N house-3 arrive-3 scriveren-GEN} \\
\text{wasi-n-man, kapilla-pa wasi-n-man, rihidur-pa wasi-n-man...} \\
\text{house-3P-GOAL kapilla-GEN house-3P-GOAL righidur-GEN house-3P-GOAL} \\
\text{Those go from house to house. They arrive at the scriveren's house, at the kapilla's house, as the regidor's house...}
\]

\[
\text{Wasi-ki-kuna-ta rika-chi-ma-y mayqa-n mayqa-n-ta-taq.} \\
\text{house-2P-plur-OBJ see-caus-3 P-1ZIMP which-N which-N-OBJ-??}
\]

'Show me which are your houses.'
(when they are spread out throughout town)
15.2.3. With Case

When a reduplication formed from non-verbal forms is in a case relationship that merits a marker, this occurs on each of the reduplicated elements: e.g., in 1395 huk....huk is the object of ashta- and apa-:

...ashta-n runa-ta huk-ta huk-ta yoore-ta mutu-na-n-pag.
  pull-3 man-OBJ one-OBJ one-OBJ tree-OBJ chop-sub-3P-PUR

...Chay-naw huk-ta huk-ta apa-yka-pit1-11a-n...
  that-SIM one-OBJ one-OBJ take-impfv-adv-just-3P

'...pulls she loads in men one by one to cut the tree.'

'...taking them one by one in that way...'

Chawra hanga-ta hanga-ta hanga-ta-na-shi rinka-yka-n.
  then up-OBJ up-OBJ up-OBJ-now-IND jump-impv-3

'So then she jumps (going up a rope) up, and up, and up.'

Buurru-ta pas ura-ta ura-ta-na apa-yka-n.
  donkey-OBJ expl down- OBJ down- OBJ-now take-impv-3

'(The river) is carrying the donkey farther and farther down."

...nir- salta-yku-n karu-man caru-man caru-man.
  say-adv jump-impact-3 far- GOAL far- GOAL far- GOAL

'...so saying he (a frog) jumps far, far, far'

...hanga-man hanga-n-pag wichasha.
  top-3P- GOAL top-3P- GOAL climb-3PERF

'they climbed one on top the other'

15.3. Adverb Verb Reduplication

One of the most common ways to reduplicate a verb is to make the first occurrence an adverbial clause subordinate to the second occurrence. Since the reduplicated verbs have the same subject, the appropriate adverbializer is either "-r (illustrated in section 15.3.1) or -pa (illustrated in section 15.3.2)."

This type of reduplication indicates the repetition of what is indicated by the reduplicated element.

15.3.1. Verb-r Verb- Reduplication

Among the ways for adverbializing the first of reduplicated forms, the most common is with the suffix -r 'adverbializer (same subject)'. Various possibilities are discussed.

15.3.1.1. Verb-r main verb

In the following, reduplication serves to indicate that the going was not by means of a direct trip: it is equivalent roughly to "I worked my way to Cayumba Chico":

\[\text{[urâ:]: uratâ:]}\] bears very heavy stress on the first [a], with the following [t] held unreleased for considerable time.
15.3.1.2. Verb-verb-r reduplication

Reduplications of the form verb-verb-r are adverbs indicating repetition.

Chawra miku-n asi-ruk-r asi-ruk-r
then eat-3 laugh-asp-adv laugh-asp-adv
'Then they eat, laughing and laughing.'

Note that in 1402 ruri-ta applies to the reduplication as a whole.

Chawra mas ruri-ta ooti-r ooti-r ooti-r
then more inside-OBJ dig-adv dig-adv dig-adv
aru-rkya-sha-ka-chaw...
work-plur-impf-v-sub-3P-LOC
'Then, as they are working, digging down deeper and deeper...

...kondor chay-ruk-r shikra-ta rachi-r rachi-r...
condor arrive-asp-adv sack-OBJ rip-adv rip-adv
'...the condor, arriving, ripping away at the sack...

Huk warmi-shi wayta-ta ashta-q siwraq-man punti-kuna-pita
one woman-IND flower-OBJ take-nepst town-GOAL peak-plur-ABL
ashi-ruk-r ashti-ruk-r,
seek-asp-adv seek-asp-adv
'A woman took flowers to the city from the peaks, looking for
them here and there.'

Note that in 1405 karuman applies to the entire reduplication:

...liberti-kun karu-kama witi-ruk-r witi-ruk-r
liberate-refl-3 far-LIM move-asp-adv move-asp-adv
'...he took his liberty, moving far off here and there.'

Frequently Verb-verb-r reduplication is used to indicate action carried out until some result is
achieved: such cases give rise to reduplication followed by a result clause.

Habun-wan kupa-ruk-r kupa-ruk-r llaqha-pa-kuna-ta kupa-n
soap-COM rub-asp-adv rub-asp-adv clothes-3P-plur-OBJ rub-3
qanra llaqha-na-n-yaq,
dirtiness leave-sub-3P-LIM
'They scrub their clothes with soap until the dirtiness comes off.'

In 1407 the following clause is a purpose clause which expresses the desired result:

...asta-n... rigsaar-wan... willa-paari-r willa-paari-r
whip-3 whip-COM tell-ben-asp-adv tell-ben-asp-adv
yapay-chaw sumaq rika-na-n-paq,
again-LOC well see-sub-3P-PUR
'...he whips him with a whip... repeatedly warning him
so that next time he will watch well (so the animals don't
get into the crops).'
Verb $r$ reduplication [15.3.1.2]

...mas-ta awrindi-ta kunkira-n vapa-ri-r vapa-ri-r
more-OBJ fire:water-OBJ offer-3 again-asp-adv again-asp-adv
awni-na-n-kama.
agree-sub-3P-LIM
'. . .they offer him firewater again and again until he agrees.'

...mutu-r usha-yku-n uma-n uma-lla-n
chop-adv finish-impact-3 head-3P head-just-3P

vapa-ri-r vapa-ri-r wamu-sha-n-yag.
again-asp-adv again-asp-adv die-sub-3P-LIM
'. . .he finishes him chopping again and again on his head until
he has died.'

15.3.1.3. Verb $r$ verb $rkU$-

In cases such as examples 1401 and 1404 the verb is reduplicated with an aspectual suffix. In examples 1410 and 1411 the aspectual suffix occurs only on the second of the reduplicated elements: this leads me to believe that the structure is [puklla-r puklla-r-rku-].

...chagcha-n kawu-chaw puklla-r puklla-r-rku-r-shi.
chew:coca-3 bed-LOC play-adv play-asp-adv-IND
'. . .they were chewing coca, playing around in bed.'

...hama-n-chaw kondor paa-n tuma-r-r ruma-r-ku-r.
...above:3P-LOC condor pass-3 go:about-adv go:about-asp-adv
'. . .the condor passes overhead circling round and round.'

Example 1412 has the words of an old man who "chews" coca by rubbing it in his hands to break it up:

kupa-rku-lia-r chagcha-r:-mi maka:-chaw
rub-asp-just-adv chew:coca-1-DIR hand-1P-LOC

kupa-rku-r kupa-rku-lia-r-qo
rub-asp-adv rub-asp-just-adv-TOP

'I chew coca just rubbing and rubbing it between my hands.'

15.3.2. Verb $y$ + $pa$ Verb-

Verbs may be reduplicated by making the first an adverb with $y$ + $pa$: e.g.:

$ikchu$-$y$+$pa$ ikchu-
'sobbing' from ikchu 'heavy sigh'.

I am uncertain how these differ from reduplications using $r$. Other examples follow:

garinta-vna garinta-r
karicha:-ku-n
turn:end:for:end-adv turn:end:for:end-adv roll-refl-3

'It rolls down the hill end for end.'

mas ashi-vna ashi-n testa-n-pita nama-n-pita,
more search-adv search-3 father-3P-ABL mother-3P-ABL

'More (commonly) they seek (a wife) from their parents' (home)
(rather than glopping)

---

269 Pronounced [ikchuyp:kchur] with the release of the [p] held into the [i].
Example 1415 is probably a case formed by adverbialization with -y+lla+pa with the [pa] elided from [uraylla]:

\[\ldots \text{ura-}y-lla \quad \text{ura-shun} \]
\[\text{pray-inf-just pray-12IMP} \]
\[\ldots \text{let’s pray fervently’} \]

Other cases are mentioned in section 14.4.4: see examples 1373 and 1374.

15.4. Adverbial Clause Reduplication

Example 1416 is an unusual case in that an adverbial clause is reduplicated which has an adverbial clause within it: what is reduplicated is [[horgorkur] kutirkachir]. But note, like all the other cases of this sort of reduplication it indicates a repetition of what is indicated by the reduplicated element.

\[\text{Chawra mishi alpurha-pita} \quad \text{horgo-ru-}r \quad \text{kutir-ruk-}r-\text{chi-r} \]
\[\text{then cat saddle-ABL remove-asp-adv return-asp-caus-adv} \]
\[\text{horgo-ru-}r \quad \text{kutir-ruk-}r-\text{chi-r} \quad \text{huk uma-lla-ta-shi} \]
\[\text{remove-asp-adv return-asp-caus-adv one head-just-3P-OBJ-IND} \]
\[\text{chunka ishka-}t\text{a yupa-yku-n.} \]
\[\text{ten twelve-0BJ count-impact-3} \]

‘Then the cat, repeatedly removing the head from the saddlebag and returning it, counts the one head twelve times.’

15.5. Reduplication with Incomplete Verb Stems

A verb may be reduplicated as an incomplete verb stem followed by the verb, which as a combination bears some transition; e.g.:  

\[\text{Ruschi-} \quad \text{ruschi-y-lla+pa awlli-nchi.} \]
\[\text{cross-caus- cross-caus-adv wind:warp-12} \]

‘We wind the warp crossing (the thread) back and forth.’

(/Rusachi rusachiyllapa/ is pronounced [rusachi::rusachi::lla::pa].)

The following example is from a description of a worm that glows (nina kurun):

\[\text{Pacha-n-chaw} \quad \text{paari-p}t\text{i-n nina-naw achikva-achikva-r aywa-n.} \]
\[\text{stomach-3P-LOC fly-adv-3P flame-SIM flash flash-adv go-3} \]

‘It goes flashing like a flame on its stomach when it flies.’

In the following, note that -mu ‘afar’ does not occur on each of the reduplicated elements, but only on the second. This leads me to believe that reduplication is a stem-formation process.\(^{270}\)

\[\text{[wara-rk wara-ruhc]} \quad \text{mu-q oqa-ta usha-sha-lla...} \]
\[\text{dawn-asp dawn-asp-afar-sub oca-OBJ finish-prtc-just} \]

‘day after day he came into the new day (over there)
the oca being finished’

\(^{270}\) A similar comment is made in section 15.3.1.3 below.
15.6. Verb Verb

A finite verb may be reduplicated. This indicates the repeated occurrence (on different occasions) of the event indicated by the reduplicated verb; e.g.:

Chaw-qa wata-pto-n-si kacha-ka-sha kacha-ka-sha.
then-TOP tie-adv-3P-indef release-pass-3PERF release-pass-3PERF

"Then, even though they tied it, again and again it would get loose."

"..." ni-sha ni-sha huk runa-kuna-qa, rika-q-nin-kuna-qa.
say-3PERF say-3PERF one man-plur-TOP see-sub-3P-plur-TOP

"..." said various people who had seen them (on different occasions).

Wamra masi-n-kuna-qa upa-va-g upa-va-g.
child fellow-3P-plur-OBJ deaf-bec-narpst deaf-bec-narpst

Lagya-ri-q pukila-pa-pto-n.
slap-pnct-narpst play-ben-adv-3P

'Again and again he would make his young companions deaf. He would slap them when they made fun of him.'

15.7. Infinitive Infinitive

In the following examples an infinitive is reduplicated: e.g.:

...kanta-v-ta kanta-v-ta yacha-ku-ski.
sing-inf-OBJ sing-inf-OBJ know-refl-2

'...you know how to sing them again and again'
16. QUESTION FORMATION

HgQ has the following types of questions:
- "yes/no" questions, e.g. *Do you like tosoghi?* (see section 16.1).
- "content" questions, e.g. *What did you have for lunch?* (see section 16.2).
- "alternative" questions, e.g. *Did you have spaghetti or ravioli?* (see section 16.3).
- "tag" questions, e.g. *You had ravioli, right?* (see section 16.4).
- "what + do" questions, e.g. *What did he do to you?* (see section 16.5).
- "negative" questions, e.g. *You didn’t eat lunch?* (see section 16.6).
- "embedded" questions (see section 16.7). These include:
  * embedded content questions, e.g. *Do you know what’s for lunch?* (see section 16.7.1),
  * embedded alternative questions, e.g. *I don’t know whether he came.* (see section 16.7.2).
  and
  * non-finite embedded questions, (see section 16.7.3)
- "third person" questions (What does John say is good to eat?), see section 16.8.

The intonation with which questions are spoken has not been a focus of this study, but I will venture the following as vague impressions. Questions generally have rising pitch toward the end of the sentence.271 The pitch probably rises more with validation questions than with content questions. With alternative questions (see section 16.3) it generally rises to the end of the first alternative, the second having a decline in pitch and intensity. The "questioned element" (see definition below) does not have any special status in the intonation contour.

16.1. Validation Questions ("Yes/No Questions")

A validation question generally has a "questioned element": this is the constituent which is in focus, the one which the speaker does not assume to be correct and for which he is requesting verification. Validation questions may be formed by the simple addition of -chu, which I gloss 'YN?'. to the questioned element.272 For example, the questioned element in 1424 is kay 'this':

```
Kay-chu runa-yk1. Senna?
this-YN? husband-ZP Mrs.
'Is this your husband, Mrs.?'
```

The questioned element may be any major constituent of the sentence. (It cannot be an interjection, an expletive, a conjunction or link (e.g., y' and. chawra 'then'...), etc. It may follow mana 'not' in the formation of alternative questions (see section 16.3) or negative questions (see section 16.6).) For example, in 1425 it is an adverb:

```
Rasun-chu wañu-shga?
really-YN die-SPERF
'Has it really died?'
```

---

271 This is probably not as pronounced as it is in languages like English, where intonation can be the sole indicator that a sentence is interrogative.

272 -chu is glossed 'YN?' here and 'NEG' when it is used in negatives: this is intended as an aid to the reader, and should not be taken to mean that these are two different morphemes.
Validation Questions ("Yes/No Questions") [16.1]

Validation questions are possible in which no particular element is questioned; in this case, -chu ‘YN?’ is placed on the verb, as in 1426:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Runa-yki} & \quad \text{illa-yka:} & \quad \text{chu}. \\
\text{husband-2P} & \quad \text{absent-impfv-3-YN?} & \quad \text{madame}
\end{align*}
\]

'Is your husband absent, madame?'

Another way to form validation questions is to put -qa on the focal element and -chu on the main verb of the sentence: see section 20.2.3.3. For example, compare 1427a with 1427b. which differs in that -qa 'TOP' is on the questioned element and -chu 'YN?' is on the verb:

a. Hwan-ta-chu rika-sha?
   \[\text{John-OBJ-YN? see-3PERF}\]

b. Hwan-ta qa rika-sha-chu?
   \[\text{John-OBJ-TOP see-3PERF-YN?}\]

a,b 'Did he see John?'

Another example is 1843 (page 381).

Validation questions can be formed for any tense, e.g. with the future tense as in 1428 or the conditional tense as in 1429:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Tuni-mu-shaq-chu?} \\
\text{fall-afar-1FUT-YN?}
\end{align*}
\]

'Shall I fall?' (a threat to fall on someone)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Qam chaki-chi-nki-man-chu kay yaku-ta upu-y+lla+pa} \\
\text{you dry-caus-2-cond-YN? this water-OBJ drink-adv}
\end{align*}
\]

'Could you dry up this water by drinking it?'
(a challenge to drink a lake dry)

With compound tenses, when the questioned element is the verb, the -chu occurs on the subordinate verb, rather than on the auxiliary. For example, where the perfect is uncollapsed (see section 8.8.2) one finds examples like 1430:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ut+ka-sha-chu ka-yka:-nki?} \\
\text{tire-prtc-YN? be-impfv-2}
\end{align*}
\]

'Have you (gotten) tired?'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{-chu + rag 'dubitive'} \quad \text{is used to make a query, expressing doubt about the questioned element.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Qam-pa surti-ki moqa-pa surti---naq-chu+rag} \\
\text{you-GEN fate-2P me-GEN fate-1P-SIM-dubit}
\end{align*}
\]

'o mas piyur-chu+rag?
or more worse-dubit

'Might your fate be like mine or might it be worse?' or
'Is your fate perhaps like mine, or perhaps worse?'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kanan hunaq tamya-nga-chu+rag?} \\
\text{today day rain-3FUT-dubit}
\end{align*}
\]

'Might it rain today?' or 'Will it perhaps rain today?'
16.2. Content Questions

Content questions are formed with a question word (like English *who, what, where, when, etc.*) followed by a question marker (*-taq or -ray*). The question words are as follows:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{pi} & \quad \text{‘who’} \\
\text{ima} & \quad \text{‘what’} \\
\text{ima} & \quad \text{‘which’} \\
\text{ima} & \quad \text{‘when’} \\
\text{ima+nir} & \quad \text{‘why’} \quad \text{‘motive'} \\
\text{ima+paq} & \quad \text{‘what for’}
\end{align*}\]

Generally the questioned element is fronted (i.e., occurs initial in the sentence). The question marker may occur directly on the question word (but following a pluralizer, case markers): e.g.:²⁷⁴

\[\text{ima-ta-tag} \quad \text{rura-shaq?} \quad \text{what-OBJ-?? do-1FUT} \quad 1433\]

‘What shall I do?’

\[\text{Ayka-naw-ta-tag} \quad \text{tanta-ta chara:-nkii} \quad \text{how:much-SIM-OBJ-?? bread-OBJ have-2} \quad 1434\]

‘About how much bread do you have?’

Or it may occur at the very end of the questioned constituent: e.g., in 1435 it occurs at the end of the adverbial clause which contains the question word:

\[\text{ima-ta} \quad \text{yarpa-yka:-r-tag} \quad \text{rura-shaq?} \quad \text{what-OBJ think-impv-adv-?? do-3PERF} \quad 1435\]

‘What was he thinking when he did it?’

As a general rule, the question marker occurs on the largest possible constituent.²⁷⁵ Thus 1436b is preferred to 1436a. However, *-taq*’s? could not follow *tanta-ta* in 1436c because *ayka* and *tanta* are discontinuous constituents (as evidenced by the *-ta* OBJ following both *ayka* and *tanta*):

\[\begin{align*}
a. \quad \text{Ayka-ta} & \quad \text{tanta-ta chara:-nkii} \\
\text{how:much-??} & \quad \text{bread-OBJ have-2} \quad 1436\]

\[\begin{align*}
b. \quad \text{Ayka} & \quad \text{tanta-ta-tag chara:-nkii} \\
\text{how:much bread-OBJ-?? have-2} \quad 1436\]

\[\begin{align*}
c. \quad \text{Ayka-ta} & \quad \text{tanta-ta-ta-ni chara:-nkii} \\
\text{how:much-OBJ-?? bread-OBJ-?? have-2} \quad 1436\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{a.b.c.} & \quad \text{‘How much bread do you have?’}
\end{align*}\]

Other examples of questions follow:

\[\text{ima+-tag} \quad \text{aywa-nkii} \quad \text{when-?? go-2} \quad 1437\]

‘When will you go?’

\[\text{ima-paq-tag} \quad \text{apa-mu-nkii} \quad \text{punku-ta} \quad \text{upa bu:rro bestya?} \\
\text{what-PUR-?? take-afor-2} \quad \text{door-OBJ dummy donkey beast} \quad 1438\]

‘What did you bring the door for, dummy donkey beast?’

²⁷³ The difference between these is discussed on page 306.

²⁷⁴ In the following, the question word and the question marker are underlined.

²⁷⁵ The same is true for *-pis*-sl’*indef*; see example 1690, page 344.
Kanan ima-naw+pa-tag horgo-shun?
now what-manner?? remove-12FUT

'Now how shall we get it out?'

May-1a-man-tag pampa-shi-ykU-ma:-nki. awkin?
where-just-GOAL-?? bury-assist-dir->1-2 old:man

'Where will you help me bury him (polite), old man?'
(Politeness is signalled here by -illa and -ykU.)

Pi runa-tag chay?
who man?? that

'Who is that?'

May-tag qam ka-nki?
where?? you be-2

'Where are you from? (i.e., your place of origin)?'

Ima aru-y-tag mas sasa?
what work-sub-?? more difficult

'What work is the most/more difficult?'

Avka qam-pa-ka+x-tag?
how:many you-GEN-def-??

'How many are yours?'

Pi-tag chay marka-chaw qara-ma:-shun?
who?? that town-LOC feed->1-12FUT

'Who will feed us in that town?'

Diana Weber [41] analyzes the difference between -tag and -raq as follows: -tag is used when the speaker assumes that the addressee knows the answer to the question: -raq is used when he does not assume so. For example, if you ask the time of someone who has a watch, it is appropriate to say imay ooranatag. 'What time is it'. But if you ask someone who obviously does not have access to a time piece (so he will take a guess, say, from the position of the sun) it is more appropriate to use -raq "??":

Imay o:ra-na-raq?
when time-now-??

'What time might it be?'

Obviously, given its meaning, -raq "??" is the really appropriate way when there are uncertainties: e.g.:

Imay o:ra-raq kaarru chayu-mu-nqa?
when time?? car arrive-afar-3FUT

'When might the car arrive?'

16.3. Alternative Questions

Alternative questions are formed by juxtaposing two alternatives (with o 'or' optionally intervening) each of which bears -chu "?" (or, in cases like example 1431, -chu + raq). Examples follow:

Kanan-chu o wara-chu?
today-YN? or tomorrow-YN?
'today or tomorrow?'

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16.4. Tag Questions

Tag Questions are simple declarative sentences (generally without rising intonation) followed
by aw 'yes', which has rapidly rising pitch. Examples follow:

Pillku-ta aywa-ya-kuk-nki. aw?
Pillku-DIR go-IMPfv-2 yes
'You are going to Pillku. right?'

Rasu-n-pa ka-sha. aw?
really-ADV be-3PERF right
'It was really so. right?'
(to someone who had doubted beforehand)

16.5. What-say/do Questions

The verbs na- 'do' and ni- 'say' fuse with ima 'what' to form interrogative verbs: they form
ima-na- 'what+do'. ima-na=ni- 'what+say'. The questions formed from these will be called
"what+do questions". Examples follow:

Ima-na-sha-ta.sg?
what+do-3PERF-??
'What has happened?'

Wasa-n-la-. ima-na-n-ta.sg?
child-just-1P what+do-??
'What's my child doing?'

Ima=n+shu-pi-ni-ta.sg maqa-shka-mik-nki?
what+say->2-ADV-2P-?? hit-perf-2
'What did he say to you that you hit him?'

It is also possible to form questions where the questioned element is the verb with ima 'what' and a
verbalizing suffix; e.g., in 1456 with -ya: 'become' and in 1457a with -na: 'desiderative':

Ima=na-chi-ma-nqa-ra?
what-bec-caus-3REL-??
'What might it cause me to become?'

Note that in example 1457, ima-na- 'what+do' and ima-na=ni- (what-desid) 'what desire' differ only
in vocalic length, but differ considerably in their meaning:
What-say/do Questions [16.5]

a. Jma-na:-chi-ma:-nqa-raq?
   what-desid-caus->1-3FUT-??

b. Jma-na:-chi-ma:-nqa-raq?
   what-do-caus->1-3FUT-??

a. 'What effect will it have on me?'
   (i.e. will it make me thirsty...)

b. 'What will he/it cause me to do?'
   (i.e. will it make me throw up...)

16.6. Negative Questions

Negative questions are formed by putting -chu 'YN?' on mana 'not'. Examples follow:

Mana-chu noqa willa-raq-?:
no-YN?   I tell-past-1

'Didn't I tell you?' (= 'See. I told you so!')

Mana-chu chay-naw-pa wau-uk-ki-chn?  1459
no-YN? that-MAN kill-impact-caus-12

'Did we ever kill in that way before?'
   (No! - so now you owe me for my cleverness.)

Qam mana-chu hampi-ma:-nki-man tayta?
   you no-YN? medicate->1-2-cond sir

'Won't you medicate me. sir?'

Examples 1461a and 1461b are synonymous, showing that -raq 'yet' may occur in either of two positions:

a. Qam-kuna mana-raq-chu tantiya-nki?
   you-p1 no-yet-YN? understand-2

b. Qam-kuna mana-chu tantiya-nki-raq?
   you-p1 no-YN? understand-2-yet

'Don't you understand yet?'

16.7. Embedded Questions

This section gives a sketch of embedded questions: finite embedded content questions in section 16.7.1, finite embedded alternative questions in section 16.7.2, and nonfinite embedded questions in section 16.7.3. Embedded questions are discussed in greater detail in Weber [39] pg. 93-97.

16.7.1. Finite Embedded Content Questions

Examples 1462 and 1463 demonstrate content questions as finite complements: these have a question word in the complement, which has a finite verb, and are followed by -pis--si 'indef':

Sumaq fiha-y \ [max-chaw ka-sha-n-te-pis].
well observe-2IMF where-LOC be-sub-3P-OBJ-indef

'Observe well where it is.'
16.7.2. Finite Embedded Alternative Questions

Embedded alternative questions have two alternatives juxtaposed (i.e., with no overt conjunction). The alternatives have finite verbs, and each has a case marker, which since the alternatives are parallel, must be the same. The alternatives do not have -chu 'YN?' (as with the non-subordinate alternative questions). For example.

...tapu-n chay ashi-sha-n hipash-ta [chay moosu-wan ask-3 that seek-sub-3P young:woman-OBJ that young:man-COM
rasun-pa parla-sha ka-sha-n-ta] [mana parla-sha ka-sha-n-ta-pis],
true-adv agree-prtc be-sub-3P-OBJ not agree-prtc be-sub-3P-OBJ
'...they ask that sought-after young woman if she has really agreed with that young man or if she has not agreed.'

One of the alternative may be left implicit, as in examples 1466 and 1467:

Rimeeru tihira-ta rika-nchi [sumac fiimu ka-sha-n-ta].
first scissor-OBJ see-12 very sharp be-sub-3P-OBJ
'First we see whether (or not) the scissors are very sharp.'

Rika-nchi [millwa ata ka-sha-n-ta].
see-12 wool long be-sub-3P-OBJ
'We see whether the wool is long (or not).'

16.7.3. Nonfinite Embedded Questions

The verb rika- 'see' may occur with an embedded question which is not made finite by some subordinator. For example, in 1468 the verb in embedded question (kaykan 'it is') is not finite:

what-IND be-impfv-3 there-LOC see-dir-afar-2
'Go see what's there! (and come back)'

276 These "babies" are small loaves of bread made in the form of babies.
16.8. Third Person Questions

Third person questions ask the hearer about what someone else has said. A question word occurs in a quote expressing what the other person is alleged to have said. However, the question marker follows ni 'to say' that dominates the quote; e.g.:

"Pi-mi taqay" ni-n-taq noqa-paq?
who-dir that say-3-?? me-PUR

'Who does he say that I am?'
(lit. 'About me, he says "that(one) is who?"')

Note that such questions are not simply quoted questions, as in 1470:

"Pi-taq taqay" ni-n noqa-paq.
who-?? that say-3 me-PUR

'Who is that' he says about me.'

277 Carolyn Orr has written about this sort of question in 'WH-Questions in Ecuadorian Oriente Quichua' (manuscript).
17. NEGATION

This chapter purports to be a comprehensive survey of the major facts concerning negation for HgQ. Negative suffixes not discussed in this chapter are -ynaq and -ni (e.g. rika:ni-na-w 'as one who has not seen'); see sections 4.2.1.3 and 13.2.3. Negative questions are treated in section 16.6. Queries which indicate doubt (what I have called "dubitatives") are discussed in 16.1; they could equally well have been discussed in this chapter.

17.1. Basic Negation in Main Clauses

One way to negate an element is to precede it by mana 'not' and suffix -chu 'NEG' to it; e.g.:

Mana rura-shka-:chu.
not do-perf-1-NEG
'I did not do it.'

In virtually all cases mana 'not' occurs, but it may be omitted; e.g.:

Maya-shka-:chu.
sense-perf-1-NEG
'I didn't hear it.'

Instead of mana 'not', some negatives are formed with nunka 'never' (from Sp. nunca 'never'); e.g.:

armadillo-get (rodent)-get never get:up-sub-NEG be-SPERF
'He was never one to get up and go after armadillos and qopi's.'

And some use ni 'nor' (from Sp. ni 'nor'); e.g.:

Y suncha ni huknaylla-pis wañu-yku-n-chu.
as wasp nor just:one-even die-impact-3-NEG
'And not even one of the wasps died.'

ni may also be used in forming negative indefinite expressions: see below 17.8.

-chu often occurs on the negated element, i.e., the focal constituent, the one which the speaker assumes is primarily responsible for the falsity of that sentence. For example, in 1475 the negated element Hwan-paq (John-PUR) 'for John', is followed by chu 'NEG':

---

278 The only other comprehensive treatment of negation for a Quechua language is Weber and Weber's [42] study for San Martin Quechua.

279 As mentioned in footnote page 303, -chu is glosses 'YN?' in some cases and 'NEG' in others. This is not intended to mean that these are two different morphemes.

280 With causatives, the negative element is always the causative; i.e., the negation applies logically to the causation:

Mana geshya-chi-ku-n-chu.
not be:sick-caus-refl-3-NEG
'It doesn't make one sick.'
* 'It makes one not sick.'
Basic Negation in Main Clauses [17.1]

17.1.1. Negation with Compound Tenses

In compound tenses -chu ‘NEG’ attaches to the subordinate (non-auxiliary) verb: see example 1476 with the perfect tense and 1477 with a narrative past:

"Ya qara-sha-chu ka-nki tagay runa-ta?" ni-sha.
now feed-prtc-NEG be-2 that man-OBJ say-3PERF
"Y chawra "Mana, mana-m qara-sha-chu ka-:." ni-sha,
and then not not feed-prtc-NEG be-1 say-3PERF
"So have you fed that man?" he said.
Then "No, I haven’t fed that man" she said.

Kondor kada aywa-y-ni yaku puyũ-n-ta mana kach-ya-ku-q,
condor each go-inf-3P water jug-3P-OBJ not leave-impact-narpst
"Every time he went, the condor did not leave his water jug behind."

For examples with other compound tenses, see the respective sections of chapter 8.

17.1.2. Negation with ka- ‘be’

Recall (from section 3.1.1.2. page 26) that ka- ‘be’ may be used in various ways, among them a use predicational use and an existential use. Examples 1478-1480 show that -chu ‘NEG’ follows ka- ‘be’ when it is used existentially, i.e., to assert the existence of the subject, or in the case of negatives, its nonexistence:

Mana papa ka-ra-n-chu.
not potato be-past-3-NEG
'There were no potatoes.'

Mana-shi ima-si ka-ra-n-chu.
not-IND what-indef be-past-3-NEG
'There wasn’t anything.'

Mana ka-chi-:-chu.
not be-caus-1-NEG
'I don’t have any more left.'

Normally, -chu ‘NEG’ does not occur following ka- ‘be’ when it is use predicationally, i.e., when it has a substantive as complement which is predicated of the subject. For example, in 1481 hauin ‘big’ (a substantive) is the complement of ka- ‘be’: hauin ‘big’ is predicated of the subject:
Negation with ka-‘be’ [17.1.2]

   not big be-past-3-NEG
b. Mana hatun-chu ka-ra-n.
   not big-NEG be-past-3
b. ‘He wasn’t big.’

However, -chu ‘NEG’ does occur on ka-‘be’ used predicationally in negative commands. E.g., in example 1482 the substantive upa ‘fool. deaf’ is predicative of the subject: 281

Ama upa ka-y-chu qam! Aywa-ku-shun noqa-wan...
not fool be-2IMP-NEG you go-refl-12IMP me-COM

‘Don’t be a fool! Come along with me...’

It also occurs on ka-‘be’ in the future tense. 282 Consider 1483: in the past tense (1483a) it is preferable to have -chu ‘NEG’ on the the predicate substantive (kaykashanaw) whereas in the future tense (1483b) it is preferred on ka-‘be’:

   not now be-impfv-sub-3p-sim-NEG be-past-3
   not-dIR be-2fut-fut-NEG today be-impfv-sub-2p-sim-top
a. ‘It was not like it is today.’
b. ‘You will not be like you are now.’

Why should -chu ‘NEG’ occur on the substantive when ka-‘be’ is used predicationally rather than, as in existentials, on ka-‘be’? Perhaps because ka- is often absent in predicate substantives, but since -chu ‘NEG’ is attached to the substantive, it remains. For example, in example 1484, ka-‘be’ is not present in the second sentence, but -chu ‘NEG’ remains on dibuhu ‘its picture’:

...ka-yka-n bonitu dibuhu-yoq. Pero mana dibuhu-n-chu.
be impfv-3 pretty picture-have but not picture-3p-NEG

‘...it has a pretty picture. But it is not a picture.’
(followed by an explanation that it is a photograph)

17.1.3. Negative Commands

Prohibitions are formed by using ama as the negative word and putting -chu following the imperative suffix:

Ama aywa-y-chu!
not go-2imp-NEG

‘Do not go!’

281 In the following, whether -chu ‘NEG’ follows the predicate complement seems to depend on the position of mana ‘not’: I have no explanation for this.

   which-12p-indef guilty-have mana ka-nchi.
   be-12
   which-12p-indef not guilty-have-NEG ka-nchi.
   be-12
a.b. ‘None of us is guilty.’

282 Snow [34] (pg. 108, footnote 108) writes for Llamellín (Ancash) Quechua that "The negative suffix -tsu ...occurs on the verb ka- only as an existential negator. [italics mine. DJW]" This -tsu corresponds to HgQ -chu ‘NEG’. Example 1483b is a counter-example to Snow’s claim.
Negative Commands [17.1.3]

"Mana wanu-chun-chu.
Ama wanu-chun-chu.
not die-3IMP-NEG

'May he not die.'

Ama gonga-shun-chu.
not forget-12IMP-NEG

'Let's not forget it.'

Ama imay-pis yata-nki-chu kayta-ga!
not when-indef touch-2FUT-NEG this-OBJ-TOP

'Do not ever touch this!'

See also example 1482.

17.1.4. The Distribution of Negative Morphemes

17.1.4.1. The distribution of -chu 'NEG'

-chu 'NEG' follows the case markers and shading suffixes, e.g. in 1489 it follows the case markers -chaw 'LOC' and -naw 'SIM', and in 1490 it follows the shading suffixes -na 'now' and -pis 'indef':

\[ \text{Mana kay-chaw-naw-chu wasi} \ldots \text{huk-niraq.} \]
not here-LOC-SIM-NEG house one-SIM

'It is not like the houses here... it is different.'

\[ \ldots \text{ni arma-n-na-pis-chu.} \]
not bath-3-now-indef-NEG

'...they no longer bathe them at all.'

-chu 'NEG' and an evidential suffix (-mi, -shi, chi) do not co-occur on same word, but they (frequently!) co-occur in same sentence on different words; e.g.:

\[ \text{Mana-mi kama-ka-n-chu.} \]
not-DIR arrange-pass-3-NEG

'It is not fitting/just.'

-chu 'NEG' is systematically absent in the expression mana alli (not good) 'bad'. Thus, contrasts such as the following are possible, which differ only in the presence or absence of -chu 'NEG':

a. mana alli-ta rura-pa:-ma-sha.
not good-OBJ do-ben-=1-3PERF

b. mana alli-ta-chu rura-pa:-ma-sha.
not good-OBJ-NEG do-ben-=1-3PERF

a. 'He did bad to/by me.' (mana alli 'bad')
b. 'He did not do good to me.' (or '....well by me')

17.1.4.2. The position of mana 'not' and ama 'not'

It is overwhelmingly the case that when mana 'not' or ama 'not' and -chu 'NEG' occur in a negative sentence, mana or ama occurs to the left -chu. (Generally, what occurs between the negative word and -chu is the negated element.) Example 1493a is simply ungrammatical if mana 'not' follows rather than precedes -chu 'NEG':

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The position of \textit{mana} 'not' and \textit{ama} 'not' [17.1.4.2]

    want-perf-1-NEG not who-indef know-sub-3-OBJ

b. \textit{Mana} muna-shka-::chu p-i-pis mussy-na-n-ta.
    not want-perf-1-NEG who-indef know-sub-3-OBJ

b. 'I didn't want anyone to know.'

But there are cases in which \textit{mana} 'not' may follow -\textit{chu} 'NEG':

a. \textit{Mana}+ka-\textit{paq}-\textit{chu} mana-mi aywa-::.
    insignificant-PUR-NEG not-DIR go-1

b. \textit{Mana}-mi aywa-::chu mana+ka-\textit{paq}-qa pay-man.
    not-DIR go-1-NEG insignificant-PUR-TOP he-GOAL

a,b. 'I do not go in vain to him.'

Out of 130 examples from texts, 1495 and 1496 are the only two with \textit{mana} following rather than preceding -\textit{chu} 'NEG'; they both express an emphatic or "exasperated" negation. For example, 1495 was said in exasperation under the pressure of making a recording, after several false starts:

\textit{Mana} puydi-::chu! \textit{Rima}-::chu mana!
    not be:able-1-NEG speak-1-NEG not

'I can't do it! I can't speak!!'
(a flustered language helper in a recording session)

In the context preceding example 1496, a child is asked to climb up a high ladder; 1496 indicates that she did not climb it. Having \textit{mana} following -\textit{chu} seems to indicate that the child absolutely refused (although politely) to do so:

Chawra wicha-n-chu mana-shi wanra-qa.
    so climb-3-NEG not-IND child-TOP

'So the child refused to climb (up the ladder).'

Virtually all negative commands have \textit{ama} 'not' sentence initially. There are a few odd exceptions, among them 1497 and 1498:

Qam-pis \textit{ama} sunsu ka-y-\textit{chu}.
    you also not fool be-ZIMP-NEG

'Don't you be a fool also.'

\textit{Ama} mas-ta-qa, p-i-ta-pis \textit{ama} regi-chi-y-\textit{chu},
    not more-OBJ-TOP who-OBJ-indef not believe-caus-ZIMP-NEG

'No more, do not cause anyone else to believe.'

17.2. Negation in Subordinate Clauses

-\textit{chu} 'NEG' and -\textit{taq}+\textit{chu} 'NEG' do not occur in subordinate clauses. Negation is indicated simply by \textit{mana} 'not'; e.g. the underlined clauses in the following examples have negation in adverbial clauses:

\textit{Mana} ristbu ka-\textit{pti-n] agente mana panyun punku-ta
    not receipt be-adv-3P agent not cemetery door-OBJ

kicha-pa-n-chu aya-ta yayku-chi-na-n-paq.
    open-ben-3-NEG corpse-OBJ enter-caus-sub-3P-PUR

'If there isn't a receipt (from the justice) the agent
will not open the door of the cemetery for them, so that
they can take the corpse in.'
Negation in Subordinate Clauses [17.2]

...[warmi mana muna-r-qa] "mana-mi qam-wan tiyas--man-chu" ni-n.
woman not want-ADV TOP not-DIR you-COM live-1-COND-NEG say-3

"...if the woman doesn’t want (to marry him) she says.
"I would not live with you."

Chay palma ka-na-n bindisaaru.
that palm be-sub-3P blessed

not blessed be-ADV TOP not-IND good-NEG

'That palm should be blessed.
If it is not blessed, (they say that) it is not good.'

...hama-n ... [mana ima awturidaa-pis ka-ylla+pa].
rest-3 not what authority-indef be-ADV

"...they rest ... not being any authority.'

Cases in which a subordinate clause is negated must be distinguished from those in which a clause is negated which happens to have a subordinate clause within it: in the latter, -chu does occur, whereas in the negation of subordinates it does not. For example, in 1503 and 1504, the negated clause contains an adverb, in contrast to 1502 above, in which the adverb is negated:

mana wequ-y+pa puri--chu.
not limp-ADV walk-1-NEG

'I don’t walk limply.'

mana rachi-y+pa rachi-sha-chu.
not rip-ADV rip-3PERF-NEG

'It didn’t part tearing
(but had to be cut with something like scissors)'

Similarly, in examples 1505 and 1506, what is negated is the whole clause, which includes an infinitive.263

Chaky-pa noqa mana aywa-y-ta puysi--chu.
night-GEN I not go-inf-OBJ be:able-1-NEG

' I am not able to go at night.'

...mana karga apy-y-ta-pis puysts-n-chu.
not cargo take-inf-OBJ-indef be:able-3-NEG

'...he is not able to take cargo.'

17.3. Negation with Genitive Construction

The genitive construction is described in section 12.3.1. When preceded by mana ‘not’ and followed by -chu ‘NEG’ the negated element could be interpreted as either the possessor or the possessed. For example, 1507 could be used to negate either Hwan ‘John’ or wasi ‘house’:

Mana Hwan-pa wasi-n-chu
not John-GEN house-3P-NEG

'not John’s house' or 'not John’s house'

However, there are ways to focus the negation on either the possessor or on the possessed element. Examples 1508 and 1509 focus the negation on the possessed by putting mana ‘no’ directly before it:

As in 1506. ‘pis ‘indef’ occurs on the infinitive: this may be a mechanism for focusing the negation on the infinitive.

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Negation with Genitive Construction [17.3]

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Negation with -raq 'yet', -na 'now' and -pis 'even' [17.4]

The combination -pis-chu (-even-NEG) indicates 'not even': e.g.: note the combination with -na 'now' to mean (roughly) 'no longer even':

Wakin... runa-kuna-qg mana-na arma-n-na-pis-chu pasaye-pis!
other  man-plur-TOP not now bath=3-now-even-NEG really-even

'Other... men no longer even bathe them at all!'

17.5. The Neg-Purpose Construction

One way to negate a purpose clause is simply to put mana at the front of it. 284

... mana aywa-na-:-paq
not go-sub-1P-PUR

'...so that I won't go.'

There is another way, one which is surprising in that no overt negative marker is involved. It is formed simply by substantivizing the verb with -na 'irrealis substantive' followed by either -ta 'OBJ' or -pita 'ABL'. For example, 1521a has a simple purpose clause negated by mana 'not': 1521b is an example of the sort of the neg-purpose construction: 1521c shows that mana 'not' is not allowed in this construction:

a. Wata-shka-shu-nki mana qeshpi-na-yki-paq,
tie-perf=+2-2 not escape-sub-2P-PUR

b. Wata-shka-shu-nki qeshpi-na-yki-ta,
tie-perf=+2-2 escape-sub-2P-OBJ

c. *Wata-shka-shu-nki mana qeshpi-na-yki-ta,
tie-perf=+2-2 not escape-sub-2P-OBJ

a.b. 'He tied you so that you would not escape.'

One way to think about this sort of negated purpose is that it express a future possibility to be avoided, what in English would be expressed by 'lest...'. This is very consistent with the meaning of -na 'irrealis': i.e., the clause is understood as negative because -na 'irrealis' indicate that the event it refers to has not happened.

Examples follow (the first with -pita 'ABL' as the case marker of the negated clause, the rest with -ta 'OBJ'): the negated clause is underlined:

... maki-nchi-wan wału-chi-na-nchi:-pita-qa,
hand-12P-COM kill-caus-sub-12P-ABL-TOP

'lest we kill him with our own hands.'

... tamwa ushma-na-n-ta,
rain sop-sub-3P-OBJ

'...so the rain won't make it stopping wet.'

Pantalun-niki-ta hati-ku-y oasa:-shu-na-yki-ta,
pants-2P-OBJ put:on-refl-1IMP be:col=+2=sub-2P-OBJ

'Put your pants on so you will not be cold.'
(lit. 'so it will not be cold to you')

284 Of course, it lacks -chu 'NEG' because it is a subordinate clause, as discussed in section 17.2.

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The Neg-Purpose Construction [17.5]

...uywa-ku-ra-n... chapa-sha-lla wasi-n-na
raise-refl-past-3 confine-prtc-just house-3P-BEN

kuti-ku-na-n-ta.
return-refl-sub-3P-OBJ

...he raised them... imprisoned, so that she would
not return to her house.'

Rixcha-y... puñu-ka-sha-ta... tari-shu-na-vki-ta.
watch-ZIMP sleep-pass-prtc-OBJ find->z-sub-2P-OBJ

'Be alert... lest he find you having dozed off.'

It is possible to have double negation: e.g., in 1527 the mana 'not' negates the neg-purpose
construction:

Daana-ku-q-kuna mana rispita-na-n-ta puri-chi-n
damage-refl-sub-plur not respect-sub-3P-OBJ travel-caus-3

chay urdin-ta.
that order-OBJ

'They carry that order with them lest those who damage (the
 crops) not respect them.'

17.6. Negatives with -q-pis

The combination of the subordinator -q and -pis 'indef' indicate roughly 'without doing'.
(Note, these do not have -chu 'NEG' in them.) For example, see the underlined clauses of 1528 and
1529:

Chay warmi-ku-nuna mana kuti-n-chu wasi-n-man puñu-q-pis.
that woman-plur not return-3-NEG house-3P-NEG sleep-sub-def

'Those women do not return to their homes, not even to sleep.'

Liapan chari-naku-sha laguna-man hega-q-pis
all grab-recip-prtc take-GOAL fall-sub-indef

llqoshi-sha saanu-lla.
leave-3PERF healthy-just

'All of them, grabbing hold of one another, without falling
escaped healthy.'

17.7. Negation with -taq + chu 'NEG'

The combination of -taq '?' and -chu 'YN?' indicate a type negation which has greater
rhetorical force than other forms of negation and thus might be called "emphatic negation". This
type of negation is limited to main clauses: i.e., it is not used in any subordinate clauses. Examples
follow: -taq + chu is glossed simply as 'NEG':

[Footnotes:

285 In dialects which have separate forms for 'YN?' and 'NEG', this suffix is the 'YN?': e.g. in Marías (Dos de Mayo
Quechua) it is -taq = ku ('??-Y-?').

286 This type of negation probably originated from a rhetorical question by the ascendancy of the implication that the clause
is false: e.g. a sentence like 'Am I my brother's keeper?' has come to mean 'I am not my brother's keeper', which is, of course,
strongly implied by the rhetorical question.]
Negation with \textit{-taq+chu} ‘NEG’ [17.7]

Chawra Vog-taq+chu (mana) ni-ma-sha. Wawa-:-ta ni-sha...
so me-OBJ-NEG not say->1-3PERF child-IP-OBJ say-3PERF

'Well, he didn't say it to me. He said it to my child...'

To tell someone not to go:
Aywa-\textit{nkj}-\textit{taq+chu} (tamyta-ga)!
go-2-NEG rain-OBJ-TOP

'How could you think of going!' (because of the rain)

If someone yells from afar and you say what you think he said, I can disagree with you by saying:
Ni-mu-n-taq+chu chay-naw.
say-afar-3-NEG that-SIM

'He doesn't say that.'

Example 517 (page 130) contains several examples of \textit{ni-mu-n-taq+chu} (say-afar-3-NEG) ‘it doesn't sound’.

17.8. Negative Indefinite Expressions

Negative indefinite expressions are formed by:
1. a negative (\textit{mana} ‘not’. \textit{ni} ‘nor’ (from Sp. \textit{ni} ‘nor’). \textit{ama} ‘not (prohibition)’)
2. a substantive containing an interrogative words (\textit{pi} ‘who’. \textit{ima} ‘what’, etc.) and
3. \textit{pis~si} ‘indefinite’.

In the simplest case, the substantive is simply an interrogative word, perhaps followed by a case marker: e.g.:
\textit{ama pi...pis or mana pi...pis} ‘no one’: e.g.:
\textit{ama pi-ta-pis \textit{willa-pa-y-chu}}!
\textit{neg who-OBJ-indef tell-ben-3IMP-NEG}

'Don't tell anyone!'

\textit{mana ima...pis or ni ima...pis} ‘nothing’: e.g.:
\textit{Aqcha suwa mana ima-ta-pis malubra-n-chu.}
\textit{hair thief not what-OBJ-indef damage-3-NEG}

'The hair thief (an insect with very long legs, which gets tangled in dust) doesn't damage anything.'

\textit{mana imay...pis} ‘never’.

In some cases the interrogative-indefinite word modifies some other substantive; e.g.: \textit{mana ima manira-pis} (not what manner-indef) ‘in no way’. And in some cases the \textit{pis~si} is put at the end of the constituent containing the interrogative word;\textsuperscript{287} e.g.:
\textit{Y tinri wallka-lla mana ima-naw+pa waha-ku-y-ta-pis}
\textit{and tiger little-just not what-manner shield-refl-inf-OBJ-indef}
\textit{puydi-n-chu}
\textit{be:able-3-NEG}

'And the tiger was in no way able to shield himself, not even a little.'

\textsuperscript{287} This is the case for \textit{taq ‘?’} in content questions. see example 1435 and for \textit{pis ‘indef} in in embedded content questions. see example 1690.
18. CONJUNCTION

18.1. Conjunction of Substantives

Substantive phrases are conjoined in a number of ways. Probably the most common is simply to juxtapose the conjuncts, see section 18.1.1. Sometimes a suffix (-wan or -nita) occurs on one of the conjuncts to indicate the conjunction, see section 18.1.2. Another possibility, discussed in section 18.1.5, is to list the substantives followed by (usually) a number reflecting the number of elements in the list.

18.1.1. Juxtaposition of Substantives

The most common way to conjoin substantives is simply to juxtapose them: e.g., consider the underlined portions of the following:

...algay-wiskul miku-na-n-paq.
    hawk buzzard eat-sub-3P-PUR
    'for the hawks and buzzards to eat.'

Pay timpu-pita tapu-chi-n regidur-wan kampu-wan
he time-ABL ask-caus-3 rigidor-COM kampu-COM

tesureeru-ta mayurduumu-kuna-ta...
treasurer-OBJ majordomo-plur-OBJ

'He has the rigidor and the kampu ask the treasurer and the majordomos...'

(In example 1537, -wan 'COM' is not due to conjunction, but to causativization; see section 9.6.3.)

...rant-ta awrindi-ta achka-ta kuka-ta sigaaru-ta
    buy-3 fire:water-OBJ much-OBJ coca-OBJ cigarette-OBJ
    '...they buy a lot of firewater and coca and cigarettes'

...nir tiinti-ta ahenti-ta willa-n.
say-adv lieutenant-OBJ agent-OBJ tell-3
    '...saying he tells the lieutenant and the agent.'

...mana ashi-n-cho taayta-n-pita mama-c-pita...
    not seek-3-NEG father-3P-ABL mother-3P-ABL
    '...they don't seek (a wife) from their parent...'

...ima-man may-pa-pis .... kacha-ku-na-n-paq.
    what-GENAL where-GEN-indef send-refl-sub-3P-PUR
    '...to send after whatever and wherever...'

In example 1542 the possessed substantive of a genitive construction is conjoined:

...chay runa-pa uyska-n-man waaka-n-man aywa-sha.
    that man-GEN sheep-3P-GOAL cow-3P-GOAL go-3PERF
    'he went to that man's sheep and cows.'

In example 1543, two substantive phrases--each being a conjunction formed with -wan--are conjoined by juxtaposition:
Occasionally ᵃ ‘and’ or ᵇ ‘or’ intervene between the conjuncts (disjuncts) as an explicit coordinator:
e.g.:

```
ima-naw-pa-pis gellay-ta o ima-ta-pis simri
what-SIM-GEN indef money-OBJ or what-OBJ indef always
chura-chi-n.
place-caus-3

‘In some way or another they always make him put in money or whatever.’
```

```
listu-kuk-nki boxes kuku-ja ta sumaq fiinu-ta.
ready-refl 2 one block-OBJ and one axe-OBJ very fine-OBJ

‘Prepare a cutting block and a very sharp axe.’
```

```
y pachamanka-ja y hakapikanti-ja ripara-sha...
and earthpot-OBJ and guinea-pig-spicy-OBJ prepare-3PERF

‘And she prepared pachamanka and hakapikanti...’
```

```
...pinkulu-ja wan y tinya-jja wan tuka-re-wa-a-r.
...flute-3P-COM and drum-3P-COM play-stat-impfv-adv

‘...playing my flute and drum.’
```

```
...neru-ja muku-n-ja y hacha-pa wawa-ja-ta
wood-GEN seed-3P-OBJ and shrub-GEN offspring-3P-OBJ

miku-na-n-pa ashikka-sha-n-chaw...
eeat-sub-3P-PUR seek-impfv-3P-LOC

‘...while he was looking for the seeds of trees and the shoots of bushes to eat.’
```

18.1.2. Substantives Conjoined with -wan ‘COM’

Another mechanism for conjoining substantives is to put -wan ‘COM’ on one of the conjuncts. Semantically, it seems to make little or no difference whether conjunction by this mechanism, by juxtaposition, or with ᵃ between the conjuncts.

One conjunct may bear -wan, either preceding or following the other conjunct, or both conjuncts may bear -wan. There follow examples in which subjects are conjoined.\(^{288}\)

```
chay chura-sha-n gellay-ta shunta-n ahenti-wan tíñinti.
that put-sub-3P money-OBJ gather-3 agent-COM lieutenant

‘The agent and the lieutenant receive the money which is put in.’
```

\(^{288}\) 149 was first written ahenti-wan tíñinti and subsequently edited to tíñinti-wan ahenti. I have no idea why the editor felt it was better the conjuncts reversed, but I suspect that it may have to do with which is more thematic, that one being the better candidate for the -wan-less conjunct.
Substantives Conjoined with -wan 'COM' [18.1.2]

...chay-ta rura-n rihidur-wan kampu.
that-OBJ do-3 rigidur-COMP kampu
'the rigidor and the kampu do that.'

Rigidur-wan kampu chay-ta gasta-ku-n pullan pura.
rigidor-COMP kampo that-OBJ spend-refl-3 half among
'The rigidor and the kampu split the cost of that.
(i.e., they each pay an equal amount)

Kondor asendaadu-wan saapu margaano ... leeta-naku-n.
Condor hacendado-COMP frog townsman litigate-recip-3
'The hacienda owner condor and the townsman frog litigated
one with another.'

There follow some examples in which objects are conjoined:

...amhindo-ta wa'ata-ta-wan chachhu-pa-n aye-pa
holy-water-OBJ flower-OBJ-COMP sprinkle-ben-3 corpse-GEN
hana-n-man.
top-3P-CORAL
'...they sprinkle holy water and flowers on top of the corpse.'

(In example 1553, the object marker in upper case was not actually spoken, due to a process that suppresses like syllables at the ends of words, as in the case of /ta/ in -ta 'OBJ' next to the /ta/ of wa'ata 'flower'.)

...waku tipu-n-ta-wan papa wanu-ylla-ta runa-n-ta
water boil-3P-OBJ-COMP potato cook-inf-just-OBJ husband-3P-OBJ
gara-yku-sha.
feed-asPI-3PERF
'...she just fed her husband water soup and boiled potatoes.'
(after having prepared some lavish foods for her boyfriend)

In examples 1555 and 1556 the conjuncts occur discontinuously:

Pav-ta kacha-ra-n wakn runa-n-kuna-ta-wan...
he-OBJ send-past-3 other men-3P-plur-OBJ-COMP
'He sent him, along with the rest of his men...'

Pushu-ta lomismo muru-nchi hara-ta-wan iwal
beans-OBJ same plant-12 corn-OBJ-COMP together
'in the same way we plant beans along with the corn.'

In example 1557, there are two instances of substantives conjoined by -wan 'COM', and these are conjoined by juxtaposition. (The conjoined substantives are the possessor(s) of a genitive construction; the possessed is kustumri-n 'their custom'.)

[[Rigidur-pa alwasir-nin-pa-wan] [kamru-pa alwasir-nin-pa-wan]]
rigidor-GEN alguaci1-3P-GEN-COMP marshal-GEN alguaci1-3P-GEN-COMP
ka-n mas huk-pis kustumri-n rura-na-n-paq.
be-3 more other-even custom-3 do-sub-3P-PUR
'The rigidor and his alguaci1 as well as the marshal and his
alguaci1 have another custom to do.'

In 1558 the principle conjunct is not explicit. Note that some implicit object must be understood since the verb upu- 'drink' could not occur with kamcha 'toasted corn', as shown by the peculiarity of ??kamcha-ta upu-: 'I drink toasted corn.' But one ordinarily "drinks" breakfast, it most typically being soup.

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Substantives Conjoined with -wan 'COM' [18.1.2]

Kamcha-lia-ta-wan upu-..  1556
  toasted:corn-just-OBJ-COM drink-1

'I eat it (breakfast) with just toasted corn.'

In 1559 second -wan can be viewed as instrumental and the first as conjoining the substantives:

...awi-ku-n ... yaku-wan habun-nin-pa-wan
  rinse-refl-3 water-COM soap-3P-GEN-COM  1559

'...wash...with soap and water'

18.1.3. Substantives Conjoined with -ntin

Substantives may be conjoined with -ntin 'together' in much the way they are conjoined with -wan 'COM'. However, this is reserved for cases where the substantives are in some sense closely associated. Such conjunctions are discussed in section 4.2.1.13. An example follows:

...tabla-ntin yega-ku-mu-n muku-n pampa-man.
  plank-together fall-refl-afar-3 lamb-3 ground-GOAL  1660

'...the lamb falls to the ground together with the plank.'

18.1.4. The huk...huk or waki...waki- Mechanism

In English, conjoined noun phrases may be contrasted by using 'one...the other' e.g. One had beef and the other had ham, or by using 'some...the others' e.g. Some had beef and the others had ham. Such cases in Quechua would be formed by juxtaposing the two conjuncts: each conjunct would begin with huk289 with waki-POS 'other-POS'. huk would be used if the elements being contrasted were singular: wakin would be used if they are plural. (Because the second conjunct contrasts with the first, generally it ends with -qa 'TOP': see section 20.2.3.2.)

...arma-n wakin yaku-lla-wan wakin habun-nin-pa-wan...
  bathe-3 some water-just-COM other soap-3P-GEN-COM  1561

'...some bathe them just with water and others along with soap...

The conjuncts of 1562 are two groups which go to two different places. (Note that each conjunct is itself a conjunction formed with -wan 'COM' and the verb of the second is omitted.)

Huk-nin-man aywa-n rhidur mishru-n-nuna-wan waylas-nin-wan,
  one-3P-COM go-3 rigidor master-3P-plur-COM waylas-3P-COM  1562

huk-nin-man kampu mishru-n-nuna waylas-nin-wan,
  one-3P-GOAL kampu master-3P-COM waylas-3P-COM

'The rigidor goes to one (place) with her ministers and dancers, and the kampu to another with her ministers and dancers.'

18.1.5. List-and-Count Conjunction

It is possible to conjoin several elements by repeated juxtaposition, i.e., simply listing the elements as in examples 1563 and 1564:

---

289 possibly followed by a possessive suffix
List-and-Count Conjunction [18.1.5]

Ka-n tiinti ahenti fisbe-3 lieutenant agent judge

'There is a lieutenant, a marshal, and a judge.'

Chaya-n eskirbaanu-pa wasi-n-man, kapilla-pa wasi-n-man, arrive-3 scrivener-GEN house-3P-GOAL kapilla-GEN house-3P-GOAL

rhidur-pa wasi-n-man...rigidor-GEN house-3P-GOAL

'They arrive to the scrivener's house, to the kapilla's house, to the rigidor's house....'

It is common to follow such lists with a number indicating how many elements there were in the list:
e.g.:

...muku aywa-ku-n mancha-ri-sha mishi ishka-n.lamb go-refl-3 afraid-sud-3PERF cat two-3P

'the lamb, very frightened, and the cat leave.'

Wasi-::pita qarqu-::shamsha tivo-::mishi muku-::ishka-n.house-1P-ABL expel--->1-3PERF uncle-1P cat lamb-3P two-3P

'Uncle cat and his lamb drove me out of my house.'

Allgo y buurr y ishka-n-gsh; "aw aw" ni-paaku-n.dog and donkey two-3P-IND yes yes say-plural-3

'The dog and the donkey both agree.'

Rhidur-pa kampa-pa ishka-n-pa ka-n baara-n-kuna...rigidor-GEN kampa-GEN two-3P-GEN be-3 staff-3P-plur

'The rhidor and the kampa both have their staff of office....'

...puha-::tu Pedru-ta Jacobo-ta Juan-ta kimsa-::talead-past-3 Peter-OBJ James-OBJ John-OBJ three-3P-OBJ

'he leads off Peter, James and John.'

In some cases the "count" following such a list is not a number, but a generality like ima-pis (what-indef) 'whatever' or, as in 1570, llapan 'all':

Ka-sha kuka asukar awrinti sigarra llapan.be-3PERF coca sugar fire:water cigarette all

'There was coca, sugar, firewater, cigarettes, everything.'

And in some cases like 1571, llapan 'all' may precede the list:

Chaya-pita ka-q-ta-qa llapan-ta manda-::n eskirbaanu that-ABL be-sub-OBJ-TOP all-OBJ order-3P scrivener

regidur-ta kampa-ta sakistan-ta fiskal-ta.rigidor-OBJ kampa-OBJ sacristan-OBJ fiskal-OBJ

'Except for that one the scrivener orders (is the boss of) the rigidor, the kampa, the scrivener, and the fiscal.'

18.2. Conjunction of Main Verbs

Verbs are conjoined by simple juxtaposition: e.g.
Conjunction of Main Verbs [18.2]

Chawra-qa 1lapan kasta-n-kuna-wan alli pacla-n upva-n so-TOP all clan-3P-plur-COM good speak-3 drink-3

chagcha-n.
chew:coca-3

'Then with all her relatives they converse nicely, drink, and chew coca.'

Kiki::raq-mi warmi-ta watga-vku-shag, rika-vku-shag. self-1P-yet-DIR woman-OBJ spy-impact-1FUT see-impact-1FUT

'I myself will spy on the woman, I will see.'

As with substantives, y 'and' may intervene: e.g.:

Ni-yka-pi-lla-n-na oora chava-mu-n y paasa-n-na. say-impv-adv just-3P-now time arrive-afar-3 and pass-3-now

'As they are so doing, time comes and goes.'

Note the "x:" in the section 1575. At this point there is no pause whatsoever, and the pitch is sustained high.²⁹⁰ This supports the idea that this is a single sentence with a conjoined verb rather than two sentences.

Señor Yus::ta. geya-kuri: t maña-ku:; tuku:x.;
Lord God-OBJ call-refl-1 ask-refl-1 all

shongo::-pa chay-pita.
heart-1P-GEN that-ABL

'...I call and ask Lord God with all my heart because of that.'

18.3. Conjunction of Subordinate Clauses

Subordinate clauses are conjoined by juxtaposition.

18.3.1. Embedded Questions

Embedded questions are sketched in section 16.7.2, and discussed in greater detail in Weber [39], section 4.2.4.1. They are conjoined by simple juxtaposition: In the following examples, the conjuncts are bracketed:

...eskirbaanu-n-ta willa-n [uyshiiru-kuna rispita-sha-n-ta]
scrivener-3P-OBJ tell-3 shepherd-plur respect-sub-3P-OBJ

[mana rispita-sha-n-ta],
not respect-sub-3P-OBJ

'...he tells his scrivener whether the shepherds have obeyed him or not.'

...yupa-n eskirbaanu misirru-n-kuna-wan [ayka wawa count-ben-3 scrivener minister-3P-plur-COM how:many child
ka-sha-n-ta-pis] [ayka ima-n-kuna ka-sha-n-ta-pis],
be-sub-3P-OBJ-1def how:many what-3P-plur be-sub-3P-OBJ-1def

'...the scrivener and his ministers count how many babies (a piece of bread) there were and whatever else there was.'

²⁹⁰ 1575 is from an extemporaneous, tape-recorded speech. The raised "x:" indicates that the /y/ that it follows ends in a harsh, sustained velar fricition.
18.3.2. Infinitive Complements

Infinitive complements are conjoined simply by juxtaposing them: e.g.:

...buuru-shi hachin-ya-ta qalla-yku-n, allqu-shi
dooney-IND bray-bec-inf-OBJ begin-impact-3 dog-IND
ka'ni-y-ta swalla-y-ta, mish waqa-y-ta, gaallu kanta-y-ta,
bark-inf-OBJ howl-inf-OBJ cat cry-inf-OBJ rooster sing-inf-OBJ
...the donkey began to bray, the dog to bark and howl, the cat to
cry, and the rooster to crow.'

18.3.3. Conjunction of Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses are conjoined by simple juxtaposition. For example, 1581 and 1582 illustrate
the conjunction of (same-subject) adverbial clauses:

...dereechu-n-ta go-n kuka-ta awrindi-ta
right-3P-OBJ give-3 coca-OBJ firewater-OBJ
chay-ta upu-r chagcha-r uchku-na-n-pag]
that-OBJ drink-adv chew:coca-adv dig-sub-3P-PUR
...they offer them coca and firewater, so that they dig (the
grave) chewing and drinking it.'

Note that in 1581 the 'and' intervenes, but this is by no means necessary:

...[wasi-n-chaw chaychika qellay-ta goutu-ra-yka-q-ta
house-3P-LOC lots money-OBJ pile-STAT-IMPV-sub-OBJ
rika-r-y [ishkay muula-ta rika-r].
see-ADV and two mule-OBJ see-ADV
...seeing the money piled up in his house and seeing his two
mules.'

Common purpose clauses are conjoined by simple juxtaposition; e.g.:

...kacha-n [warmi-pa kasta-n-kune-ta shunta-mu-na-n-pag]
send-3 woman-GEN clan-3P-plur-OBJ gather-after-sub-3P-PUR
[1lapan chay-chaw parla-na-n-pag].
all that-LOC 'speak-sub-3P-PUR
...they send him to gather all the woman's relatives
so that they can discuss it there.'
I am not sure what the constituent relationships of 1584 really are; two good alternatives are in 1585. This is probably a case where the issue of "what goes with what" is trivial from a semantic point of view (one chews coca, smokes cigarettes, and drinks firewater) but difficult or perhaps impossible from a strictly formal syntactic point of view.

In example 1587 y 'and' intervenes:

"...so his wife would send money and remove him (from jail)."

Purpose motion clauses are conjoined by simple juxtaposition; e.g.:

"Your child went after achu and after qopi."

(An achu is an armadillo and a qopi is a small rodent.)

18.4. Sentential Conjunction

LINKS are words which occur (generally) as the first word of a non-initial sentence in a narrative. Links function as boundary markers between sentences, and indicate--to a very limited degree--the relation of the second sentence to the first.

The most meaningless of these is y (from Sp. y 'and'; not infrequently y precedes another link (e.g., y chaypita...). To some extent the Spanish conjunction y 'and' is being used as a sentential conjunctions: e.g.:
Sentential Conjunction [ 18.4 ]

[qam binsi-ma-r noqa-ta miku-ma-nki] y [noqa binsi-shpa-:
you beat—–>3-adv I-OBJ eat—–>1-2 and I beat-adv–1
qam-ta-pis usha-shayki],
you-OBJ indef finish—–>1—>2FUT
’If you beat me, you will eat me, and if I win, I will finish you off.’

The link which is most meaningful, i.e., the one which is least bleached of semantic content, is
manchaq ‘if not then’. manchaq-qa (otherwise-TOP) (pronounced [manchá-yal]) is derived from
mana chay-qa ‘not that.’ 292 Examples follow:

Sumaq watakushun; manchaq qespikunqa,
well let’s:tie:it otherwise it:will:escape
’Let’s will tie it tight; otherwise it would escape.’

Tuta-lla mishti-ta rimeeru wañu-chi-shun; manchaq-qa
morning-just cat-OBJ first die-caus-12FUT otherwise-TOP
aychu-nchi-ta usha-pae-may-shun,
meat-12F-OBJ finish-ben—–>1—>12FUT
’In the morning, first we will kill the cat; otherwise he will
finish up all our meat (to our detriment).’

The most common links are:
chawra(s) derived from chay oora(s) (that time) ‘at that time’.
chaypita actually chay-pita (there–ABL) ‘from/after that’, and
nirkur/nikur/niykur
from ni– ‘say’ and -r ‘adverbial clause, same subject’, with some intervening suffix
(sometimes -rku, sometimes -rqui, and sometimes -yki).

All three are glossed simply as ‘then’. Of the three, chawra is the most neutral. ‘Nirku’ thereupon (?) and
chaypita ‘after that (?)’ differ roughly in the time lapse indicated between the two events. nirkur
indicating a short lapse and chaypita indicating a potentially long lapse. (A consequence of this is
that chaypita frequently initiates new paragraphs whereas nirkur never does.)

manchuraq (from mana-chu–raq (not-dubitative)) may be used as a link meaning ‘perhaps’; e.g.:

Perhaps he-plur–also ask-refl–3FUT lord–12P-OBJ

Manchuraq yappa-chaku-nqa bendito señor Jesucristo.
Perhaps think–iter–3FUT blessed lord Jesus:Christ

’Perhaps they too will call on our Lord.
Perhaps he will believe the blessed Jesus Christ.’

18.5. Parenthetic Insertions
A sentence may occur as a PARENTHETIC insertion within another sentence. Examples
1593 and 1594 are examples from written discourse:

---

292 In Huamalies (Huánuco) the form is manasayqga, which is good evidence for the etymology suggested in the text. In
HgQ, -ga ‘TOP need not necessarily follow (although it usually does), but whether it does or not, the form is never now
manachay, but always manachaq.
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19. THE SUFFIXES -lla, -pis~si, -na and -raq

This chapter deals with the suffixes -lla 'just' (section 19.1), -pis~si 'indef' (section 19.2), -na 'now' (section 19.3), and -raq 'yet' (section 19.4).293 -na and -raq are temporally oriented while -lla and -pis have much more to do with the speaker's attitude toward what he is communicating. Section 19.5 contrasts -na 'now' and -raq 'still'. These suffixes have very wide distribution, occurring on substantives, verbs, adverbs, the negative words (mana and ama 'not'), and perhaps some other minor classes.294 They are post-transition suffixes, i.e., when occurring on a word that has a transition, they follow it.

I refer to these suffixes as "shading" suffixes because they add fine shades of meaning. But whereas many of the pre-transition suffixes add fine shades of meaning to the verb to which they are suffixed, these post-transition suffixes add shades of meanings which generally apply to the entire clause of which they are a part. They often figure in an important way in the formation of discourse (e.g., as by serving as important cues for time reference). For this reason, many of the examples given below are more than a single sentence.

19.1. -lla 'just'

This section deals with -lla, which will be glossed 'just'. Section 19.1.1.1 deals with the order of -lla relative to other morphemes, and section 19.1.2 discusses its uses.

19.1.1. The Order of -lla

This section deals with the order of -lla 'just' relative to other morphemes in the word. First to be considered are the cases where -lla occur with simple (i.e., not derived) substantives, particularly when these have a possessive suffix. Then we consider the order of -lla with substantives and adverbs which are derived from verbs.

19.1.1.1. With simple (possessed) substantives

The position of -lla 'just' with respect to other morphemes in a word is somewhat free. This is especially true of substantives; see section 7.2. When -lla 'just' occurs with a possessive person marker, it generally precedes it. For example, ?kiki-i-lla (self-1P-just) 'just myself', in which -lla follows the possessive suffix, sounds strange (although perhaps not entirely wrong). The correct way is kiki-lla-: (self-just-1P) 'just myself'. Likewise, Kiki-lla-yki (self-just-2P) 'just yourself' is preferable to ?kiki-ki-lla (self-2P-just).

In some cases, e.g., quite generally when -kuna 'plural' occurs in the word, -lla 'just' follows the possessive, the pluralizer, and the case marker. For example, in 1597a, it follows the possessive and

---

293 The glosses are intended as nothing more than suggestive.

294 The frequency with which these suffixes occur on different categories is somewhat skewed: -lla rarely follows a finite verb, -pis occasionally does, and -na and -raq frequently do.
the pluralizer, whereas in 1597b it precedes the possessive:295

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{a. Kiki-n-kuna-lla} \\
&\text{self-3P-plur-just} \\
&\text{b. Kiki-lla-n} \\
&\text{self-just-3P} \\
&\text{rika-chi-ku-sha,} \\
&\text{see-caus-refl-3PERF}
\end{align*}
\]

'They saw themselves.'

In 1598, -lla 'just' follows the case marker as well:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{qam-kuna-pita-lla} \\
&\text{you-plur-ABL-just} \\
&\text{'just from you (plural)'}
\end{align*}
\]

Example 1599 shows that -lla 'just' may not precede the case marker -yaq 'LIM':

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{a. chay-yaq-lla} \\
&\text{that-LIM-just} \\
&\text{b. *chay-lla-yaq} \\
&\text{that-just-LIM} \\
&\text{a. 'just to there'}
\end{align*}
\]

The possible positions of -lla 'just' with simple substantives are summarized in table 19-1

+----------+--------+--------+--------+
| -lla     | possessive | plural | case   |
+----------+--------+--------+--------+
| possessive | plural | case  |     |
| -lla     |
+----------+--------+--------+--------+

Table 19-1: THE POSITION OF -lla 'JUST' WITH SIMPLE SUBSTANTIVES

I believe that the order of -lla before a possessive suffix is the result of a reordering process, which I call the -LLA-POS SWITCH. Some reasons for believing this follow:

1. Some other dialects do not have this reordering: they place -lla somewhere following the possessive.

2. Even in HgO there are cases where -lla follows the possessive, as discussed above.

3. There is evidence of reordering from a consideration of -lla 'just' co-occurring with a possessive suffix on substantives which end in a consonant. Consider example 1600:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{a. kikish-ni-ki} \\
&\text{b. *kikish-ni-yki} \\
&\text{c. kikish-ni-lla-yki} \\
&\text{d. kikish-lla-yki} \\
&\text{e. *kikish-lla-ni-ki} \\
&\text{a.c.d. 'just your armpit'}
\end{align*}
\]

Recall that to be possessed, a substantive which ends in a consonant (such as kikish) requires -ni 'Ø' before the possessive to avoid an illegal consonant cluster; compare 19.1a and b. But when -lla 'just' occurs, -ni 'Ø' is optional: compare 19.1c and d. Note, 1600e shows that -lla 'just' may not precede -ni 'Ø'. The simplest explanation for 19.1c is that -ni 'Ø' results from kikish-2P-lla because 2P directly follows a consonant, and that subsequently -lla-POS Switch

\[295\text{In Huara Quechua it is possible to say } noqa-lla-kuna (1-just-plur) 'just ustexcl'. (An example is found in Pantoja [25], text 97, line 76.) In HgQ, this is unacceptable: -lla 'just' must follow -kuna 'plur': noqa-kuna-lla (1-plur-just) 'just ustexcl'.\]
Section 19.1.1.2 shows that -lla-POS Switch applies with subordinating transitions. Example 1601 shows that it may also apply to the final /n/ of -nni ‘superlative’, even though in section 4.2.1.12 this /n/ is claimed not to be a possessive suffix:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mas alli-} & \text{nni-}ll\text{a-n-ta} \quad \text{qo-ma-y.} \\
\text{more good-super-} & \text{just-3P-OBJ give->}1\text{-OBJ}
\end{align*}
\]

'Give me just the best ones.'
(i.e., to the exclusion of all but the best)

19.1.1.2. With subordinating transitions

As just seen, with simple substantives -lla 'just' precedes a possessive suffix. The same is true when the possessive is part of a substantivizing or adverbalizing transition: i.e., -lla-POS Switch applies even if the possessive suffix is part of a transition. (We might say that -lla 'invades' the transition.) Example 1602 shows this for a substantive formed with -sha and 1603 for an adverbial clause formed with -pti:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kacha-} & \text{yku-ma-}ll\text{a-n-chaw} \\
\text{leave-impact->}1\text{-SUB-just-3P-LOC}
\end{align*}
\]

'right where they left me'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{rika-ma-}pt\text{i-}ll\text{a-yki} \\
\text{see->}1\text{-ADV-just-2P}
\end{align*}
\]

b. \text{rika-ma-}pt\text{i-}ki-ll\text{a}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{see->}1\text{-ADV-2P-just}
\end{align*}
\]

'just when you see me'

Example 1604 shows that a certain amount of variation is possible when the case marker -naw 'SIM' occurs: in 1604a -lla 'just' follows the case marker whereas in 1604b it precedes the possessive suffix and case marker:

---

296 It must be assumed that 2P is spelled -yki subsequent to -lla-POS Switch, since otherwise ki would be the correct spelling after /i/.

297 It has been claimed that suffixes like -chun '3IMP' and -shayki '1→2FUT' are bi-morphemic, with morpheme divisions as follows:

- shun '12FUT'.
- chun '3IMP'.
- shayki '1→2FUT'.
- n-ki '2'.

(For example, see Sola [35].) However, -lla-POS-Switch does not apply (as would be expected)

1. /-chun-lla/ (-3IMP-just) does not become */-chu-lla-n/

2. /-shun-lla/ (-12FUT-just) does not become */-shu-lla-n/

3. /-shayki-lla/ (-1→2FUT-just) does not become */-sha-lla-yki/

Thus, these -chun, -shun and -shayki are really single morphemes in HgQ now. (Example i. contrasts with /-shayki-lla/ (-sub-2P-just), which does become /-sha-lla-yki/. And it is possible to say ayku-lla-shun (go-pol-12FUT) 'let's go', but this form contains the pre-transition -lla: 'polite' rather than -lla 'just'.

333
a. yarpa-sha-n-naw-lla-mi
   think-sub-3P-SIM-just-DIR

b. yarpa-sha-lla-n-naw-mi
   think-sub-just-3P-SIM-DIR

'just as he thinks'
(a. is fine; b. is acceptable but less so than a.)

-lla-POS Switch has been extended beyond just the possessive suffixes to also apply with -r'adv
(same subject): i.e. -lla 'just' precedes -r'adv (same subject'). Examples follow:

Kampana-ta tuka-lla-r-shi geya-ku-q,
bell-OBJ ring-just-adv-IND pass:time-refl-NRP

'He would spend his time ringing the bell.'

a. aywa-yka-lla-r
   go-impf-just-adv

b. *aywa-yka-r-lla
   go-impf-adv-just

a. 'as they were going along'

-lla follows all the other subordinators (~q 'sub'; ~j'inf. etc.298).

Table 19-2 summarizes the possible positions of -lla 'just' with a subordinator:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>object</th>
<th>subordinator</th>
<th>-lla</th>
<th>subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Table 19-2: THE POSITION OF -lla 'JUST' WITH A SUBORDINATOR

19.1.2. The Uses of -lla 'just'

The uses of -lla 'just' are discussed under the following headings:

- to mean 'exclusive of' (section 19.1.2.1).
- to mean 'precisely' (section 19.1.2.2).
- with time expressions (section 19.1.2.3).
- to indicate a small amount (section 19.1.2.4).
- to indicate meagerness (section 19.1.2.5).
- in adverbal clauses (section 19.1.2.6).
- to indicate politeness (section 19.1.2.7).
- in frozen forms (section 19.1.2.8).

19.1.2.1. -lla 'just' to mean 'exclusive of'

-lla 'just' may occur on a substantive to indicate that nothing more than its referent is involved
(in the action/event). That is, if v refers to Φ, then v-lla indicates 'only Φ' or 'Φ to the exclusion of
others'. For example, 1607 indicates that the grain is gathered up, but not the chaff:

298. -lla 'just' also follows ~q 'human' e.g. ishka-q-lla (two-human-just), not *ishka-lla-q (two-just-human), to say 'just two
(persons)'.

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-lla 'just' to mean 'exclusive of' [19.1.2.1]

Y shunta-nchi graa-n-lla-n-ta-na. and gather-12 grain-just-3P-OBJ-now

'And then we gather up only the grain.'

Buynu. uma-lla-n-ta kuchu-ku-ri-shun. all:right head-just-3P-OBJ cut-refl-punct-12IMP

'All right, let's cut off just its head.' (i.e., not any other parts)

In 1609. -lla indicates that the sponsor pays up to the limit of his ability to pay, but no more:

...aya-ta-pis gastu-n aypa:-na-n-paq
how:much-OBJ-indef expenditure-3P be:enough-sub-3P-PUR

ka-sha-lla-n-pita. paaga-y-ta aypa:-na-lla-n-paq.
be-sub-just-3P-ABL pay-inf-OBJ be:enough-sub-just-3P-PUR

'...just according to how much there is for him to spend, to be just enough to pay.'

Chawra alma-lla-na-shi keeda-ku-n.
so spirit-just-now-IND remain-refl-3

'So then just his spirit remained.' (i.e., he was freed from being a kondenassu)

Nawpa:- kulu-lla-ta mutu-nki.
side-1P stump-just-OBJ chop-2

'Just chop the stump which is beside me (and don't chop me).'

...raatu-lla sha-mu-shka-: nina-kooq-lla.
...moment-just come-afar-perf-1 fire-to-get-just

'I came must for a moment. just to get fire.'

Chay yayku-q-kuna-lla-wan parla-n rimmeu.
that enter-sub-plur-just-COM speak-3 first

'First they speak just with those who enter.' (Then later they speak with the others.)

...arma-n wakin yaku-lla-wan wakin habun-nin-pa-wan...
bathe-3 some water-just-COM some soap-3P-GEN-COM

'...some bathe them just with water. others along with soap....'

In the following examples. -lla 'just' occurs with kiki 'self' to indicate 'by one's self:

...arma-n kiki-lla-n arma-ku-y-te yacha-ku-na-n-paq.
bathe-3 self-just-3P bathe-refl-inf-OBJ know-refl-sub-3P-LIM

'...they bathe him until he is old enough to bathe himself.'

Kiki-lla-yki-kuna ka-ku-piti-ki-qa...
sel-just-2P-plur be-refl-adv-2P-TOP

'If you are just yourselves... (i.e., if you do not multiply)

In the following. -lla 'just' is used with a locative expression to mean 'just at that place', 'at that place and nowhere else':

Chay mutahai ka-n ranti-paq Pillku-lla-chaw.
that shroud be-3 buy-PUR Pillku-just-LOC

'There are those shrouds for sale just in Pillku.' (i.e., they are not stocked in the country stores)
"lla 'just' to mean 'exclusive of' [19.1.2.1]

Qam-kuna-lla ka-ku-y huk wasi-lla-chaw.
you-plur-just be-refl-2IMP one house-just-LOC

'You must be just in one house.' (i.e. it is all right
that only if you remain in a single household.)

When "lla 'just' follows hana 'top. above', the combination means 'just on the surface' or 'on the
surface and no deeper': e.g.:

Chay-ta hana-lla-n-pa kuchu-nchi...
that-OBJ top-just-3P-GEN cut-12

'We cut that on the surface...'

...qasha-y-ta qalla-yku-nchi hana qara-lla-n-ta...
slash-inf-OBJ begin-impact-12 above skin-just-3P-OBJ

'...we begin to slash it just on its surface...'

19.1.2.2. -"lla 'just' to mean 'precisely'

In some cases -"lla 'just' indicates precision or exactness. For example, in 1621 -"lla contributes
the notion that the stones are to be laid precisely:

Hiilu-lla-n-pa perqa-nchi rumi-ta.
string-just-along stack-12 stone-OBJ

'We lay the stones exactly along the string.'

Other examples follow:

Y chay-man punta-lla-n-man kwadra-chi-sha...
and that-GOAL ridge-just-3P-GOAL park-caus-3PERF

'And he had it parked precisely at the ridge (edge)....'
(so that when someone touched it, it went over the edge) ...

Mishru tuka-pti-lla-n eshta-n.
musician play-adv-just-3P lead-3

'Right when the musicians play, she leads them.'
(i.e., a woman leads some man into the circle)

...wasi-n sirka-n-man chay-r chay-lla-chaw kiira-ku-n...
house-3P vicinity-3P-GOAL arrive-adv that-just-LOC remain-refl-3

'...arriving in the vicinity of their house, they remain right there...
(i.e., they do not go any nearer)

...beela-wan achki-pa-n kara kanta-y-lla-n.
candle-DOM illuminate-ben-3 every sing-inf-just-3P

'he lights candles at every singing'

As used to indicate precision or exactness. -"lla 'just' co-occurs frequently with the case marker
"naw 'SIM' to mean 'just like that, precisely in that manner'; examples follow:

Chay-naw-lla-na usha-ri-nchi.
that-SIM-just-now finish-punct-12

'We finish it up just like that.'

Chay-naw-lla kanta-pa-n asta pampa-na-n-yag.
that-SIM-just sing-ben-3 until bury-sub-3P-LIM

'Hei, sings for him, just like that until they bury him.'
19.1.2.3. -lla ‘just’ with time expressions

Following expressions which indicate time, -lla ‘just’ seems to indicate precisely that time (so an instance of the use discussed in section 19.1.2.2). For example, in 1630 it indicates precisely at the moment when the first ray of sun is seen:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Y} & \text{ lalil-yu-n awo-tioa-ma-n hawin int1-lla}.
\text{and beat-impact-3 authority-GOAL eye-3P sun-just}
\end{align*}
\]

'And he beats him to the authority right at the first ray of sun.'

See also example 1735, page 351.

In other cases in which -lla ‘just’ occurs with time expressions, it is not so clear that it means ‘precisely at that time’; for example, in 1629, mas hunaq-lla 'later in the day' does not indicate a precise time:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Nog-a-ta} & \text{ tuta-lla wahu-chi-ma-n. Qam-ta mas hunaq-lla}
\text{1-OBJ} \text{ morning-just die-caus-} \Rightarrow 1-3 \text{ you-OBJ more day-just}
\end{align*}
\]

'pista-shu-nki.
slaughter-} \Rightarrow 2-2

'They kill me in the morning. They will kill a little later in the day.'

Other examples of time expressions with -lla ‘just’ follow: I leave it to the reader to judge to what extent these are instances of other categories of use of -lla.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Upu-yaka-sha-lla-n-chaw pashta-sha pacha-n.}
\text{drink-imperf-sub-just-3P-LOC burst-3PERF stomach-3}
\end{align*}
\]

'Right as he was drinking. His stomach burst.'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kay karnabal fiesta ashi-n simri killa usha-q-lla-ta...}
\text{this carnival fiesta search-3 always month finish-sub-just-OBJ}
\end{align*}
\]

'ldulu killa-lla-ta. Simri ashi-n domingu-lla-ta.
immature month-just-OBJ always search-3 Sunday-just-OBJ.

'(To have) this Carnival fiesta. they seek a waxing moon.
a new moon. They search just for a Sunday.'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Tuta-nnin-qa} & \text{ tuta-lla aysa-ku-n...}
\text{morning-super-TOP early-just go-refl-3}
\end{align*}
\]

'on the following morning. he left very early...'

-lla ‘just’ frequently occurs is chaka-y (be:dark-inf) ‘darkness, night’: some examples follow:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mas chaka-y-lla-man (more be:dark-inf-just-GOAL) ‘later that night’,}
\text{chaka-y-lla-na (be:dark-inf-just-now) ‘when it was now dark’,}
\text{chaka chaka-y-lla (be:dark be:dark-just) ‘in the twilight’,}
\text{chaka-y-lla-pa (be:dark-inf-just-GEN) ‘by night’,}
\text{ni-sha-n chaka-y-lla-chaw (say-sub-3P be:dark-inf-just-LOC) ‘on said night’.
}\end{align*}
\]

19.1.2.4. -lla ‘just’ to indicate a small amount

-lla frequently occurs with words which express smallness; this may be 'small' in various senses:

small in size, e.g.:
...ka-yak-an... huk rus pero mas taksha-lla. be-imfv-3 other cross but more small-just
...there is... another cross, but smaller.'

Ichik ramita-lla-ta upu-nchi końka-wan ichik-lla-ta tiny spring-just-OBJ drink-12 cognac-COM tiny-just-OBJ 'We drink (a tea made with) just a tiny sprig of it and cognac.'

small in intensity, e.g.:
Taksha-lla achki rata-yak-var mu-n karu-chaw. small-just light shine-imfv-afar-3 far-LOC
'A little light is shining off in the distance.'

small in quantity or number, e.g.
y okalito ichik pullan ramita-lla-an... and eucalyptus small half sprig-just-3P
'and a bit of eucalyptus, just half a sprig of it...'
wallka wallka-lla few few-just
'very few'
Chay tuka-q-kuna-pis ka-n waki-lla-n. that play-sub-plur-indef be-3 some-just-3P
'Those who play (music) are just a few.'

In this use, 'lla 'just' often occurs with a numeral to indicate a small number, e.g.:
...huk uma-lla-n-ta-shi chunka ishkay-ta yupa-pa-yku-n. one head-just-3P-OBJ-IND ten two-OBJ count-ben-impact-3
'He counts a single head twelve times.'
...hati-pa-n murtahi-ta huk kulur-lla-ta... put-on-ben-3 shroud-OBJ one color-OBJ-just-OBJ
'...they dress it in a shroud which has but a single color...'
...iseka-lla apa-n karma-wan. two-human-just take-3 stretcher-COM
'...just two persons take it on a stretcher.'
Ishkay-kaa-q pokku yacha-q-lla-pis ka-ku-n. two-def-TOP little know-sub-just-indef be-refl-3
'The other two can be ones who know less well.'

small in cost, e.g.:
...mas baratu-lla kubra-n more cheap-just charge-3
'...they charge less.'

small in length of time, e.g.:
Raatu-lla shamu-shka-. moment-just come-perf-1
'I came for just a moment.'

small in usefulness or effect, e.g.
-lla 'just' to indicate a small amount [19.1.2.4]

...yanga-lla-shi mutu-q tuku-n.
in:va'in-just-IND chop-sub pretend
'...he pretends to chop him, without effect.
(i.e., without really doing so)'

small in distance, e.g.:
...tuma-n hinan marka sirka-lla-n-pa.
go:about-3 just:that town near-just-3P-GEN
'...he circulates in the immediate vicinity of the town.'

han'a-lla-yki-chaw
above-just-2P-LOC
'just a little way above you (i.e., up the side of the
mountain)'

Interestingly, -lla may also occurs with haun-nin 'biggest'; the combination means 'somewhat smaller than the biggest'. (See example 1219c.) This is suggests with scalar expressions (big-little, hot-cold, etc.) -lla shifts the meaning toward the small end of the scale.

19.1.2.5. -lla 'just' to indicate meagerness

-lla 'just' may indicate the meagerness, humbleness, inadequacy, or simplicity. This use is very similar to that just discussed in section 19.1.2.4: the difference is that the cases discussed here more strongly suggest an evaluative viewpoint, i.e. small, meager, humble, etc. relative to some standard whereas the cases in section 19.1.2.4 indicate simply small in quantity, degree, etc. For example, 1648 does not mean that a small amount of kameha 'toasted corn' is eaten, but that it is humble food relative to bread:

...upu-:. pobre-qa, kamcha-lla-n-ta-wan.
drink-1 poor-TOP toasted:corn-just-3P-OBJ-COM
'...we drink it, being poor, just with toasted corn.'
(since we can not afford bread)

Other examples follow:

...qella ka-y-pita ... chay-lla-ta miku-n.
lazy be-inf-ABL that-just-OBJ eat-3
'...from being lazy ... they eat just that.'

Chawra-qa kucchu-lla-man-shi puñu-chi-n wamra-ta.
than-TOP corner-just-GOAL-IND sleep-caus-3 child-OBJ
'Then, they make the child sleep just in the corner.'

Kahun-niynaq-lla pampa-ku-pit-i-n...
coffin-without-just bury-refl-adv-3P
'If they bury him without a coffin...'

...yaku+impun-te-wan papa+yanyu-lla-ta
runa-n-ta qara-kyu-sha.
husband-3P feed-impact-3PERF
'...she fed her husband just water boil soup and potato cook
soup.' (These are regarded as very humble dishes.)
-lla 'just' to indicate meagerness [19.1.2.5]

Chay-lla-mi chakra-chaw-ga. Mihur pastilla...  
that-just-DIR rural:area-LOC-TOP better pills

'(We cure with) simply that (referring to herbs) in the rural areas. Pills are better...'

In example 1654, the -lla 'just' on chakipa 'on foot' indicates the meagerness of this mode of travel relative to the distance the speaker (a child) had to go:

Noqa chaki-lla-pa aywa-ku-shka-,: Pillku-kama.  
I foot-just-GEN go-refl-perf-i Pillku-LIM

'I went just on foot all the way to Pillku.'

Mana+kag papel-lla-n-wan-mi gaana-ma-sha...  
insignificant paper-just-3P-COM-DIR win-<1-3PERF

'He beat me just with his worthless document...'

Recall that a participle meaning 'without having' can be formed with -ni: see section 13.2.3. -lla 'just' frequently occurs with such participles, perhaps to emphasize the simplicity or inadequacy of not doing the action expressed in the participle. Examples follow:

Y chay-ga hara-wan iwal-lla-na poqo-n  
and that-TOP corn-COM together-just-now mature-3

urya:-ni-lla-na kaassi.  
cultivate-without-just-now almost

'And that matures together with the corn. almost without cultivation.'

Rika:-ni-lla eskribi-shka-:.  
see-without-just write-perf-1

'I wrote it without looking.'

19.1.2.6. -lla 'just' in adverbial clauses

-lla 'just' frequently co-occurs with the adverbializer -pa. either directly following a substantive as in chaki-lla-pa (foot-just-adv) 'on foot', or in the combination -y-lla-pa 'adv' e.g. qasha-y-lla-pa (slash-inf-just-adv) 'slashingly': these latter types are discussed in detail in section 14.4. As stated there, the presence or absence of -lla 'just' seems to make little or no appreciable difference in the meaning of -y(lla)pa.

-lla 'just' also occurs in adverbial clauses formed with the other adverbializers (-r, -pii, and -shpa). It co-occurs far more frequently with -r 'adv (same subject)' than with the others. I do not know exactly what -lla 'just' adds semantically to these adverbial clauses. All the co-occurrences of -r and -lla that I have seen can be interpreted as temporal adverbial clauses. Examples follow:

Atoq wasi-ta watqa-yku-lla-r-shi kuti-ku-n,  
fox house-OBJ spy-impact-just-adv-IND return-refl-3

'The fox, having spied on his house, returns.'

Tardi-ya-n aywa-yka:-lla-r-shi.  
late-bec-3 go-impfV-just-adv-IND

'As they are going along, it becomes late.'

Papa-ta miku-yka:-lla-r mas hatun-ya-n.  
potato-OBJ eat-impfV-just-adv more big-bec-3

'eating potato it grows (becomes bigger).'

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19.1.2.7. -lla ‘just’ to indicate politeness

Recall that the pre-transition suffix -lla: indicates politeness; see section 9.8.5. It seems that -lla ‘just’ is sometimes used this way, with the difference that it is used on substantives or adverbs rather than within verbs.\(^{299}\) In these cases, -lla ‘just’ often bears length; this suggests that this suffix is not -lla ‘just’ but -lla: ‘polite’. but this is problematic in that -lla: ‘polite’ is a pre-transition suffix whereas here -lla: occurs post-transitionally. Obviously, -lla: ‘just’ and -lla: ‘polite’ are very closely related: I will not attempt to decide whether they should be considered one suffix or two.\(^{300}\) Examples follow:

with questions, e.g.:

- Pi-lla-mi ka-nki?
  who-just-DIR be-2
  ‘Who are you?’

- Maya-lla-n-mi ka-nki?
  which-just-3P-DIR be-2
  ‘Which one of them are you?’
  (This would be used e.g. if you had known a group of brothers, and you meet one grown up and ask which brother he is.)

with negations, e.g.:

- Noqa-lla:-qa mana ne:-chu, maya-shka:-chu.
  I-just-TOP not do-1-NEG perceive-perf-1-NEG
  ‘I didn’t uh... I didn’t hear it.’

- Ma:na noqa-lla:-wi cha:-chu.
  not I-just climb-1-NEG
  ‘I won’t climb it.’
  (a child’s emphatic but polite refusal to climb a high ladder)

in formulaic expressions, e.g.:

- Kay-raq-mi mishki-lla-qal
  this-yet-DIR sweet-just-TOP
  ‘This is really tasty!’

- Noqa-lla:
  I-just
  ‘Just me’ (in response to 1662)

-lla occurs in the common forms of polite inquiry into another’s health (used in the greetings), e.g.:

\(^{299}\) I do not know to what extent the meaning of politeness is due to -lla ‘just’, or whether it would be better to say that -lla ‘just’ tends to occur on expressions of politeness.

\(^{300}\) This may be a question forced on us by our linguistic presuppositions, one which has little significance for the structure of the language.
-llə ‘just’ to indicate politeness [19.1.2.7]

a. Alli-llə-chu ka-yka-nki?
good-just-YN be-impf-v-2

b. Ima-naw-llə-taq ka-yka-nki?
what-SIMP-just-?? be-impf-v-2

c. Hawka-llə-chu?
happy-just-YN?
a.b.c. ‘How are you?’

19.1.2.8. -llə ‘just’ in frozen forms
The following are frozen forms which contain -llə ‘just’:

aypalla ‘a great many’, e.g.:
Ayppalla-ta qellay-ta tari-yku-shka:-
much-OBJ money-OBJ find-impact-perf-1
‘I found a lot of money.’

hapalla ‘alone’ is from hapa, which means ‘alone’, but is usually used in the sense of being unmarried.

huknaylla ‘just one’, e.g.:
Tiñinti ka-n huknaylla alwasir-nin.
lieutenant be-3 only-one alguacil-3P
‘The lieutenant has three alguaciles (subordinates in the fiesta administration)’

huklla ‘right away’, e.g.:
...usha-rku-pty-n huklla rukay-ta hurqu-mu-n.
finish-up-adv-3 right:away replacement-OBJ remove-sf-3
‘...right when they_i are finished, they_j bring out a replacement.’

hinalla ‘just that’, e.g.:
Y hinalla-ta apa-ku-n.
and just:that-OBJ take-refl-3
‘And he takes it just as it is (without even looking into it).’

...chay keeda-ku-sha hinallan-chaw.
that stay-refl-3PERF just:that-LOC
‘...that one stayed right there.’

hinaylla ‘just that way’, e.g.:
Pasa-ypa hinaylla-shi aywa-ku-n pullan munti-yaq.
pass-adv just:that way-IND go-refl-3 half forest-LIM
‘They really go on just that way until they are to the middle of the forest.’

19.2. -pis~ -si ‘even, also, indefinite’
In HgQ, -pis and -si are free (unconditioned) variants: wherever one may occur the other may equally well occur. In HgQ, -pis is overwhelmingly more frequent than -si. Neither co-occur (in the same word) with -qa ‘TOP’.

The uses of -pis~ -si are discussed under the following headings:
- with indefinite expressions (section 19.2.1).
- with embedded questions (section 19.2.2).
- with adversative adverbial clauses (section 19.2.3).
- meaning 'even, to the extent that' (section 19.2.4).
- terminating quantified expressions (section 19.2.5).
- with conjoined phrases (section 19.2.6).
- meaning 'also, in addition to' (section 19.2.7).
- simply as a marker of indefiniteness (section 19.2.8).

19.2.1. -pis ~ -si with Indefinite Expressions.

-pis~si 'indef' follows the interrogative/indefinite pronouns (pi 'who', ima 'what', may 'where' etc.; see section 4.1.6 to form indefinite expressions: e.g., from pi 'who' is formed pi-ta-pis (who-OBJ-indef) 'whomever'. Other examples follow:

Avka-ta-pis simri paaga-n kustumri-n-ta kumli-na-n-paq.
how-many-OBJ-indef always pay-3 custom-3P-OBJ fulfill-sub-3P-PUR

'No matter how much it is, they always pay it in order to fulfill their custom.'

...ima-man may-pa-pis muna-sha-n oora kacha-ku-na-n-paq.
what-GENAL where-GEN-indef want-sub-3P time send-refl-sub-3P-PUR

'...in order to send them wherever, after whatever, when they want.'

Pi: warni-wan-pis kasara-ya-ta muna-n.
who woman-COM-indef marry-inf-OBJ want-3

'He wants to marry any woman.'

(Note at what a distance -pis follows the interrogative word in example 1678: this is a single constituent.)

Pi: runa-na wanra-n hinash-paq-pis hutin-pa willa-n.
who man-GEN child-3P woman-PUR-indef name-GEN tell-3

'He tells the name of whoever's daughter it is.'

...simri kumli-chi-n ima aru-y-chaw-pis.
always fulfill-caus-3 what work-inf-LOC-indef

'...they always make him fulfill (his obligation to work for the community) in whatever work.'

...kiida-n duynu asta imay-va-pis.
remain-3 owner until when-LIM-indef

'...they remained the owners from then on' (lit. 'until whenever')

...apa-mu-sha imayka-te-si.
take-afar-3PERF things-OBJ-indef

'...he brought all sorts of things.'

Mav-ta aywa-r-pis yus-ninghi ayura-yka:-ma-nchi.
where-OBJ go-adv-OBJ God-12P help-impfv-->1-12

'Wherever we go, God is helping us.'

A subset of the indefinite expressions formed with WH...-pis~si are those which are negative (see section 17.8). Examples follow:
-pis~si with Indefinite Expressions.

`Mana ima-pis ka-pi-i n mas baraatu-ta kubre-n.`
not what-indef be-adv-3P more cheap-OBJ charge-3

'If he had nothing, he charges less.'

```
...pusha-ku-n mana pi-ta-pis willa-pa-y+lla+pa.
lead-refl-3 not who-OBJ-indef tell-be-adv
```

'...he leads her off telling no one.'

```
...mana ima-pis pishi-q.
not what-indef be:lacking-sub
```

'...without fail' (lit. '...nothing be lacking')

```
Y suncha pi buknevlla-pis wañu-ku-e-chu.
and wasp nor just:one-indef die-impact-3-NEG
```

'And not one of the wasps died.'

```
Ama ima-pis ni-y-chu.
not what-indef say-2IMP-NEG
```

'Don’t say anything.'

19.2.2. -pis~si with Embedded Questions

-pis~si ‘indef’ is used with an interrogative/indirect pronoun (pi ‘who’, ima ‘what’, may ‘where’ etc. (discussed in section 4.1.6) to form embedded questions (see 16.7.1): e.g. (where the embedded question is bracketed):

```
[ima-pis pishi-yka-sha-n-ta] willa-n.
what-indef be:lacking-impfv-sub-3P-OBJ tell-3
```

'They tell whatever is lacking.'

In such cases, -pis~si ‘indef’ generally occurs with the widest possible scope; that is, it is usually placed to the right of the largest constituent which contains the interrogative pronoun. For example, in 1689a, -pis occurs on ima (with the case marker intervening) but in 1689b it follows the whole clause containing ima:

a. `[ima ta-pis muna-sha-yki-ta] mana-lya`
   what-OBJ-indef want-sub-2P-OBJ ask→1-2IMP

b. `[ima ta muna-sha-yki-ta] pis mana-lya`
   what-OBJ want-sub-2P-OBJ -indef ask→1-2IMP

'Ask me for whatever it is that you want.'

Further examples:

Noqa musaha: `[imanir kanta-sha::ta-pis].`
I know-1 why sing-sub-1P-OBJ-indef

'I know why I sing.'

Chawra-qan parla-n chay awni-q runa-wan [mayqa-n-kaq so-TOP speak-3 that agree-sub man-COM which-3P-def]
mayurdomu-ta yayku-na-n-paq] pis.
majordomo-OBJ enter-sub-3P-PUR-indef

'So they speak with the man who has agreed about which one of them should enter as majordomo.'
...yupa-pa-n eski'baanu minisru-n-kuna-wan [ayka wawa count-ben scrivener minister-3P-plur-COM how:many child ka-sha-n-ta]-pis [ayka ima-n-kuna ka-sha-n-ta]-pis. be-sub-3P-OBJ- indef how:many thing-3P-plur be-sub-OBJ- indef '...the scrivener and his ministers count how many children there are and how many (other) things there are.' ...

[ima-naw-pa wanu-sha-n-ta]-pis sumaq musya-na-n-paq. what-adv die-sub-3P-OBJ- indef well know-sub-3P-PUR
'...in order to know precisely how he died.'

The embedded question may be of the non-subordinate type described in section 16.7.3 (and also in Weber [39], section 4.2.4.3.): e.g.: Paras-sha-yki runa-ta mana regi:-chu [pi-shi chay ka-ku-n]-pis. speak-sub-2P man-OBJ not know-1-NEG who-IND that be-refl-3- indef
'I don't know who that man is to whom you were speaking.'

19.2.3. *-pis ~ -si with Adversative Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses which express concession ('even though', 'although') or adversity ('in spite of') generally end with *-pis or -si. Examples follow:

Chawra-qa mana muna-n-chu [runa ashi-na-n-paq parla-pa-pti-n]-pis. So-TOP not want-3-NEG man seek-sub-3P-PUR speak-ben-3- indef
'So they refuse, even though the man implores them to seek (a wife for him).'

...miku-sha:- tearrri tuta [mana alli rima-sha ka-r]-pis. eat-perf-1 evening morning not good speak-prtc be-adv- indef...
'...I ate morning and night, in spite of the fact that they spoke bad (of me).'

[Chay-naw yayku-pti-n]-pis wakin runa-qa fyu man that-SJM enter-adv-3P- indef some man-TOP bad not alli-paq-qa parla-pa-n-chu. good-PUR-TOP speak-ben-3- NEG 'Even though they enter like that (in the proper way) some men speak to them badly.'

...[kiki-n tiininti]-pis chiki-ku-yka-r-pis self-3P lieutenant-indef hate-refl-impf-v-adv-indef rigi-ku-nqa kapas. believe-refl-3FUT perhaps.
'...perhaps even the lieutenant himself, although he hates, will believe.'

An adversative meaning is now limited to adverbial clauses; e.g. in example 1699 a substantive bearing -pis has this meaning:

Unchu-pa:ri-shun, pampa-lla-chaw-pis. squat-moment-1ZIMP ground-just-LOC-indef
'Let's squat down (to rest) momentarily, although it be just on the ground (since there isn't anything to sit on).'

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19.2.4. -pis~si 'even, to the extent that'

In some cases -pis~si 'inde' marks the exceptional degree to which some action was carried out or the exceptional number/kind of objects to which come action was directed. (This is somewhat like what, in English, we mean by 'even' or 'to the extent that'.) Examples follow:

imanir-taq ... kanta-nki ... kunka-yki-pis gasma-na-n-yag?
why-?? sing-2 neck-3P-indef be:raw-sub-3P-PUR

'Why do you sing to the extent that your throat is raw?'

...ima-paq-na-taq kawa-chi-shun-pis? ...waqyas-y-ta-pis
what-PUR-now-?? live-caus-12FUT-indef bark-inf-OBJ-indef

mana puydi-n-na-chu,
not be:able-3-now-NEG

'...for what purpose do we even let it live? ...he can no longer even bark.'

(Perhaps the first -pis in 1701 implies 'to the extent that we are so benevolent as to let it live'.)

Chay-chaw aycha-ta-pis miku-yka-n-chari.
there-LOC meat-OBJ-indef eat-imptv-3-surely

'They even eat meat there.'

Chay muku-n tinri-ta-pis wañu-chi-shal
that lamb-3P tiger-OBJ-indef die-caus-3PERF

'That lamb of his has even killed tigers!'

Chay warmi-kuna mana kuti-n-chu [wasi-n-man puñu-q]-pis.
that woman-plur not return-3-NEG house-3P-GOAL sleep-sub-indef

'Those women don't return to their homes, not even to sleep.'

In 1705, chay-pis introduces an adverbial clause, bringing to it a meaning (roughly) 'even at that':

kapas wats-chaw huk kuti arma-ku-n intereru kwepu-n-ta-qa
perhaps year-LOC one time bathe-refl-3 entire body-3P-OBJ-TOP

chay-pis yaku-ta aka-r1-ykU-chi-r.
that-indef water-OBJ heat-asp-cause-adv

'Perhaps they bathe their entire body once a year, and at that they heat the water.'

Wakin inuutil miraq runu-kuna-q qa mana-na arma-n-na-pis-chu
other useless similar man-plur-TOP not now bathe-3-now-indef-NEG

pasapapa-pis. Kiki-n-kuna-pis chay-kuna-qa mana
completely-indef self-3P-plur-indef that-plur-TOP not

arma-ku-n-chu pasapapa-pis.
bathe-refl-3-NEG completely-indef

'Some worthless-like people no longer bathe them at all. Those don't even bathe themselves!'

19.2.5. -pis~si Terminating Quantified Expressions

-pis~si may be used as the right boundary marker of quantified expressions; e.g.:

[kara uunu-n-pa tuku-q-nin-kuna]-pis shuyni ka-na-n.
each one-3P-GEN play-sub-3P-plur-indef apart be-sub-3P

'The musicians of each of them should be apart.'
-pis~si Terminating Quantified Expressions [19.2.5]

Alli buluntaa-qa parl-a-n [ishka-n-pa kasta-n-kuna]-pis.
   good will-GEN speak-3 two-3P-GEN clan-3P-plur-indef
   'The clans of both of them converse with good will.'

Pero [ishka-n]-pis ka-yka-n mushq lachapa-n hati-sha...
   but two-3P-indef be-1mpfv-3 new clothes-3P put-on-prtc
   'But both of them have put on their new clothes...'

[llapan mundu-chaw ka-q-kuna]-pis
   all world-LOC be-sub-plur-indef
   'all those in the world'

[Pullan-ta]-si mana rura-nchi:-raq-chu.
   half-OBJ indef not do-12-yet-NEG
   'We haven't yet done half.'

Ishkay-kag-q-pa [pooku yacha-q-llaa]-pis ka-ku-n.
   two-def-TOP little know:how-sub-just-indef be-refl-3
   'There are two who know less well how to do it.'

19.2.6. -pis~si with Conjoined Phrases

~ -si as right boundary marker")

-pis~si 'indef' sometimes occurs on the second of conjoined phrases. These may be simple substantives: e.g.:

Upukruy runa-pa yawar-nin-ta shuq-n chuspi-naw.
   (insect) man-GEN blood-3P-OBJ suck-3 mosquito-SIM

Wanka-pa-ta kawallu-pa-ta-pis chay-naw shuq-n.
   cow-GEN-OBJ horse-GEN-OBJ indef that-SIM suck-3
   'The upukruy sucks man's blood like a mosquito/fly.
   It also sucks that of the cow and horse.'

It sometimes occurs on both conjoined elements: e.g.:

Ollqu-pis warmi-pis. hunta chay kabildu-chaw-qa.
   men-indef women-indef full that chapel-LOC-TOP
   'The chapel is full of men and women.'

-pis or -si may occur following the second of conjoined subordinate clauses, particularly with alternatives as in the following examples:

[Tari-pi-n] [mana tari-pi-n]-pis pay-pa kwenta-n-chaw chay-qa.
   find-adv-3P not find-adv-3P-GEN account-3P-LOC that-TOP
   'Whether he finds them or not, that is his responsibility.'

...[saanu alll ka-yka-sha-n-ta] [uywa miku-sha
   healthy good be-1mpfv-sub-3P-OBJ animal eat-prtc
ka-yka-sha-n-ta]-pis rika-na-n-paq.
   be-1mpfv-sub-3P-OBJ-indef see-sub-3P-PUR
   '...to see whether they (the crops) are all right or whether
   they are being eaten by the animals.'

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Nirkur chay-chaw tapu-n chay asi-sha-n hipash-ta chay moosu-wan then that-LOC ask-3 that seek-sub-3P woman-OBJ that man-COM
rasunpa parla-sha ka-sha-n-ta mana parla-sha ka-sha-n-ta-pis really agree-prtc be-sub-3P-0BJ not agree-prtc be-sub-3P-0BJ
'Then, they ask that sought after young woman if she has really agreed (to marry) with that young man, or whether she hasn’t.'

19.2.7. -pis -si Meaning ‘also, in addition to’
-­-pis or -si occurs on the second of parallel elements, adding the idea that the second was also involved or affected in addition to the preceding element(s). For example: in 1718, the speaker asks how his brother gets rich, and then says that he too will become rich:
ima-naawapqa-rq riiku-ya-n pay? noqa-si riiku-ya-­shaq.
what-adv-?? rich-­bec-3 he I-indef rich-­bec-­1FUT
‘How does he become rich? I too will become rich.’

In example 1719, first, the chapel is said to have two doors, and then, that it also has windows (in addition to the two doors):
chay kapilla ishka-yoq. bentana-n-pis ishka kaya-n.
that chapel two door-have window-3P-indef two be-­impf-3
‘That chapel has two doors. There are two windows too.’

The text preceding example 1720 below reads:
..they put on the shroud... There are shrouds for sale in Huánuco. If they don’t buy it they sew it themselves from home-spun. Having cut it they put it on. They tie a cord about his waist.

In 1720, the -pis of the first sentence harkens back to the statement that there are shrouds for sale, saying that there are also cords for sale. The -pis of the second sentence harkens back to the statement that they can sew the shroud themselves, saying that they can also make a cord from palm fiber.301
chay kurdu-n-pis ka-n ranti-paq. mana ranti-r kiki-n-kuna
that cord-indef be-3 for:sale not buy-adv self-­3P-plur
chay-tu-pis rura-n palma-pita.
that-­OBJ-indef make-­3 palm-­ABL
‘There are those cords for sale. If they don’t buy it, they make it themselves from palm (fiber).’

Other examples follow:
wakin llqosh-sha saanu-lla.
some get:­out-­3PERF healthy-­just
noqa-pis llqosh-shka: saanu-lla.
I-indef get:­out-perf-1 healthy-­just
‘Some got out all right (from a truck that went off a bridge). I too got out all right.’

301 Note how much cohesion -pis adds to this text.
Chawra chay-chaw warmi-ta piñaku-n... then there-LOC woman-OBJ upbrai̇d-3
Ollu-kaq-ta-pis chay-naw piñaku-n... male-def-OBJ-indef that-SIM upbrai̇d-3
'They they upbrai̇d the woman...
They upbrai̇d the man too like that...'
Qam aywa-ku-pi-ti ki noqa-pis aywa-ku:: you go-refl-adv-2P I-indef go-refl-1
'If you go, I will go too.'

Both instances of -pis in 1724 occur on an adverbiales clause: thus one might expect that-as discussed in 19.2.3--they have an adverivative meaning. However, they do not. In the text from which it is drawn, the cantor's singing is mentioned repeatedly. The immediately preceding sentences say:

As they take him (the deceased) the cantor goes along singing, until they arrive at the chapel inside the cemetery. At that chapel he again sings for a long while. Then they take him to the hole to bury him.

Note that -pis occurs in both sentences of 1724 on the adverbiales clause, indicating that also on the occasion of the events indicated in theses adverbiales clauses, the cantor sings:

Chay-man apa-pi-ti-n-pis kantur-qa aywa-n kanta-ra-ya-ka-r. that-GOAL take-adv-3P-indef cantor-TOP go-3P sing-state-imperfect-adv
Uchku kantu-n-man chura-yku-r-pis yapay kanta-pa-n. hole edge-3P-GOAL place-impact-adv-indef again sing-ben-3
'Also as they take him, the cantor goes along singing. Also when they have put him beside the hole, the cantor again sings.'

19.2.8. -pis~ -si Simply as a Marker of Indefiniteness

-pis~ -si may be used simply as a marker of indefiniteness: e.g., in example 1725, allita-pis does not refer to any particular thing, but whatever good food might have been purchased in Huanuco:

Wanuku-pita ar-a-sha-nchi oora miku-nchi allita-pis. 1725
HuanucoABL take-sub-12P time eat-12 good-OBJ-indef
'When we take it from Huanuco, we eat good (foods).'

In example 1726, the people and the night referred to are indefinite:

Kumun runa-kuna-pis musya-n-na imay noochi community man-plur-indef know-3-now when night
ka-na-n-ta-pis. be-sub-3P-OBJ-indef
'The community people know what night that should be.'

(In example 1727, yanqalla is a predicate complement and arusha-pis is the subject.)

Yanqa-lla aru-sha:-pis. in:vain-just work-sub-1P-indef
'Whatever I worked was in vain.'
19.3. -na ‘now’

-na is glossed simply as ‘now’. In different contexts, -na is used to express what—in English—would be expressed with ‘already’, ‘at/by this time’, ‘by now’, ‘from this time on’, ‘this time in contrast to before’, ‘again’, ‘another time’... A good analogy for -na ‘now’ is that of a temporal pointer (which is why ‘at this point’ is a good gloss for -na in many contexts).

The uses of -na ‘now’ will be discussed under the following headings:
- meaning simply ‘now’ and ‘soon’ (section 19.3.1).
- with time expressions (section 19.3.2).
- meaning ‘right at that time’ (section 19.3.3).
- meaning ‘now—in contrast to before’ (section 19.3.4).
- meaning ‘already, previously’ (section 19.3.5).
- in procedural text (section 19.3.6).
- as an episode boundary (section 19.3.7).
- with background material (section 19.3.8. and
- a residue case (section 19.3.9).

19.3.1. -na Meaning Simply ‘now’ and ‘soon’

In many cases -na simply means ‘now, at the present time’: e.g.:

Aywa-ku-y-na. 1728
  go-refl-2IM Pf—now
  ‘Go right now.’

Aywa-ku-:na-mi. 1729
  go-refl-1—now-DIR
  ‘I am going now.’

Tari+pa-yka-n-na. 1730
  catch—up—to—IM Pf—3—now
  ‘She is catching up to him (in height)’

-na ‘now’ is used in reporting the time: e.g. lasdoosi-na (noon—now) ‘It is now 12:00 noon.’

When used with the future tense, -na may mean ‘soon, right away’: e.g.:

Miku-shun-paq-na. 1731
  eat—12FUR—fut—now
  ‘We are going to eat right away.’

Y uchu aqa-sha listu-na-shi ka-yka-n. 1732
  and pepper grind—prtc ready—now—IND be—IM Pf—3
  ‘And the ground pepper is ready now.’

Kanaan-na aqa-shaq-na nobilu-ta. 1733
  now-TOP take—1FUT—now ox—OBJ
  ‘I will take your ox now (right away).’

Mayna usha-yka-sha-nchi-na ka-ra-n. 1734
  already finish—IM Pf—perf—12—now be—past—3
  ‘We would already be finishing by now.’
19.3.2. -na with Time Expressions

-na 'now' is used on time expressions to establish a time frame in a discourse, or to reset the time frame. For example, a text about the fiestas in March begins with example 1735, which establishes the beginning time of the narrative:

Karnabal fiesta usha-sha-n-pita birnis-l1a-n-na
1735
carnival fiesta finish-sub-3P-ABL Friday-just-3P-now
qalla-yku-n rusyun.
begin-impact procession
‘Right on the first Friday after the end of Carnival, the procession begins.’

Examples 1736-1738 illustrate the time expression with -na resetting the time frame of a narrative:

Chawra-qa chakay-pa see-n-y usha-y-na-qa...
1736
they-TOP night-GEN eat:super-inf finish-inf-now-TOP
‘Then at night, after supper is finished...’

Tuta chaka-l1a-na-shi awkin-qa aywa-ku-n.
1737
early be:dark-just-now-IND old:man-TOP go-refl-3
‘Early, when it was still dark, the old man left.’

1738
that-SIM go:impfv-sub-3P-LOC late-be:prtc-now be:dark-prtc-now
‘As they are going along like that, it becomes late now.
It is now dark.’

The use of -na to reset a time frame of a narrative is particularly natural after chaypita 'then', which of then initiates a new paragraph (often having a new spatial and temporal setting): this is the case in 1739 and 1740:

Chay-naaw-l1a achka wata qoya-sha. Chay-pita oosu-pa
1739
that-SIM-just many year pass:time-3PERF that-ABL bear-GEN
wanra-n hatun-na-shi ka-sha.
child-3P big-now-IND be:3PERF
‘In that way many years passed. After that the bear’s child
was now big.’

...aywa-ku-n. Chay-pita chunya-q-pa-na-shi aywa-rka-yka-n...
1740
go-refl-3 that-ABL be:silent-sub-GEN-now-IND go-plur-impfv-3
‘...they go. After that, they are now going through
a deserted place...’
(Note: this further points to chaypita as a loose link,
see section 18.4.)

Aside from a particular use in narratives to establish or to reset the time of a narrative, -na

‘NOW’ often simply occurs on expressions of time, e.g.:
pacha wara-y-na (firmament dawn-inf-now) ‘at dawn’
mas pacha wara-y-man-na-qa (more firmament dawn-inf-GOAL-now-TOP) ‘along toward dawn’
lasdoosi-na (noon-now) ‘12:00 noon’
pullan pagas-na-qa (half night-now-TOP) ‘now at midnight’
naqa-na (long ago-now) ‘a long time ago’

An expression giving a length of time (e.g. a number of some unit of time) with -na means that
that length of time has passed:

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Kanan kasaatu tiya-- Llaakun-chaw kimsa wata-na.
now married live-1 Llaakun-LOC three year-now
'I have lived three years now in Llacon, married.'

19.3.3. -na Meaning ‘right at that time’
In some cases -na ‘NOW’ indicates the precise moment that something happened (thus indicating roughly ‘right at that time’): e.g.: 1742
...kaasi oosu-ta bensi-yka-p't-n-na-shi' gaallu kanta-rku-ra-n.
almost bear-OBJ conquer-impfv-adv-3P-now-IND rooster crow-asp-past-3
'...right when he was about to beat the bear, a rooster crowed.'

Ni-y-chaw-na "..." ni-shka:-
say-inf-LOC-now say-perf-1
'right upon encountering myself in that circumstance I said "..."'

In the bit of text given in example 1744, the -na on awkin indicates that ‘at this (point)’ the old man (who has been extremely loath to believe that his wife is having an affair) finally gets angry at seeing his wife and her lover together:302

a. ...ishka-n qaqa-sha.
two-3P be:parallel-prtc
old:man-now-IND be:angry-impfv-3 inside-just-GEN-TOP

that-yet-IND old:man be:angry-impfv-3
a. '...the two of them are together,' 1744
b. 'At that, the old man becomes angry, but just inside.'
c. 'Yet at that did the old man become angry.'

In 1745, after the frog and the condor agree to meet in the provincial capital (far off) the condor is pleased, assuming that he can beat the frog:

Chawra-qa kondor kushi-sha-na "Noqa aywa:-..."
so-TOP condor be:happy-prtc-now I go-1
'Then the condor was happy at this, thinking "I go ..."'

19.3.4. -na Meaning ‘now—in contrast to before’
-na ‘NOW’ may indicate one time in contrast to another, afore-mentioned time. For example, consider 1746. The text from which it is taken describes the roles of various village administrators. Just preceding 1746, it tells what happens if a shepherd is disrespectful to (or disobeys) the one who is responsible for the well-being of the crops. (The child is denounced and his parents are brought in to pay a fine.) The occurrences of -na indicated that this time, in contrast to the prior time, the child respects him, and does not talk back:

302 That -na occurs on awkin ‘man’ in example 1744 rather than on the verb, suggests that the semantic scope of -na is the whole clause, rather than just the verb or verb phrase, and that thus -na is free to migrate to the sentence initial element.
-na Meaning 'now'—in contrast to before [19.3.4]

Yapey tuma-pty-n  rispita-r-n-ja,
again go:about-adv-3P respect-3-now

Mana-nya ima-ta-pis  rima-pa-n-na-chu,
not-now what-OBJ indefinite speak-tot-3-now-NEG

'The next time he (the official) comes around, he obeys him.
He no longer talks back.'

Sometimes the contrast is with respect to a former condition that no longer holds. This is the

case with negatives:

...chaya-mu-na-n-paq  mana-nya ka-sha-na-chu.
arrive-afar-3P-PUR not-now be:3PERF-now-NEG

...by the time he arrived, he was no longer there.

The story of the four musicians begins with 1748:

Huk buurr-shi ka-ra-n  awkis mana karga-ta apa-y-ta  puydi-q-nya.
one donkey-IND be-past-3 old not cargo-OBJ take-temp-OBJ be:able-sub-now

'There was an old donkey, who was no longer able to carry cargo.'

Sometimes the contrast is 'from this time on' (in contrast to before): e.g.:

Chawara kuura-na-shi uywa-ku-sha oo-su-maillwa-ta.
So priest-now-IND raise-refl-3PERF bear-young-OBJ

'From this time on the priest raised the young bear.'

A text on bathing (see example 1852) describes the frequency of bathing children until they are
two years old, then contrasts how much they bathe them after this: note how -na occurs in the sense
of 'thereafter, now in contrast to the former case' :

From that time on, they no longer bathe (arma-n-na-chu bathe-3-now-NEG) them continually. Each week or so thereafter (karo samaana ima-lla-no each week what-just-now) they bathe them ... Some worthless-like people no longer bathe
them at all (mana-nya arma-n-na-pis-chu not-now bathe-3-now-indef-NEG).

Chawara alma-lla-na-sha  keeda-ka-n.
so spirit-just-now-prtc remain-refl-3

'From this time on he remained a spirit.'
(Previously he was a condemned spirit, a "condenado".)

19.3.5. -na Meaning ‘already, previously’

-na 'now' is frequent with participles and perfects. This is perhaps because these indicate a
previous event resulting in a state: the effect of -na with these is to indicate that the state now exists.
that the event which brought about that state had occurred earlier. Examples follow:

go-refl-prtc-now be:3PERF

'He had already gone.'

Aywe-shka:-kuna-na.
go-perf-11-now

'We(excl) have already gone.'

...pyla-chaw-na-shi wamra-ga pishta-sha-na.
pot-LOC-now-IND child-tot slaughter-prtc-now

'...the child is already in the pot, slaughtered.'
-na often occurs with participles borrowed from Spanish. 303

...wamra-: "bawtisa:-ru-na ka:-" ni-r yuri-mu-shqa.
    child-IP baptize-partc-now be-1 say-adv appear-afar-3PERF

'...my son appeared saying "I've been baptized"'

Pero saaposekreeto sumaq michi+pa-sha-na...
    But frog secretly well observe-3PERF-now

'But the frog had previously observed (his habits) carefully...'

The adverbiacl clause of example 1757 refers to a discussion with whoever has agreed to become the new eskirbaanu 'scrivener' about who should be the majordomo:

Chay parla-lia-r-na filih parla-n...
    that speak-just-adv-now definite speak-3

'Having now agreed to that, they agree definitely...'

Example 1758 is from a text on engagement practice. It is a clear case where -na means 'already/previously'; it describes one possible reaction a woman may have when a man proposes marriage:

Waki-n-pa-qa ka-n-na parla-sha-n runa pay-ta
    other-3P-GEN-TOP be-3-now speak-sub-3P man her-OBJ

ashi-na-n-paq. Chawra-qa chay hipash mana-na muna-n-na-chu...
    seek-sub-3P-PUR then-TOP that woman not-now want-3-now-NEG

'Others already have a man with whom they have agreed. For him to seek her. So that young woman doesn't want him to seek her...'

19.3.6. -na in Procedural Text

-na 'now' occurs with high frequency in some (not all) procedural texts. For example, a brief description (only about 165 words) of the construction of a house contains the following (which are not contiguous):

---

303 This is good evidence that the high frequency of co-occurrence of -na and the participles is due to semantic factors (we might say 'due to a harmony of meaning') rather than resulting from some morpho-syntactic requirements.
-na in Procedural Text [19.3.6]

a. ...sumaq kama-ka-rku-ri-na ...hana-n-pa ... tapya-nchi. 1759
b. ...chay-wan-na tapya-nchi.
c. ...tapa-y-ku-r-na-qa chura-nchi tiranti-ta. Altus-ta
   awe-na-n-paq-na tiranti.
d. ...altus punku-paq-na lunismo chura-nchi numral-kuna-ta.
e. ...largo qeru wasi-ta qata-na-paq-na pinku...
f. ...awa-nchi chaqilla-wan teeha-wan qata-na-paq-na.
g. Nerkur chay teeha-wan-na qata-nchi...
h. Nirkur ruri-n-ta-na reboka-nchi.
i. Chay numral chura-sha-nchi:-na oqti-rku-r...
   a. ...having prepared it well...on top of it...we pack earth.
   b. ...we pack earth with that.
   c. ...having packed the earth we place beams. The beams are for
      lay the second floor.
   d. ...in the same way we put in lintels for the second floor
      doors.
   e. ...the ridgepole is a long pole for roofing the house...
   f. ...we lay the roofing sticks in order to roof with tiles.
   g. Then we roof with those tiles...
   h. Then we surface the interior.
   i. Where we have previously placed the lintels, we dig out...

What can explain this very high frequency of -na in procedural text? In them, -na seems to be used
in the at the following points:
   - at the completion of an activity, see a. and i. (where it could be glossed 'already/previous')
   - at the acquisition of some material or tool (i.e., having something at/in hand to use), see b. and
   - at the next thing to be done, see c. d. e. f. and h. (where a gloss 'now' is entirely appropriate).

A brief description (only about 135 words) of the agricultural cycle contains the following
(which are not contiguous):

a. Chakma-rku-r-na nerkur hulyu agostu-na urya-nchi. 1760
b. ...wata-nnin muru-na-paq-na.
d. Y chay-qa hara-wan iwal-lla-na pogo-n urya-::ni-lla-na
e. Eera-chaw-na eera-nchi kawallu-wan.
f. Y shunta-nchi graanu-lla-n-ta-na.

a. Having broken the ground, then in July or August we plow.
b. ...in order to seed the next year.
c. Then we store them for the next year.
d. And (the beans) mature along with the corn almost without
cultivation. In the corn cultivation we cultivate the beans.
e. On the threshing floor we thresh it with horses.
f. And we gather up just the kernels.

The following example, while not procedural text, further illustrates -na 'now' to mark a series
of events. The story from which it comes contains very few occurrences of -na. At the climax of the text—the point at which the thief is scratched by the cat, bit by the dog, kicked by the donkey, and further frightened by the rooster—na occurs on each reference to the animals except the first (which bears -qa):

a. ... mishi qa ... raska-r usha-yku-n ... cat-TOP scratch-ADV finish-IMPACT-3

b. ... allqu-na-shi ... amu-ku-ruk-n. dog-NOW-IND bite-refl-ASP-3
c. ... buurru-na-shi ... hayta-yku-n ... donkey-NOW-IND kick-IMPACT-3
d. Gaallu-na-shi ... ni-yka:-mu-n ... rooster-NOW-IND say-IMPFV-AfAR-3

a. '... the cat ... scratches him severely ...'
b. '... then the dog ... bites him.'
c. '... then the dog ... kicks him ...'
d. 'Then the rooster ... is saying ...'

(In the gloss, then is intended to reflect -na's meaning 'and then the next thing that happened...'.)

19.3.7. -na as an Episode Boundary

-na 'now' may marker events in a sequence of events which are the most important. For example, in description of burial practice has extremely few -na's in sections describing the legal aspects (registering the death, how the deceased's goods are distributed to his heirs, etc.), and in sections describing the preparation of the body, and preparations for the wake. There are, however, three occurrences of -na near the end of the text, the first in the sentence indicating that the body is taken from the house to be buried (see 1762a), the second in the sentence indicating that it is taken to the cemetery (see 1762b), and the third in the sentence indicating that it is taken to the grave (see 1762c). -na is marking the principle events in advancing the body from the site of the wake to the grave:

304. There are three three large quotes which are rich in -na's, each dealing with the present fate of one of the animals. There are also the following, which are instances of resetting narrative time:

Mas mas aywa-yka-sha-n-chaw-na-shi tari-n... more more go-IMPFV-SUB-3P-LOC-NOW-IND find-3

'As they are now going on (and on), they find...'


'They arrive at the forest. The dog and the cat are now hungry.'

See "Burro, Allqu, Mishi y Gallo" in Cayco [4].
In the race of the fox and frog, there are three parallel episodes in which the fox calls to the frog and the frog answers from farther up the hill. In each case, clause reporting the frog’s position has -na on the locative phrase: see 1763a,b,d. 1763c reports the fox’s calling from the foot of the peak and 1763d. the frog’s answering.

19.3.8. -na and Background Material

Lodged in a description of engagement practice between (i) the description of a young man gathering his relatives and getting their approval of his intention to seek the hand of a particular young woman and (ii) the description of the relatives sending a delegation to represent the suitor to the father of the woman, there is a description of a bahaminu, a sort of liaison person. It begins with ‘There are some older respected men...': within this interruption is the following case of -na:

Chay runa musya-na-na ima-naw+pa warmi-pa tayta-n-man
that man know-3-now what-MAN woman-GEN father-3P-GOAL

chaya-na ka-sha-n-ta...
arrive-sub be-sub-3P-OBJ

‘That man knows how one should approach the woman’s father...’

The fox’s arriving behind the frog is reported with:

Qepa-n-ta-rag-shi chaya-n atoq.
back-3P-OBJ-yet-IND arrive-3P fox

‘The fox arrives behind him (yet some time after him).’

I suspect that this use of -rag is intended to contrast sharply with the repeated occurrences of -na in the preceding sentences.
1764 is a surprising example in that it is not a portion of the text with strong temporal orientation.\footnote{Perhaps -\( na \) is simply used as a marker that this is an event, to make it contrast with the explanatory material which surrounds it.}
The text returns to the sequence of events in the engagement procedure with 1765, beginning with the entry of the delegation to the woman's parents:

\begin{tabular}{ll}
Chay-pita yakyu-n balumintu-kuna-lla-ga & warmi-pa \\
that-ABL enter-3 representative-plur-just-now woman-GEN \\
tayta-n-man & mama-n-man. \\
father-3P-DOAL mother-3P-DOAL
\end{tabular}

'After that just the representatives go in to the woman's parents.'

This use of -\( na \) seems very natural: returning to the sequence of events of the engagement procedure.

In the following examples, -\( na \) is used to mark off background material. 1766a is background (which interrupts the sequence of activities); 1766b is the return to that sequence:

\begin{itemize}
\item[a.] Chay unay-qa eskirbaanu ashi-n-na alkaedeesa-ta rihiidora-ta \\
that ago-TOP scrivener seek-3-now mayorress-OBJ rigidora-OBJ
\begin{itemize}
\item[ruka-na-n-paq] wata-n chay ka-q-qa \\
change-sub-3P-PUR year-3 that be-sub-now do-sub-3-PUR
\end{itemize}
\item[b.] Mas tardin-qa-qaa yapay kumun yoora-ta saqta-chi-n.
more evening-TOP again community tree-OBJ topple-cause-3
\begin{itemize}
\item[a.] 'The past scrivener seeks (prior to this point in time) a mayorress and a rigidora to do it, in order to replace them, in order that they do it the next year.'
\item[b.] 'Later in the evening, the community again topples a tree.'
\end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

In a description of a fiesta, those people who assume special roles and responsibilities are the principle participants. In 1767a, which bears -\( na \), we learn that the women who have roles (the named ones) are brought together. There then follows a long passage describing the women, who they answer to, how they are dressed, what their privileges are, etc. Then in 1767b, which contains the next -\( na \), we return to the narration of the events in the fiesta. Clearly -\( na \) in 1767b helps re-establish the time frame which was left suspended after 1767a:\footnote{In 1767b, -\( na \) may also contrast their continually being together from that point on with their prior separateness.}

\begin{itemize}
\item[a.] ...kuti-r shunta-n mas huk numaaru-kuna-ta-na. \\
return-adv gather-3 more one named:ones-plur-OBJ-now
\begin{itemize}
\item[(AT THIS POINT THERE ARE 110 WORD EXPLANATION) \\
ABOUT WHO THE NAMED PERSONAGES ARE]
\end{itemize}
\item[b.] Chay-naw ilaapan shunta-ka-rku-r iwal-lla-na \\
that-SIM all gather-pass-asp-adv together-just-now
\begin{itemize}
\item[puri-n asta fiesta usha-na-n-kama. \\
walk-3 until fiesta finish-sub-3P-LIM
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[a.] '...returning they gather together the named ones 
(i.e., women who have titles in the fiesta).'
\item[b.] 'Having all congregated like that, they go about together 
(from then on) until the end of the fiesta.'
\end{itemize}
\end{itemize}
19.3.9. A Residue Case

I have no idea why -na is used in 1768:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lilapan kasta-n-kuna-wan parlaku-kyuu-r} & \quad \text{wamra-n-kuna-laa-na} \\
\text{all clan-3P-plur-COM speak-refl-impact-adv child-3P-plur-just-now} \\
\text{albasya-ta chura-ku-n} & \quad \text{Imyaka-ta-pis albasya-Gen} \\
\text{executor-OBJ place-refl-3 belongings-3P-OBJ-indef executor-GEN} \\
\text{Nawpa-n-man hurqa-mu-n} & \quad \text{Chay-ta fis-na raki-pa-n} \\
\text{front-3P-now remove-affar-3 that-OBJ judge-now divide-ben-3} \\
\text{lilapan-ta wai kama.} & \quad \text{Fis-na kiki-n-naw mayqa-n} \\
\text{all-3P-OBJ together respective judge-now self-3P-SIM which-3P} \\
\text{misato-ta rura-chi-na-n-paq-pis numra-n} & \quad \text{mass-3P-OBJ do-cause-sub-3P-PUR-indef name-3} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'Having spoken with all the relatives, just his (the deceased's) children now put an executor. They remove all his (the deceased's) belongings (and place them) in front of the executor. The judge now distributes these things to all respectively. The judge now names which of them are to have a mass said as himself(??).'  

19.4. -raq 'yet, still'

The basic meaning of -raq is roughly 'persisting until'. For example, 1769 could be roughly paraphrased as 'our obligation to work on the road is persisting until this moment':

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Aru-na-nch1-raq ka-yka-n karratera-ta-pis.} & \quad \text{work-sub-12P-yet be-impv-3 road-OBJ-indef} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'We still have to work the road.'

-raq has an allomorph -ran, but the latter is very rare in HgQ. When -ran occurs, it more than likely follows a third person suffix -n: e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{puu-yka-n-raq} & \quad \text{puu-yka-n-ran} \\
\text{sleep-impv-3-yet} & \quad \text{sleep-3P-yet} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'He is still sleeping.'

(Other examples are seen in 1775, 1776, and in 1788.)

The various uses of -raq 'yet' are discussed under the following headings:
- with time expressions (section 19.4.1).
- with negatives (section 19.4.2).
- with adverbial clauses (section 19.4.3).
- to indicate an extreme (section 19.4.4).
- with future verbs (section 19.4.5), and
- in frozen expressions (section 19.4.6).
(See also section 16.1 about -chu+raq 'dubitive'.)

\[\text{308 In some other dialects it is quite common.}\]

\[\text{309 In 1788, -ran follows -shun '12FLT': it may be that, for some speakers, -ran is used (as opposed to -raq) following any morpheme that ends in /n/}.\]
19.4.1. With Time Expressions

When -rag occurs on a time phrase, it indicates that the action/event referred to by that clause happened after the time denoted by the time phrase; e.g. in 1771 two months pass before “I” step on my ankle:

Ishkay killa-rag haru-shka:-.
  two month-yet step-perf-1

‘It was two months before I stepped on it
(a disjointed ankle).’

Allcha-ka-sha kilia-ta-rag.
fix-pass-3PERF month-OBJ-yet

‘He got well “yet” after a month.’
(i.e. He continued to be ill for a month. and then he got well.)

Pacha wargas-rag llogshi-shka:-. Llakun-pita.
firmament dawn-prtC-yet leave-perf-1 Llakon-ABL

‘I left Llackon “yet” when it had fully dawned.’
(i.e. I did not leave until it was fully light.)

Y hunaq-rag chaya-mu-shka:-. llapa:-.
and day-yet arrive-afar-perf-1 all-1P

‘And we all arrived “yet” by day.’ (We should have arrived
much earlier, but we did not arrive until it was day.)

The temporal expression may be an adverbial clause; e.g.:

Kay-man sha-mu-r-rag tari-nchi:-qa arrus o hwyduy.
here-3GOAL come-afar-adv-yet find-12-TOP rice or pasta

‘Not until we come here do we find rice or pasta.’

Or it may be a relative clause modifying a time word; e.g.:

Huwanuco-ABL take-sub-12P time-yet eat-12 good-OBJ-1nDEF

‘Not until we take it from Huwanuco do we eat good (food).’

If x is an expression for a length or time, then x-pita-rag (x-ABL-yet) indicates the time elapsed between two events; e.g.:

Adan-ta rura-sha-n-pita looku tamya tamya-ra-n
Adan-OBJ make-sub-3P-ABL loco rain rain-past-3

waranqa soqta pachak wata-pita-rag.
thousand six hundred year-ABL-yet

‘The torrential crazy rain came 1600 years after he made Adam.’

19.4.2. Negative and -rag

-rag occurs in negative expressions to indicate ‘not yet’. (These were discussed briefly in section 17.4.) For example.

Kay-chaw mana katshka:-:ra-n-chu noqa.
here-LOC not be-perf-1-yet-NEG I

‘I was not here yet (at that time).’

Pullan-ta-shi mana ruta-nchi:-:ra-n-chu.
half-OBJ-IND not do-12-yet-NEG

‘We haven’t yet done half.’
Ama(-rag) aywa-y-ram-chu. Ka-ku-yka:-shun-raq. not(-yet) go-ZIMP-yet-NEG be-refl-impfv-12FUT-yet
'Don't go yet. Let's be yet (awhile here together).'

It is often immaterial whether -rang 'yet' occurs on mana 'not' or on the verb, or on both: e.g. compare 1781a, where -rag follows mana 'not' and 1781b where it follows the verb:

a. Qam-kuna mana ra-cha-ram-chu musya-nki?
you-plur not-yet-NEG know-2

b. Qam-kuna mana -cha musya-nki-raq?
you-plur not neg know-2-yet

a,b. 'Don't you know yet?'

19.4.3. With Adverbial Clauses

When -rag occurs on a temporal adverbial clause, it means that the action/event described by that clause must occur before the action described by the superordinate clause.

Chaki-rku-pta-n-raq apa-mu-nki.
dry-asp-adv-3P-yet take-afar-2

'Bring it when it dries (and not any sooner).'

...dansa-n arpista bigulista tuka-pa-pta-n-raq.
dance-3 harpist violinist play-ben-adv-3P-yet

Mana tuka-pa-raq mana dansa-n-chu.
not play-adv-3P-TOP not dance-3-NEG

'...they dance when (and not until) the harpist and violinist play for them (and not before). If they do not play, they do not dance.'

...wakin-raq kasara-n achka wama-n-kuna ka-pta-n-raq.
others-TOP marry-3 many child-3P-plur be-adv-3P-yet

'...others get married after there are several children.'

Chay usha-ka-pta-n-raq kara+-unu-n wasi-n-man kama aywa-ku-n.
that finish-pass-adv-3P-yet each-one-3P house-3P-GOAL resp go-refl-3

'When that is finished (and not before) each one returns home.'

The combination of mana 'not' and -rag 'yet' can be used to mean 'before'.

Mana-raq sha-mu-rt arma-ku-y.
not-yet come-afar-adv bathe-refl-ZIMP

'Bathe before you come.'
(lit. 'Not yet coming. bathe.' )

1787a is an unusual example because the main clause bears -rag (relative to the adverbial clause). This is because the action it describes happens before the action described by the adverbial clause. This is clarified in 1787b.

---

310 If π refers to an event Π and φ refers to an event φ, then mana-raq π φ. (not-yet Π φ) may mean φ before Π', i.e. φ happens in the time period when Π has not yet happened. Thus, 1786 might be paraphrased 'Bathe in the time period when you have not yet come', i.e. '...before you come.'
19.4.4. -raq to Indicate an Extreme

-raq 'yet' may indicate that the action/event of the clause was an extreme measure, i.e., not carried out to an ordinary degree or applied to the ordinary objects. Examples follow:

Hatun akuridaa-chaw-raq-mi musye-ka-shun kapital-chaw-raq-mi. big authority-LOC-yet-DIR know-pass-12FUT capital-LOC-yet-DIR

'We will find out in the higher authority, in the capital.'
(and we won't find out any sooner)


'You must be lying! I myself now will spy on my wife.'
(kikinagmi implies that nothing short of the speaker's spying on his wife will determine the truth.)

Mehur-nin-ta-raq-shi waaru-li-yku-chi-n uysha-n-ta. good-super-OBJ-yet-IND die-asp-caus-3 sheep-3P-OBJ

'He killed the best of her sheep.' (i.e., nothing less than the best)

Qachwa-n-raq-shi kushiku-ylla-wan... dance-3-yet-IND be:happy-impfv-inf-just-Com

'They even danced in their happiness....'

Sasa-raq-shi hicha-yku-n awkin-qa. difficult-OBJ-yet-IND strike-impact-3 old:man-TOP

'With difficulty the old man strikes the match.'
(sasaonaghi implies that it was with considerable difficulty that the old man was able to manage striking a match.)

...wayu-chi-na-yki-raq sakar-raq-mi aru-nki... produce-caus-sub-2P-PUR suffer-adv-yet-DIR work-2

'...in order to cause it to produce you will have to work to the point of suffering.' (i.e., you won't be able to make it produce without working to the point of suffering)

Tariq-q-naw ka-qti-n mas-raq-shi koorri-yta qalla-yku-n. catch-sub-SIM be-adv-3P more-yet-IND run-inf-OBJ begin-impact-3

'When he was about to catch up, he began to run even more.'

19.4.5. With Future Verbs

-raq in a clause with a first person future verb indicates the speaker's intention/wish to do what is indicated by the clause. This is usually accompanied by a strong sense that the hearer expects the contrary. Examples follow:
19.4.6. Frozen Expressions with -raq

In the following cases -raq is frozen with chay 'that' into an expression, the meaning of which is not straightforwardly derived from the parts:

*chay-lla-raq* (that-just-yet) is a temporal adverb which means 'just a moment ago' or 'very very recently'.

*chay-raq-shi* (that-yet-IND) is a link which means (roughly) 'right then' 'still'.

*chaychawraq* is used to mean 'not until that point in time': e.g.:

\[
\text{Chay-chaw-raq musya-shka-...} \\
\text{that-LOC-yet know-perf-1}
\]

'It wasn't until that/there, that I knew...'

Other cases in which -raq seems to be frozen are:

*hinallarag* 'just like that': e.g.:

\[
\text{Yaku hina-lla-raq} \\
\text{like:that-just-yet press-stat-impfv-3 ground-OBJ}
\]

'The water still covered the ground like that.'

*gepa-n-ta-raq* (back-3P-OBJ-yet) is an adverb meaning (roughly) 'yet some time after'.

19.5. Contrast between -na and -raq

This section contrasts -na 'now' and -raq 'yet'. These have much in common: they have roughly the same formal distribution within the morpho-syntax and the meaning of both is basically temporal. Their meaning is, of course, different as can be seen clearly in examples like 1801:

   now not-yet go-2IMP-NEG

b. Kanan ama- na aywa-y-chu.
   now not-now go-2IMP-NEG

a. 'Don't go yet.' (i.e. go later)

b. 'Don't go now.' (i.e. give up the trip)
-na and -raq do not ordinarily co-occur in the same clause.311

*Ama-na aywa-y-raq-chu. (not-now go-2IMP-yet-NEG)
*Ama-raq aywa-y-na-chu. (not-yet go-2IMP-now-NEG)

-na 'now' and -raq 'yet' differ in that -na 'now' strongly implies a contrast to a former (past) state whereas -raq 'yet' implies a contrast to a subsequent (future) state. For example, consider the development of living things from a state of 'immaturity' to a state of 'old'. In HgQ, mailwa 'immature, young' represents an initial period in this development, and awkis 'old', the final stages. The interaction of these with -na and -raq shows the asymmetry in what -na and -raq imply. In 1803a, -na implies that the subject has finally become immature from some former state; but since there is no state prior to immaturity, 1803a is anomalous. 1803b is acceptable because something can continue to persist in the state of being immature:

a. *Mailwa-na-mi ka-yka-n. immature-now-DIR be-impfv-3
b. Mailwa-raq-mi ka-yka-n. immature-yet-DIR be-impfv-3

a. 'It is still immature.'
b. 'It is still immature.'

1804a is acceptable because one can finally become old from the prior condition of being immature. In 1804b, -raq implies that the subject persists in being old in anticipation of some subsequent state: but since there is no subsequent state to being old, 1804b is anomalous:

a. Awkis-na-mi ka-yka-n. old-now-DIR be-impfv-3
b. *Awkis-raq-mi ka-yka-n. old-yet-DIR be-impfv-3

a. 'It is now old.'

Consider the question in 1805, and the response to it in 1806. In 1805b, -raq is acceptable because the existence of potatoes is a state in which they may persist. In 1805a, -na is not acceptable because it implies that potatoes once persisted in not being; but they have to "be" in order to be in a state in which they can continue, i.e., non-existence is not a state in which they can be said to persist.

b. 'Do you still have potatoes?'

In 1806a -na is acceptable; the implication of a former state of existence is natural. In 1806b, -raq is not not acceptable because potatoes cannot be said to continue in the state of nonexistence.

311 There are cases like the following, in which -na and -raq co-occur in the same sentence but not in the same clause:
Awkin-na, peru mana-raq allaapa awkin-chu.
old-now but not-yet too old-NEG

'He is old now, but not yet real old.'

It would not surprise me to see cases in which -na and -raq co-occur in the same clause.
   not be-caus-1-now-NEG

   not be-caus-1-yet-NEG

c. 'I don't have any now (I had some but...)'
20. THE SUFFIX -qa 'TOP'

This chapter deals with the suffix -qa. This suffix is generally referred to as the "topic" marker, and will be will be glossed -qa 'TOP'. I will not seek a definitive solution to the very complex problem of specifying the use and distribution of -qa, but rather will seek to advance the study of -qa by exemplifying the range of cases in which -qa is used and will make some (admittedly very speculative) claims about what these uses have in common—presumably the reason for which -qa occurs. The primary goal is to make explicit various facts about -qa: this discussion is broken into two parts: syntactic facts (section 20.1 and pragmatic/semantic facts (section 20.2.3).

20.1. Syntactic Facts about -qa

In this section we will discuss various syntactic aspects of -qa. First we will discuss the syntactic categories with which -qa occurs. Second, we discuss the restriction of -qa to main clause constituents. Third, we see cases where more than one -qa per sentence occurs. Finally, we see how -qa and the evidential suffixes tend to bracket the initial constituents of a sentence.

20.1.1. Syntactic Categories with which -qa Occurs

There is little or no restriction on the occurrence of -qa in terms of the syntactic category to which it is suffixed: it occurs with elements of all the major syntactic categories.

Most frequent are occurrences on substantives: noun phrases, nouns, pronouns, nominalized clauses, adjectives..... Many examples of these appear below throughout the chapter; for example, in 1810 -qa occurs on an adjective. A case not otherwise illustrated below is the following, in which -qa occurs on an infinitive complement:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Noqapis\ munaa & rigiku-y-ta-qa} \\
\text{I:too & I:want believe-INF-OBJ-TOP} \\
\text{\textquoteleft I also want to believe.\textquoteright} & 1807
\end{align*}
\]

Very rarely -qa occurs on the main verb of a sentence, i.e., on a finite verb. The conditions under which this occurs are probably quite special. These cases are discussed below in section 20.2.3.8. It is suggested there that the occurrence of -qa on the main verb of a sentence is restricted to second references to the action suggested by that verb.

-qa occurs on adverbs, frequently on adverbial clauses (see 20.2.3.7) and occasionally on lexical adverbs. Example with lexical adverbs are seen in 1852h and in the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Washalaaman & kaylaaman & chutanchi & chankankunapita} \\
\text{to:that:side & to:this:side & we:pull:it by:its:feet} \\
\text{mana allaapa-qa,} & 1808 \\
\text{not much-TOP} \\
\text{\textquoteleft We stretch it between the two sides, pulling it by the feet,} \\
\text{but not pulling too hard.\textquoteright
}
\end{align*}
\]

-qa occurs on "links", the sentential conjunctions such as chawra 'then', chaypita 'thereafter', nirkur 'thereupon'... These are discussed in 20.2.3.5.

-qa does not occur on the negative words (mana, ama), nor on the conjunctions y 'and' and o 'or' which are borrowed from Spanish. Nor does it occur on interjections or on ideophones.
In conclusion, then, -qa occurs with elements of all the major syntactic categories (substantives, verbs, and adverbs). It does not occur with the negative words, interjections, and ideophones.

20.1.2. Restriction to Constituents of the Main Clause

-qa occurs only on constituents of the main clause: it does not occur within a subordinate clause, within a NP, etc. For example, consider the following:

a. Hatun wasi-ta muna-;
   big house-OBJ want-1

b. Hatun wasi-ta-ga muna-;
   big house-OBJ-TOP want

c. *Hatun-qa wasi-ta munaa.  
   big-TOP house-OBJ want-1

a.b. 'I want a big house.'

As seen in 1809b, -qa can be added to the entire object. It cannot be added to the adjective hatun 'big' in 1809c because hatun is not a main clause constituent.

However, there are mechanisms for making constituents which would otherwise not be constituents of the main clause into constituents of the main clause. For example, the adjective of 1808a might be moved outside of the NP in which it occurs—in which case it receives a copy of the case marker of the NP, in this case. -to OBJ—and then it can receive a -qa:

wasi-ta munaa hatun-ta-ga
   house-OBJ I:want big-OBJ-TOP

'I want a big house.'

Example 1811, from a folk tale, is like 1810: huknayllataqa 'just one' is a displaced modifier of kawallu 'horse':

mana munasha-chu kawallu-ta muntaku-y-ta huknaylla-ta-ga
   not he:want=NEG horse-OBJ mount-INF-OBJ only:one-OBJ-TOP

'He didn't want to mount just one horse.'

20.1.3. More than One -qa per Sentence

More than one -qa may occur per sentence. For example, consider 1812b, in which there are three occurrences of -qa:

312 This is fairly true across all Quechua languages. Inga (of Colombia) and San Martin Quechua are exceptional; they allow -qa to occur within subordinate clauses.

313 The text after example 1811 continues, 'So he made two horses stand by side... got on... One horse went up the hill and the other went down the hill, breaking his legs.'

314 I have given 1812a as context for 1812b because I think that the multiple occurrences of -qa in 1812b are due to the rather special context in which it occurs and the special role that it plays in that context. It maximizes the search for a man who is willing to assume the heavy responsibility of sponsoring the next year's fiesta. This involves plying potential candidates with considerable cane liquor to get their commitment.
20.1.4. Blocking and the Interaction with the Evidential Suffixes

-qa interacts (somehow!!) with the evidential suffixes -mi ‘direct/first hand information’, -shi ‘indirect/second hand information’, -chi ‘conjectural’. For example, only rarely does one see an evidential suffix and -qa co-occur on the same word. One of these rare exceptions is the following\(^{315}\) (from Levengood [19]:19):

\[
\text{Rason faltan-mi-ga,} \\
\text{really he lacks-DIR-TOP}
\]

'He really has need of one (a wife).'

Another evidence of the interaction of -qa and the evidential suffixes is that -qa occurs much less frequently and with more specific functions in discourse types in which there are no evidential suffixes. (More about that later.)

Peter Landerman (personal communication) has observed a strong tendency—that seems to obtain in a surprisingly wide range of dialects—toward the following possible patterns (where P, Q, R, S,... are constituents of the main clause and -mi ‘DIR’ is taken to represent an evidential suffix):

\[
P -mi Q R S .... \\
or  \\
P -qa Q -mi R S .... \\
or  \\
P -qa Q -ga R -mi S .... \\
or  \\
.....
\]

That is, -qa occurs on all the constituents of the main clause before on the constituent on which the evidential suffix occurs; we might say that -qa "bumps" the evidential suffix over to the next constituent.\(^{316}\) Examples follow:

---

\(^{315}\) Another such example is 1824. Note that the order of occurrence of -qa and the evidential suffix differ in these two examples.

\(^{316}\) -qa also does not co-occur with -pis ~ -si ‘even. also’: some of the “blocking” and “bumping” effect described for -qa may also be exhibited by these suffixes.
Blocking and the Interaction with the Evidential Suffixes [20.1.4]

[Chawra] [oosumallwa]-ga [runata]-ga
then young:bear-TOP men-TOP

[pampa intisya punku-man]-shi hitaryakamun hanaq
ground church door-GOAL-IND he:throws:them high

toorripita waqqaqpa...
tower:from that:they:die

'Then the young bear throws the men to the ground at the
door of the church from the high tower with the result
that they die...'

Chayshi [warmin]-ga [chayamur]-ga ["Ima..imata
then his:wife-TOP arriving-TOP what what
apamushkanki? Imata apamushkanki?" nq]-shi
you:brought What you:brought she:said-IND

[runata]-ga,
to:her:husband-TOP

'Then his wife, upon arriving, would ask her husband:
"What did you bring (me)? What did you bring (me)?"

The patterns of 1814 are more general than one might, at first, be led to believe. Three apparent exceptions can be accounted for:

First, there are discourse types in which no evidential suffixes occur; in these, -qa often occurs on the initial constituents before the one on which an evidential suffix would occur if the sentence occurred in a discourse type which required evidential suffixes. For example, if the following sentence had occurred in a discourse type which required an evidential suffix, that suffix would occur very naturally following parabin:

[Chawra]-ga [1]apu minisrukuna runakuna chaychaw kaq]-ga
then-TOP all ministers men there who:are-TOP

parabin nipaanun.
for:good they:say:to:him

'Then all the ministers and men who are there shake his
hand (lit. say "good").'

Similarly, in the following example the evidential suffix would occur naturally on quyaakun:

[Wakin runakuna]-ga [wama-ta ashishak kaqchaw]-ga
other men-TOP woman-OBJ search being:at-TOP

quyaakun upyraykar...
they:remain drinking

'Other men remain at the place where they are proposing
to the woman drinking...'

In the following example (from Pantoja [25], pg. 14, section 2:70) the evidential suffix would occur on hinaallanllachoona:

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317 This would result in hinaallacho ending in -nam = /-na-mi/ 'NOW-DIR', which is a very frequent combination in Huarraz (Ancash) Quechua text which is structured on temporal progression.
Second, even in discourse types which generally require an evidential suffix, there may be absences of the evidential suffix for entirely unrelated reasons. One discourse type which uses evidential suffixes in Huallaga Quechua is the folk tale. However, many sentences lack the appropriate evidential suffix (-shi 'IND'). This is due in part to the fact that these are told in the perfect tense (except when they switch to the historical present), the third person form of which is -sha. Seldom is -sha-shi '3PERF-IND' attested despite the fact that evidential suffixes occur on verbs in other tenses. The -shi is presumably lost following -sha because of apocope.

Third, cases in which some post-verbal constituent bears -qa should not be taken as evidence against the "bumping hypothesis". Post-verbal subject and object NP's almost always bear -qa (a fact reported in Coombs et al. [10] (pg. 147) for San Martin Quechua, but true also of Huallaga Quechua and probably a wide range of other dialects). For Inga (a Quechua language spoken in Colombia) Levinsohn [20] (pg. 30) suggests that ca, which is cognate with HgQ -qa 'TOP', occurs on post-verbal (thematic) elements because the evidential suffixes do not occur on any post-verbal element (a fact which also holds true for Huallaga Quechua with a few straightforward exceptions).

The pattern of 1814 has a good deal of utility in blocking a sentence into its main constituents; indeed, in some cases one wonders if this isn't the primary reason for the occurrence of -qa. In examples like 1817-1819 as well as the following, the parts of the sentence might not be clear to the hearer if he had not been given the explicit signals that he had reached the end of a constituent of the main clause. This is probably also true for cases like 1821 in which the pattern is not complete: 1821 lacks -qa on the third constituent of the main clause. (It is of no particular concern that the link chawra is without -qa in many of these cases.)

318 For example, in the following example -shi occurs on buurrů 'donkey', allqu 'dog', and gaallů 'rooster', and yet fails to occur on mishi 'cat' even though it is completely parallel to the others. The reason is simply that this dialect of Quechua (as most dialects) frequently apocopes like syllables at the ends of words:

Mana duyũn mayakaptin punukaykara-pi-shi
not owner hearing they:put:themselves:to:sleep

chay wasi-chaw buurrů-shi hawa punku pampa-man,
that house-LOC donkey-IND outside door ground-GOAL

allqu-shi punku yaykura-chaw, mishi-o tullpa
dog-IND door entrance-LOC cat stove

punku-chaw, y gaallů-shi wasi hana pinku-chaw.
door-LOC and \ rooster-IND house top ridgepole-LOC

'Because the owners were not heard, they put themselves to
sleep in that house, the donkey on the ground outside the door,
the dog in the doorway, the cat at the door of the stove, and
the rooster on top of the ridgepole of the house.'

319 I hypothesize for Junín Quechua, where folk tales are told in the simple past, that the "bumping pattern" would be more regular.
Chawra [runa]-qa [busburupa huk umanta hurquyky]-shi
so:TOP match's one its:head taking:out-IND

toopaykachin chay achikyayraykaqman.
he:matches:it that what:is:shining
'Then the man, having taken out a match, touches it to where
that was shining.'

Chawra [huk diya]-qa [awidkis osou ashipakq
then one day-IND old bear:search
amayakushankama] [wamran]-qa [laahata horqoriykur]-shi
while:he:was:gone his:son-IND stone removing-IND
pushakun mamanta maman tiyashan markapak.
he:leads his:mother his:mother lived town
'Then one day while the old bear had gone to scavenge, his son,
having removed the stone, leads his mother to the town in which
she had lived.'

The utility of -qa in conjunction with the evidential suffixes to block a sentence into
correspondents is not merely a "process of convenience". In some cases the occurrence of -qa has
semantic consequences. For example, in 1822 below the occurrence of -qa in cooperation with the
position of the 'not' limits the scope of negation to lldaran 'all'; without -qa this sentence would--I
suspect--be ambiguous between the meaning given below ('Not all women know how (to sing) that.')
and 'All women do not know how (to sing) that.' The disambiguation results because -qa indicates
that the first constituent is all that precedes it, which since it includes lldara, limits the scope of
negation to within that constituent.

Chay rusta apaptin birsupan. [Mama lldaran warmi]-qa
that cross taking they:sing not all women-IND

yachan-chu chay-ta.
they:NEG that-OBJ
'As they take the cross, they sing. Not all women know how
(to sing) that.'

In example 1823, the -qa following kutiptin blocks the preceding material as the first major
constituent. This is consistent with the same subject switch reference marking on the verb of the
embedded clause, whose verb is hitarykur, it cannot be directly superordinate to the main clause
because the respective subjects are not coreferential. But the clause whose verb is kutiptin, with
different subject marking, may be directly subordinate to the main clause, as the respective subjects
are different. Thus, taking the -qa following kutyiykur as the right boundary of the first major
constituent leads to exactly the structure dictated by the switch reference facts.320

Y [[chay mayurnarin hitarykyu-r] kuti-p1-t]-na ga
and that older:brother:throwing-adv(ss) return-adv(ss)-3P-IND

[chay sonso]-qa baaya wasinchawna uyshanwan
that stooge-3P (exclamation) in:his:house:now with:his:sheep
waakanwan puriykasha.
with:his:cows he:walked:about

'And after that, his older brother returned (from) having thrown
him over, that stooge (exclamation) was going about his house
with his sheep and his cows.'

320 A similar but more elaborate argument can be constructed for 1857.
Example 1855b is another case where the function of -qa has direct semantic significance as a result of constraining the constituent relations: its temporal clause tumyakashanchaw 'as he is going about' is not a constituent of the main clause, because if it were, it would mean that the rigidur whips the animal's owners as he is going about. Rather it is a constituent of the conditional adverbial clause: 'If--as he is going around--he finds animals eating the crops...'

In conclusion, it has been shown that there is a tendency for some number of occurrences of -qa and one occurrence of an evidential suffix to block a sentence into its main clause constituents. This may be a processing convenience which in some cases has semantic implications because of the restrictions placed on the grouping of the words into syntactic constituents. Let me hasten to add that this is only a tendency: many sentences have no -qa's, even some which seem ideal candidates for blocking. I believe that dialects, speakers, and discourse types vary considerably in the extent to which the patterns of 1814 have become norms. Where there is a strong set of norms, this undoubtedly deprives -qa of some of its pragmatic force. It is to these pragmatic uses of -qa that we will now turn our attention.

20.2. Pragmatic Facts about -qa

This section treats various pragmatic facts about -qa. As with many such "facts", they are often no more than tendencies, seldom capturable by formal rules. Nevertheless, any adequate treatment of -qa should account for them.

20.2.1. General Comments

-qa has sometimes been associated with "focus" and more often with "topic." I have chosen to stick with common practice, i.e. to use "topic"; however, I wish to emphasize that it is intended as an arbitrary label. Two ways that "topic" has been used are (i) to establish a (new) topic, and (ii) to continue a topic. -qa is never used to establish a new topic. It is used on elements which are highly topical (or "thematic") but, the most topical elements are referred to by zero anaphora. Some uses of -qa actually increase the salience of the constituent to which attached, i.e. brings it into focus: e.g. see 1811. This seems inconsistent with the idea that -qa marks topics. The discussion below will not center on the appropriateness of one label or another. Rather our purpose will be to document that -qa is a fundamental part of the system by which a speaker guides the attention of his hearer, and to explore how in which it does so.

-qa tends to occur on constituents which have been previously mentioned, alluded to, or part of "general knowledge". As with definite articles in English, reference in Quechua to some object "brings along" its parts and associates. For example, after referring to a bicycle, we can speak of the

321 See, for example, Phelps [29] and Woick [43].

322 Unfortunately, there has been a tendency to use these terms without fully explicit definitions. Others subsequently take the label for whatever it means to them. To some extent 'topic' is still poorly defined. Chafe [7] (pg. 55) suggests that it means something somewhat different from language to language.

323 Better labels might have been 'relevance' or 'theme'.

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handlebars'. Similarly, in the following example the anti-hero’s mother has not been previously mentioned; Nevertheless, maman ‘his mother’ may receive -qa because reference to the anti-hero has "brought along" his associates.

Chawra-qa "kanan-qa-chi kanan-lla then-TOP now-TOP-probably just:now maman-qa rimamanga. his:mother-TOP she:will:criticize:me old:man awkin..."

'Then, "Now, just now. his mother will criticize me, old man..."

In examples 1825 and 1826, runakuna 'men. people' receives -qa even though there is no previous mention of the people; this is because runakuna does not refer to a particular group of people, but rather to people in general, and (generic) "people" does not need previous mention to be part of the context:

Chawra 'Chay hukwan. Chay warmikita yangami then that:with:another that your:wife in:vain sirbinki nisha nisha huk you:serve they:said they:said other runakuna-qa rikaqinkuna-qa. men-TOP those:who:had:seen:them-TOP

'Then "That (your wife is) with another (man). In vain do you serve your wife." said various people who had seen them.'

'...Wankaman pituy kareas' ninishi runakuna-qa at:a:distance tie:it (expletive) they:say men-TOP

'...Tie it with plenty of rope (expletive)" people tell him.'

One might think that an evidential suffix occurs on the new information in a sentence, whereas -qa occurs on the old. But while it is true that -qa tends to occur on old information (with "old information" suitably defined to include things alluded to, generics, etc.), it is not true that the evidentials are restricted to new information. For example, in the following piece of text, the evidential -shi 'IND' occurs on uchu aqasha 'ground pepper' in the second sentence, despite the fact that it is the subject of the immediately preceding sentence:

a. Y uchu aqasha listune-shi kaykan. and hot:pepper ground ready:now-IND it:is
b. wanchaq-qa uchu aqasha-wan-shi atopqa qaran (bird)-TOP hot:pepper ground:COM-IND fox’s skin
kuchushaman laqtapaykun. to:where:cut he:smears:it

a. 'And the ground hot pepper was now ready.'

While there is a tendency for -qa to occur on old information, it would be too strong to say that -qa is restricted to old information. 324

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324 This was demonstrated by Levinsohn [20] for Inga of Colombia.
20.2.2. Variation in the Use of -qa

There are three sorts of variation in the use of -qa which, on the one hand, complicate making significant generalization about this suffix, and, on the other hand, themselves demand explanation.

First, there is variation in the use of -qa from dialect to dialect. This is, of course, not surprising. What is surprising is the extent to which -qa seems to be used in the same way across dialects, dialects which differ at least as much as Spanish and French. For example, the list of uses described in Coombs [10] for San Martin Quechua (a Quechua A dialect) and that described below for Huallaga Quechua (a Quechua B dialect) is remarkably similar. And much of what Levinsohn [20] describes for Inga (a Quechua A dialect) also holds for Huallaga Quechua. Of course, the actual similarities of the uses of -qa across dialects cannot be completely assessed at the present because there are not yet adequate descriptions of the uses of -qa for many dialects, but the impression one gets from the literature and from scanning texts from various dialects is that there are remarkable similarities. Such similarities across dialects leads one to believe that the function(s) of -qa are very coherent, possibly that there is but a single basic function (or "meaning") at the heart of the various uses of -qa. If this were not the case, i.e., if -qa were merely assigned as the marker of a rather arbitrary set of functions, then one would expect there to be much more variation between the dialects.

Second, there is variation in the use of -qa from speaker to speaker within a single dialect. In some cases this might be attributable to different styles: for example, a style which has a high frequency of post-verbal subjects and objects will have a high frequency of -qa’s because postverbal subjects and objects almost always bear -qa. There is reason to suspect that:

- A high frequency of -qa can be associated with "more animated" speech, i.e., speech which strives more vigorously to keep the hearers attention, and
- The frequency of -qa may be higher in the speech of women than in that of men, (a suggestion for which I have only a little data at present).

Evidence (admittedly anecdotal) for the former claim is a situation reported to me by David Coombs (personal communication): it seems that one of the dialects of Cajamarca has both a higher frequency of -qa’s and greater overall pitch variation in typical speech; this is pronounced enough that the speakers of this dialect are often characterized as "singing" their Quechua. But, of course, greater pitch variation is characteristic of more animated speech. So the correlation of frequency of -qa with the degree of animation is indirectly supported by their mutual correlation with greater pitch variation. If the frequency of -qa does correlate with degree of animatedness, then the second claim may be in part due to the greater degree of animatedness with which Quechua women speak as compared with men. 325

Some speaker-to-speaker variation is due to differing degree of competence in the use of -qa. This becomes more plausible if we consider what sort of competence is involved in using -qa. My feeling is that it involves "discourse competence" (or maybe, "pragmatic competence") and I assume that it is acquired at a much later stage than say, syntactic competence. It could be that some speakers never, in fact, become fully "discourse competent". The following experience led me rather strongly to the idea that there are speakers who possess full syntactic competence and yet have less than full discourse competence. In one dialect I checked a particular (computer-adapted) text with both a

325 That is my impression, at least.
young and an old man, both of which were bilingual and for whom Quechua was their native language. The young man had recently returned from Lima where he had been studying—in Spanish—for many years. In correcting the texts, this young man made more corrections of a discourse nature than did the old man. His corrections were almost always toward the basic patterns prescribed by the "bumping hypothesis" (1814). My guess is that this young man was discourse competent to the extent of knowing the basic patterns but lacked the competence to know how that pattern should/could be violated, much as the child who says "goed" rather than "went" because he knows the regularities of the English past tense but doesn’t know the exceptions.

Third, there is variation in the use of -qa from discourse type to discourse type within the speech of a single speaker. For example, both Phelps [29] for Ayacucho and the present author for Huallaga Quechua, have noticed that there are far fewer -qa’s per sentence in descriptive material than in folk tales. It is surprising that the variation from one type of discourse to another should be so similar for two dialects differing as much as Ayacucho and Huallaga Quechua. This further reinforces the conviction that -qa is not arbitrarily associated with some set of uses, but rather that there is some basic, coherent function for which it is the marker.

What might account for the different frequencies of -qa in different discourse types? In Huallaga Quechua, folk tales have an extremely high frequency of -qa. By contrast, personal narratives have a very low frequency of -qa. This is somewhat surprising since both discourse types share many characteristics: in both, the order in which events are told is the order of occurrence: in both, various participants may be involved, with the action shifting from participant to participant. However, there is an essential difference between folk tales and personal narratives to which the differences in the use of -qa might be attributed, namely that personal narratives have a "built-in" perspective whereas folk tales do not. Folk tales have more the character of theatre, where the spotlight must be focused on the various participants to bring the attention of the viewer first to one, then to another.

An interesting fact about the variations in the frequency and use of -qa from one discourse type to another has emerged from the study of two texts, one which explains the various roles of the administrators of the fiestas, the other a description of engagement practices. Both of these are basically expository texts, but in both there are portions embedded of other discourse types (such as procedural text within the expository text). In the embedded regions -qa has roughly the frequency and range of uses that it has in the corresponding non-embedded text of this type. For example, non-embedded procedural text has virtually no occurrences of -qa; this is also true of procedural text which is embedded in some other type of text. So clearly, the use of -qa is determined by fairly local considerations and not as a feature of the discourse as a whole.

A finally observation: -qa occurs in all discourse types in which evidential suffixes occur, i.e., if evidential suffixes occur, then -qa’s also occurs. (Some texts, e.g., procedural texts, have -qa but no evidentials.)

326 See Longacre [23] for a definition of these terms.
20.2.3. The Uses of 

This section treats various uses of 

-qa. The taxonomy used to present these uses is primarily an
expository convenience. No one should be led by it to thinking that 

-qa is simply arbitrarily
associated with this set of distinct functions, or to the conclusion that the examples presented are
strictly of one type and not of another. Like perhaps all functional taxonomies, there is considerable
overlap from one use to another, and a given example might reasonable fit in more than one category.
This is not unreasonable if, as seems likely, there is a single, basic function associated with 

-qa and the
differences which there appear to be (i.e. from a non-native perspective) are merely different
contextualizations of that basic function.

What exactly this basic function might be is unclear at present. I propose the following, which I
believe is a a step in the right direction toward an adequate characterization. (I readily admit that this
proposal does not resolve all the issues raised here.)

-qa occurs on the constituent(s) of a sentence which the speaker wishes to indicate as
that (those) which is (are) most responsible for that sentence being relevant to its context
(where by 'context' we mean the set of propositions which the speaker assumes the hearer
to know at the point at which he says the sentence).

The advantage of such a definition--some would see it as a disadvantage--is that it is rather vague; a
constituent can be responsible for the sentence in which it occurs being relevant to its context for
various reasons, such as pursuing the same topic, contrasting with something in the context,
presenting alternatives in the same role, bearing out some temporal or logical relationship, etc.. Some
of these relations of relevance may become conventionally associated with 

-qa, but which relations and
to what extent this has happened for even one dialect is an open question. It may be that in some
highly specific contexts a speaker can use 

-qa because he perceives a highly specialized,
unconventional, or novel relationship of relevance, one which he assumes would be correctly
interpreted by his hearer in that context.

The rest of this section will be organized under the following headings:
- relevance to context (see section 20.2.3.1).
- contrast (see section 20.2.3.2).
- -qa with negative assertions and yes/no questions (see section 20.2.3.3).
- alternatives (see section 20.2.3.4).
- -qa with sentential connectives (see section 20.2.3.5).
- resuming a topic (see section 20.2.3.6).
- -qa on adverbial clauses. (see section 20.2.3.7), and
- -qa on main verbs (see section 20.2.3.8).

20.2.3.1. -qa indicating relevance to context

The examples of this section are ones for which an element is marked with 

-qa simply because it
makes its sentence relevant to the context. The first three examples involve reported dialogue
(embedded in folk tales). In each case the first speaker initiates a topic which in the second speaker's
reply is tagged with 

-qa. The second speaker indicates by the use of 

-qa the constituent he regards as
making his response most appropriate in the context of the first speaker's lead. This exchange can
naturally result in the establishment of this constituent (or better said, its referent) as the "topic of
conversation".

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The following examples are from a text recorded from a woman who regularly brought medicinal herbs to the city of Huanuco to sell. The text was in answer to the question "What do you cure with in the "chakra" (rural areas)?" At four points in her reply we find chakra-chaw-qa (rural:area-LOC-TOP); this is because the chakra is what makes her reply relevant to the context established by the question that was asked. (One could also--less plausibly though--explain these as relevant because she is contrasting what is taken as remedy in the chakra with what is taken in the city, where the text was recorded: see 20.2.3.2.)

a. Chaylami chakra-chaw-qa rimidyu kurupaq...
   just:that chakra-LOC-TOP remedy for:worms...

b. Chaylami chakra-chaw-qa. Mihur pastilla y mihu...toonika.
   just:that chakra:LOC-TOP better pills and better tonic

c. Chaytami unpunki chakra-chaw-qa.
   just:that we:drink chakra-LOC-TOP

d. Chaykuwallawanmi noqakuna chakra-chaw-qa hampikoo.
   just:with:that we chakra:1OC:TOP we:cure
   Manam pastillata ni rantiichu...
   not pills nor we:do:not:buy

a. 'That is the only remedy we have in the chakra for worms...'

b. 'We have just that in the chakra. Pills and tonics are better.'

c. 'In the chakra we just take that.'

d. 'We cure ourselves with just those (herbs) in the chakra.
   We don't buy pills...'
The following is a final example where -qa occurs for no apparent reason other than to flag an element as that which makes the sentence relevant to its context:

a. Mayuyayqshi chayaykun.
to:the:river he:arrived

b. Y mayu-qa chayashashi aywakuyaanaq.
and river-TOP full it:was:going

a. '(The fox) arrived at the river.'
b. 'And the river was swollen.'

20.2.3.2. -qa indicating contrast

A constituent may make a sentence relevant to its context because its referent contrasts with some other element in its context, either something explicitly referred to in the discourse or not explicit but which the speaker can safely assume is in the context. For example, in the following the price of hiring an orchestra (to provide music for a fiesta) is contrasted with the price of hiring someone to play music with his record player:

a. Pikapayqyokuna mas baraatullu kubran.
record:player:owners more cheap they:charge

b. Orkistakuna-qa mas chaninta bands-TOP more expense

a. 'Record player owners charge less (to provide the music for the fiesta).'
b. 'Orchestras (charge) more.'

In the following example, the speaker contrasts the ultimate outcome for the frog (in 1834a) and the condor (in 1834b):

a. ...allitchaw keedaykun saapo.
in:good he:remained frog

b. Y kondor-qa perdiyku laetuta.
and condor-TOP he:lost the:litigation.

a. '...it turned out well for the frog.'
b. 'The condor (by contrast) lost the litigation.'

In the following example, the amount of money that the treasurer must spend is contrasted with the amount that the majordomo must spend:

Tesureeru karguta paasanaanpaq gellayta mas echkata
treasury position to:fulfill money more lots

gastan mayordoomu gastashapita-qa
he:spends majordomo from:his:spending-TOP

'In order for the treasurer to fulfill his position, he spends much more than the majordomo spends.'

Example 1835 indicates that with which the -qa-bearing constituent contrasts, in this case, how much the treasurer spends. In the following example the element with which something is contrasted is not explicitly stated in the (preceding) context, but is nonetheless in the context. In 1836 the frog is speaking to the authority in the capital, who has just told him that his document is good (and that thus the frog has won the case). In saying 1836 to the authority, the frog contrasts the treatment he

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327 I intend this in the technical sense of "context" defined on page 376, namely as the set of propositions which the speaker assumes the hearer to know at the point of speaking.
has received in the capital with that which he received in the province: "in the capital" is in the context because the frog has just received a favorable disposition from the authority (his hearer) in the capital:

Manakaq paseelimawwani gaananamsha asendaado
worthless with:his:paper he:beat:me hacienda:owner
probinsyachaw-qar
in the:province-TOP

'With nothing but his worthless document the hacienda owner
beat me in the province.'

In the following example, the occurrence of -qa in the first sentence is because "the table" is the topic discussed in the immediately preceding discourse and thus reference to it makes the sentence relevant to the context. In the second sentence -qa occurs on the subordinate clause ('to feed those who are seated on the ground') because this contrasts with the purpose of the servant who is "at" the table (whose role it is to feed those seated at the table).

a. Chay meesachaw-qar huk sirbiti.
that:at:table-LOC one servant

b. Mas huk sirbiti ka-n pampa-chaw hamaraqta qaranan-paq-qar.
more one servant be-3 ground-LOC sit-stat-sub:OBJ serve-sub3P-PUR-LOC

a. '(There is) one servant at that table.'
b. 'There is another servant to feed those who are seated on the ground.'

In some cases in which it seems that two elements are contrasted -qa is attached to the first rather than the second. For example in example 1838, past and present size is being compared:

Takshalla kasha-qar kanan hatun-na.
just:small it:was-LOC now big-NOW

'It was small; now it is big.'

One is tempted to say that cases like 1838 are instances of "anticipatory" contrast. Such a claim differs from that made above, namely that -qa indicates contrast as one way to indicate relevance to context, because the element with which there is contrast (hatun "big" 1838) is not in the context when -qa is spoken. Many cases like 1838 (perhaps not all) can be explained as marking relevance to the context preceding the sentence in which it occurs.

In example 1839, after stating the amazing infrequency with which people bathe at 13,000 feet above sea level, the author contrasts the frequency with which they wash their heads:

maybe in:a:year one time they:bathe entire their:body-OBJ-LOC

b. Uman-ta kaaran-ta awikun semanachaw
his:head-OBJ his:face-OBJ he:rinse in:a:week

iskhay kuti kimsa kuti...
two times three times

a. 'Maybe they bathe their entire bodies once a year...'
b. 'They rinse their heads and faces two or three times each week...'
is a thematic thread running through the text of which 1840 is but a part.

1840

a. Chakrachaw-ga chay huk mikushallanchita-mi mikunchi pobre-ga.
in:rural:era-TOP that one that:which:we:eat-DIR we:eat poor-TOP

b. Chayllata waqchakuna-ga mikunchi.
just:that orphans-TOP we:eat

c. Kayman shamarra tarinchi-ga arrus o fidyu

to:here only:when:we:come we:find-TOP rice or macaroni

a. 'In the rural areas we eat just that one food, because we are poor.'
b. 'We just eat that (being) orphans.' (hyperbole)
c. 'Only when we come here (to the city) do we find rice or macaroni.'

Example 1841 is of a slightly different sort. Here a group is established and then various subsets of that group are contrasted. For example a group of three is established in 1841a; one member is singled out in 1841b: in 1841c the other two members are contrasted with the first. Similarly, a group of five members is established in 1841d; one member is singled out in 1841e and then another in 1841f; finally in 1841g the other three are considered. (The syntax of ichan-ga 'perhaps' in 1841g is somewhat of a mystery: I do not know why it occurs in 1841g, nor what effect it brings to that sentence.)

1841

a. Dansayta yachaq warmikunsallata ashin kimsata.
to:dance who:know:how just:women he:seeks three

b. Huk warmi mas yachaq kakan.
one woman more one:who:knows:how there:should:be

c. Ishkay kaq-ga pooku yachalilapi kakun.
two who:be-TOP little ones:who:know:how there:may:be

d. Ollqota ashin pichqata, llapanta dansayta yachalilata.
man he:sends five, all to:dance ones:who:know:how:only

e. Chaychawpis huk kakan ligiyta yachaq
there:in too one there:should:be to:read one:who:knows:how

wakin kaqpita-ga,
other from:those:which:are-TOP

f. Hukpis kakan mas dansayta yachaq
one:also there:should:be more to:dance one:who:knows

wakin kaqpita-ga
other from:those:which:are-TOP

g. Kimsa kaq 'ichan-ga pooku yachalilapi kakun.
three who:be perhaps-TOP little ones:who:know:even there:may:be

a. 'He looks for three women who know how to dance.'
b. 'There should be one woman who really knows how (to dance).' c. 'The other two may not know so well.'
d. 'He looks for five men, all of whom know how to dance.'
e. 'Among them there should be one who knows how to read better than the others (in contrast to the others).'
f. 'There should also be one who knows how to dance better than all the others.'
g. 'The other three don’t have to know so well.'

20.2.3.3. -qa with negative assertions and yes/no questions

In a negative sentence there may be one constituent which is focal, i.e., one constituent which the speaker assumes is primarily responsible for the negativity of that sentence. Similarly, there may be a focal constituent in a yes/no question, the constituent which the speaker does not assume to be correct, the one for which he is requesting verification. One possibility available to the Quechua
speaker for indicating the focal constituent of a negative sentence or yes/no question (a possibility widely reported in the literature) is to put -chu 'negative, yes/no' on the focal constituent.\footnote{A single gloss for -chu might be preferable, but I will gloss it 'NEG' when it is used as a negative and 'Y/N' when it is used in a yes/no question.} This possibility is illustrated in 1842a and 1843a below. Another possibility, one that is favored in Huallaga Quechua, is to put -qa on the focal element and -chu on the main verb of the sentence. This possibility is illustrated in 1842b and 1843b, which—as far as I have been able to determine—are completely synonymous to 1842a and 1843a respectively.

\begin{enumerate}
\item Mana maqasha Juan-qa-chu.
  \begin{flushright}
  Not he:hit:him John-OBJ-TOP
  \end{flushright}
\item Mana maqasha-chu Juan-qa.
  \begin{flushright}
  not he:hit:him-NEG John-OBJ-TOP
  \end{flushright}
\item a. 'He didn’t hit JOHN.'
\item Umayki-chaw-chu chayachishkashunki?
  \begin{flushright}
  your:head-LOC-Y/N he:caused:it:to:arrive:to:you
  \end{flushright}
\item Umayki-chaw-qa chayachishkashunki-chu?
  \begin{flushright}
  your:head-LOC-TOP he:causes:it:to:arrive:to:you-Y/N
  \end{flushright}
\item a.b. 'Did he land (the blow) on your head?'
\end{enumerate}

Other examples of this latter way of indicating which element is focal in negative sentences are given below. Note that in many of them the focal constituent is in contrast with some other element in the context. Thus the use of -qa to effect focus and the use to contrast elements cannot be said to be distinct; in fact, it may be the case that whenever negation is indicated by -qa on the focal element it is because it is being contrasted with some other element.

\begin{enumerate}
\item Mana ishkaa-qa rurashkaa-chu. Huknillaa rurashkaa.
  \begin{flushright}
  not two:of:us-TOP we:did-NEG one:of:us I:did:it
  \end{flushright}
\item 'We both didn’t do it. I did it by myself.' (This would be appropriate if two persons were assigned a task, and only the speaker did it.)
\item Mana hatipan-chu yane-qa. Hatipan
  \begin{flushright}
  \end{flushright}
\item paykuna kabritillu-ta.
  they linen-OBJ
\item 'They don’t dress him in black. They dress him in linen.' (of the burial of a child, in contrast to what is done to an adult.)
\item Mayordoomo mas pooku gastan. Mana gastan-chu
  \begin{flushright}
  majordomo more less he:spends not he:spends-NEG
  \end{flushright}
\item tesureeru-naw-qa.
  treasurer-SIM-TOP
\item 'The majordomo spends less. He does not spend LIKE THE TREASURER DOES.'
\item Ama chay-naw-qa rura-ma-y-chu. Wihur apusti-ta apustishun...
  \begin{flushright}
  not that-SIM-TOP do->1-IMP-NEG better bet-OBJ let’s:bet...
  \end{flushright}
\item 'Don’t do LIKE THAT to me. Better, let’s make a bet...'
\end{enumerate}
**-qa with negative assertions and yes/no questions [20.2.3.3]**

Paykuna-pa mana kan-chu achke-ga mandu-n-kuna.
they-GEN not there:BB-NEG many-TOP subordinate-3p-plur

'They don't have many subordinates (i.e., some but not many).'

Juan-pa-ta-ga mana-mi lma-n-te-pis apashaq-chu.
John-GEN-OBJ-TOP not-IND what-3p-OBJ-INDEF I:will:take-NEG

'I will not take anything that belongs to JOHN.'

In the following example it could be that the first occurrence of -qa is "resurrecting" an old topic (as discussed in 20.2.3.6) since the tesureeru 'treasurer' has been previously discussed, or it could be a contrastive use (as discussed in 20.2.3.2), contrasting the treasurer's responsibilities with those of the mayurdoomo 'majordomo'. The second and third occurrences of -qa are both instances of focal negation and also of contrast, contrasting what the official does, and what he pays money for respectively. The fourth occurrence (that of 1850c) is somewhat of a mystery; I suspect that it is employed on paypaq 'for him' to firmly establish that the thematic (or topical) thread of the discourse has shifted from the mayurdoomo and his responsibilities to the tesureeru and his responsibilities.

a. Tesureeru-ga mana chaynaw-ga qaran-chu.
treasurer-TOP not like:that-TOP he:does-NEG

b. Nif qellayatapis mana churan-chu santupaq-ga.
nor money:even not he:puts-NEG for:the:image-TOP

c. Paypaq-ga mas huknaq kustumrin.
for:him-TOP more another:way his:custom

'a. The treasurer doesn't feed them like that.
b. Nor does he even pay money for the saint.
c. For him there is another custom.'

**20.2.3.4. -qa indicating alternates**

-qa is attached to constituents which refer to alternates in the same (or "parallel") roles. The following piece of text describes the various reactions of fathers when they are approached by the representative of a young man who wishes to marry his daughter; -qa is attached to wakin runa(kuna) 'some men' in 1851a, 1851c and 1851e. (The second -qa in 1851a is a case of focal negation, as discussed in 20.2.3.3. The occurrence in 1851f is one of contrast, as discussed in 20.2.3.2. The occurrence in 1851d is as described in 20.2.3.5 below.)

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329 Perhaps the contrastive uses discussed in 20.2.3.2 are simply a special case of the alternative use discussed here. The difference (a fuzzy one) seems to lie in the degree of polarity asserted of the alternates. In the case of contrastive uses the alternates are asserted to be polar opposites (true/false, more/less, big/small...). In the case of non-contrastive alternates there is much weaker opposition or none at all. For example when the same thing is predicated of various referents.
"qa indicating alternates [20.2.3.4]

a. Chaynaw yaykuptinpiw wakin runaqa fiyu: mana allipaqqa
   like:that though:he:enter some men-TOP bad not for:good
   parlapan-chu,
   they:speak:NEG

b. Punkunam hamaykachir wasin runinman yaykuykuyk
   at:the:door having:seated:him his:house to:inside having:entered
   mana lloqshipaamun-chu,
   not he:comes:out:for:him-NEG

c. Wakin runaqa huklaapa qeshpipaykun.
   other men-TOP to:some:other:place they:escape:on:them

f. Chay kaqa ga hamachin; alli parlan.
   that which:is-TOP they:seat:them good they:converse

b. 'Though he enter like that, some men are bad; they don't speak
with him for good.'

c. 'Some men escape to some other place.'

d. 'So the woman-seekers suffer greatly.'

e. 'Some men are good.'

f. 'THOSE (in contrast to the others) seat him and speak
   nicely with him.'

The following example describes—for various parents—the frequency with which they bathe their children: "qa occurs on wakin in 1852c and 1852d because it refers to alternate sets of parents in their role as batters of the children. (The occurrence of "qa in 1852e is like the negatives of 20.2.3.3. but where looko 'little' is the negative element rather than mana 'not'. The occurrence of "qa in example 1852h is an instance of focal negation. but again, one which involves contrast: after discussing the frequency of bathing children until they are two years old. 1852h informs us that thereafter they no longer bathe then continually; of course, this is not to say that they do not bathe them anymore!).
-qa indicating alternates [20.2.3.4]

a. Chaynaw iti wanrankunatapis arman sigiru.
   like:that infant their:children:also they:bathe:them continually 1852
b. Wakin arman waran waran.
   some they:bathe:them tomorrow tomorrow
c. Wakin-qg arman kara ishkay hunaq.
   others-TOP they:bathe:them every two days
d. Wakin-qg arman chuskhu hunaq pichqa hunaq.
   others-TOP they:bathe:them four day five day
e. Pooku arman waran waran-qg.
   little they:bathe:them tomorrow tomorrow-TOP
f. Mas arman karu karu.
   more they:bathe:them far far
g. Chaynaw arman iti kashanpita asta
   like:that they:bathe:them infant from:his:being until
   ishkay watayoq kananyaq.
   two years:having until:his:being
h. Chaypita mana arman-na-chu sigiru-qg.
   thereafter not they:bathe:them continually-TOP
i. Kara semaana imalla-na arman kikillan armakuyta
   every week somewhat-NOW they:bathe:them himself to:bathe
   yachakunanyaq.
   until:he:knows:how

'a. They bathe their infant children continually.
   b. Some bathe them daily.
   c. Others bathe them every other day.
   d. Others bathe them every four or five days.
   e. Rarely do they bathe them daily.
   f. More commonly they bathe them occasionally.
   g. They bathe them like that from the time they are infants until they are two years old.
   h. Thereafter they no longer bathe them continually.
   i. Every week they bathe them somewhat until they know how to bathe themselves.'

20.2.3.5. -qa with sentential connectives

There is a small set of words—among them chawra ‘so.then’, nirkur ‘immediately thereupon’, chaypita ‘thereafter. for that reason’—which “link” a sentence to the preceding discourse. These words frequently bear -qa. This is consistent with the notion that -qa occurs on the constituent(s) which are most responsible for a sentence being relevant to its context, for it is the function of these words to express the logical or temporal relationship of the sentence to what precedes it in the discourse.

I conjecture the following about the frequency of occurrence of -qa with sentential connectives: connectives which express an extremely close relationship between a sentence and the preceding discourse bear -qa more frequently than do connectives which express only a loose relationship.\(^{330}\)

For example, chaypita ‘thereafter’ expresses a loose relationship (as evidenced by the fact that it often occurs on the first sentence of a new paragraph) and the frequency of -qa with chaypita is low; by contrast, manachaq ‘if not then’ (used as e.g., in ‘Let’s tie it up. Manachaq-qa it will get away.’) expresses a very close relationship between the two sentences and virtually always occurs with -qa. I

\(^{330}\) I intend ‘loose’ and ‘tight’ roughly as used in Longacre [22].
further conjecture that when -qa is used with a connective, the relationship indicated is somewhat tighter than when that connective is used without -qa. If this is true one would expect to find chaypita followed by -qa more frequently within a paragraph than at the beginnings of paragraphs.331

Examples of -qa occurring on sentential connectives are found in 1817, 1824 and 1851.

20.2.3.6. -qa to resume a topic
-qa is used to resume a discourse topic which has been temporarily set aside: -qa occurs on the NP which refers to that topic after the interruption. For example, the cantor is the topic of 1853a, where kantur is the overt subject, and of 1853b where he is again the subject, but so topical that he is referred to by zero anaphora. The cantor is also the topic of 1853d, where again kantur is the overt subject, and of 1853e, where he is referred to by zero anaphora (aided by verbal inflection). 1853c interrupts this topic chain: its understood subject (and topic) is the set of pallbearers. The important point is that when the cantor is resumed as topic in 1853d, kantur bears -qa.

a. Apaptin kantur aywan kantaparaykar asta 1853
    when:they:take:it cantor he:goes singing until
    pantiyun rurin kapillaman chayachinanyaq.
    cemetery inside chapel until:they:cause:it:to:arrive
b. Chay kapilla-chaw yapay kantapan may oora
    that chapel-LOC again he:sings:for:him long time
c. Chaypita sapan uchku-man-na pampananpaq.
    then they:take:him hole-GOAL-NOW to:bury
d. Chayman apaptin-pis kantur qa aywan kantaparaykar
    to:there as:they:take:him ALSO cantor-TOP he:goes singing
    e. Uchku kantun-man chureykur-pis yapay kantapan

   a. When they take it (the corpse) the cantor goes singing
      until they have caused it to arrive inside the cemetery.
   b. In that chapel (in the cemetery) again he sings for a long
      time.
   c. Then they take it to the hole (now) to bury it.
   d. Also as they take it the cantor goes singing.
   e. Also placing it in the hole he again sings.

Consider example 1854. The light (achkhi) is the topic of 1854a and 1854b. Then in 1854c and 1854d there is no reference to the light. When the light is resumed as discourse topic in 1854e, it bears -qa.

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331 This is a falsifiable claim which I hope to verify when time allows.
-qa to resume a topic [20.2.3.6]

   so they:go that night light which:they:had:seen-GOAL

b. Mas mas aywaptin mas hatun-na-shi rikakaamun achki.
   more more as:they:go more big-NOW-IND it:is:seen light

c. Aywayaqallar-shi chayan wasi-man.
   just:as:they:are:going-IND they:arrive house-GOAL

d. Achkaq suwakuna-shi tiyasha kasha chay wasin-chaw.
   many thieves-IND lived where that house-LOC

e. Achki-qa rikaraamusha kasha bintaanapa-shi.
   light-TOP seen was through:the:window-IND

a. 'So they all went that night toward where they had seen the light.'

b. 'The farther on they went, the bigger the light was seen (to be).'

c. 'As they were going along they arrived at a house.'

d. 'Many thieves lived in that house.'

e. 'The light had been seen through the window.'

Lest it be thought that every interruption of topic involves -qa we present the following example. The rigidur is the topic of 1855a and 1855b (referred to by zero anaphora in 1855b). The topic of 1855c and 1855d is the eskirbaanu. The rigidur is resumed as topic in 1855e; he is referred to by zero anaphora in that sentence.332

a. Rigidur-na tuman hitnan marka sirkaliampa.
   rigidur-NOW goes:about that:very town about:its:vicinity

b. Tumaykashanchaw uywa mikuy-ta mikuykaq-ta tarir-qa
   as:he:is:going:about animals food-OBJ eating-OBJ if:he:finds:TOP
   uywapa duyinun-astan alswasirnin charipectin
   animal's owner-OBJ he:whips:him his:alswasir as:he:holds:him

c. Chaykuna tumananpaq eskirbaanu mandan.
   those to:go:about eskirbaanu he:orders:them

d. Eskirbaanu urdin-ta horgen agenti-pita chay urdian-wan
   eskiirbaanu order-OBJ he:gets agenti-ABL that order-COM
   tumananpaq, that:they:go:about

e. Danukogkuna mana respitiananta purichin chay urdinta.
   those who:respect not respect take:about that order-OBJ

a. 'The rigidur circulates right in the vicinity of the town.'

b. 'If as he is going about he finds animals eating crops, he whips the animal's owner as his alswasir grabs him.'

c. 'The eskirbaanu orders them to go about.'

d. 'The eskirbaanu gets an order from the agenti with which they are to go about.'

e. 'Lest those who damage crops not respect them, they take that order with them.'

'Text continues with the set composed of the rigidur and kampa as the topic referring to them by zero anaphora.'
20.2.3.7. -qa on adverbial clauses

As described in section 14.6.1 , adverbial clauses may be used to "recapitulate" the content of a previous sentence, thereby adding cohesion to a discourse. Many adverbial clauses used this way bear -qa; e.g., see examples 1812b, 1816 and 1823.

This is not too surprising: one function of such clauses is to provide a site for elaborating the relationship of a clause to its context beyond the minimal signals provided by the sentential connectives. In many cases, such a recapitulative adverbial clause provides the only explicit material that can be said to demonstrate the relevance of the following, main clause to the context.

For a particular subset of adverbial clauses the occurrence of -qa is much higher than for adverbial clauses as a whole. These are the conditional adverbial clauses. They bear -qa in almost all of their occurrences. This fact is not too surprising considering that the notion of "topic" has a close relationship to that of "conditionals"; this is argued by Haiman [14].

How does this seeming relationship between conditionals, topics, and -qa relate to the proposal made here that -qa has to do with relevance? Presumably a conditional clause expresses those aspects of the context which are relevant (in the eye of the speaker) to what is said in the main clause; e.g.:

```
Karaaho, mana wañuchinaata munar-qa keyman
(expletive) not that::kill::you if::you::want-TOP to::here
obidinti yaykuy kustalman.
obediently you::enter to::sack
'(Expletive), if you don't want me to kill you, get into this
sack obediently.'
```

In the following example, the conditional adverbial clause has an adverbial clause embedded within it, which in turn has an adverbial clause embedded within it. (Of course, the embedded adverbial clauses cannot bear -qa because they are not major constituents.)

```
[[[Chayanaw willaptin]] llapar parlakarkaarir]
like::that when::he::tells all when::they::discuss
"rurashun" nir?-qa ruran;
let's::do::it if::they::say-TOP they::do::it
"mana" nir-qa mana.
not if::they::say-TOP not
'If, after he has told them that and they have discussed it,
they say "Let's do it" they do it: if they say "no" then
they don't (do it).'
```

In the following example, the conditional adverbial clause which bears -qa is sentence final (whereas in the other example it is sentence initial):

```
Kay kuru aycha-ta ushakurkun churaraachipti-n-qa
this worm meat-08J he::finishes::it cause::to::be::stored-Adv-3P-TOP
'This (type of) worm finishes up the meat if it is stored long.'
```

In the passage in 1859, -qa occurs on conditional adverbial clauses in 1859c and 1859h. (The occurrence in 1859e and the first in 1859g are on sentential connectives. That in 1859f is on an alternate as discussed in 20.2.3.4. The second in 1859g is presumably because the girl being proposed to is herself the element most responsible for her statement ("Another man seeks me") being a

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33 Such elaboration is accomplished by means of pre- and post-transition suffixes on the verb of the adverbial.
relevant response to his proposal: she is the "topic of conversation".

-qa on adverbial clauses [20.2.3.7]

1859

a. Chakra runakuna warmi-ta ashin huknaw,
   feld men woman-OBJ they:search another:way

b. Moosu runa hipash warmi-ta parlapa-r nin
   adolescent man young woman-OBJ speak-ADV he:says
   ashinanpanq nirkur kasaranpanq,
   to:search:for:her thereupon to:marry:her

c. Chaynaw ni-pthin hipash warmi mana munak-r-qa
   like:that say-ADV young woman not want-ADV-TOP
   "Manami qamwan tiyaamanunchu" nin.
   not with:you i:would:not:live" she:says

d. Wakin warmikuna hapallan quyaakuy-ta munak mas unay-yag,
   some women alone to:abide-OBJ they:want more later-LIM

   e. Chawra-qa mana munak-chu runa ashinanpanq
      so-TOP not they:want-NEG man to:search:for:them
      parplaptinpis,
      even though:he:asks

   f. Wakin-qa-qa kan-na parlapan runa pay-ta ashinanpanq,
      other-GEN-TOP there:is-NOW speak-rel man her-OBJ to:search:for

   g. Chawra-qa chay hipash
      mana-na munak-na-chu
      so-TOP that young:woman not:now she:want-NOW-NEG
      "Noga-ta-qa huk runami ashiman" mir.
      I-0BJ-TOP other man he:searches:for:me" saying

   h. Hapallan kaykar-qa awnin.
      alone being-TOP she:agrees

'a. Rural men seek a wife differently.
 b. The young man, having spoken to the young woman, tells
    her that he will seek her, thereupon to marry her.
 c. When he tells her that, if the young woman doesn't
    want it she says, 'I will not live with you'.
 d. Some women wish to remain single until later on.
 e. So they don't want (to marry) even though the man
    speaks with her about seeking her.
 f. Some women already have a man who has proposed to seek her.
 g. So that young woman refuses saying 'Another man seeks
    me'.
 h. If she is single, she agrees.'

20.2.3.8. -qa on main verbs

-qa may occur on the main verb of a sentence, but such cases are quite rare and probably have rather special conditions. Coombs et al. [10] (pg. 147) suggest that when -qa occurs on a verb, the action of that verb has been mentioned previously in the discourse. An adequate account of -qa would have to account for this very strong tendency. We will now present several examples in which -qa follows a verb.

In the following, the verb of 1860c is old information following directly the previous mention of that verb:
-qa on main verbs [20.2.3.8]

a. ...papa-ta murunchi abríl killa.
   potatoes-OBJ we:plant april month

b. Nirkur chakmanchi.
   then we:cultivate:them

c. Chakmanchi-ga maayu.
   we:cultivate:them-TOP May

b. '...we plant potatoes in the month of April.'
   c. 'We cultivate them in May.'

Again, in the following example, in the reported conversation, yaykushun 'we will enter, let's enter' is old information in 1861b having been introduced in 1861a:

a. 'Apuray yaykushun ninshi mishiwan allu.
   hurry let's:enter he:says cat:with dog

b. Chawra buurru ninshi, 'Nooqa markakunachaw rikashaanaw
   so donkey he:says I in:the:towns as:I:saw
   yaykushun-ga tukaraykar.
   let's:enter-TOP playing

a. 'Hurry, let's enter,' say the cat and dog.'
   b. 'So the donkey says, "Let's enter like I saw in the
towns. playing (music)."'

In the following example, 1862b seeks to correct a faulty presupposition of 1862a, namely that some criticism was addressed directly to the addressee. (Actually, it was addressed to the addressee's son.)

a. Imataaq nishkanki qam payta?
   what you:said you to:him

b. Chawra noqata chu mana nimasha-ga
   well to:me-NEG not he:said:to:me-TOP

a. 'What did you reply to him?'
   b. 'Well he didn't say it (directly) to me.'

The following example is also consistent with the hypothesis that the action of the verb to which -qa is attached has been previously mentioned, because the previous context deals with the hero's coming to be rich:

Imanawpataq rikuyo-ga pay?
   how? he:becomes:rich-TOP he

Noqasi rikuyaashaq,
   I:too I:will:become:rich

'How does he become rich? I too will become rich.'

One further example is 1840c. Although its immediate context would not suggest so, it is also a case in which the action of the verb to which -qa is attached has been previously mentioned.

With this we conclude our survey of the various uses of -qa.

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Note that the occurrence of -qa and chu ‘NEG’ are precisely the opposite of that demonstrated extensively in 20.2.3.3 where -chu occurs on the verb and -qa on the “focal” constituent: I have no explanation for the situation in 1862b.
20.3. Conclusion.

This chapter has exhibited a wide range of data involving -qa, the so-called "topic marker", demonstrating many facts which an adequate account of -qa would have to explain. No such account has been attempted here, but it has been suggested that some very general pragmatic function underlies the various uses of -qa and that this function is roughly that

-qa marks those constituents of a sentence which—in the speaker's eye—are most responsible for that sentence being relevant to its context.

Hopefully future work will further evaluate and refine this proposal.
21. EVIDENTIAL SUFFIXES

There are three main evidential suffixes in HgQ: -mi, -shi and -chi; these will be glossed ‘DIR’ (direct), ‘IND’ (indirect), and ‘CNJ’ (conjecture) respectively. These have sometimes combined with other suffixes or postpositions to yield variants (e.g. -mari from -mi + ari).

Three major points will be made in chapter.\footnote{335}{This chapter was presented at a symposium on evidential suffixes, held in Berkeley in May 1981: see Weber [40]. It includes data from other Huánuco dialects closely related to HgQ. It is based primarily on written material from the following: Amador Tucu Ramírez (ATR) of Marás (province of Dos de Mayo), Lorenzo Albino Moreno (LAM) of Matihuaca (province of Ambo), Teodoro Cayco Villar (TCV) and Anastacia Nasario de Figuieredo (A NF) of Llacón (province of Huánuco).}

1. -mi/shi/chi give a perspective on the information of a sentence.\footnote{336}{An assumption made here is that the primary unit into which information (to be communicated by speech) is packaged is the sentence, defined as in section 2.3.} By PERSPECTIVE I mean such things as how the speaker came by the information (evidential, e.g., first hand or second hand), what the speaker’s attitude is toward the information (validational, e.g., does he regard it as fact/fiction/conjecture...), what the speaker intends the hearer to do with the information (e.g., believe it, act on it, doubt it, etc.). The question whether -mi/shi/chi are basically evidential or validational is addressed.

2. The relative positions of the so-called "topic" marker -qa, -mi/shi/chi and the verb define a pattern. This pattern gives an information profile to the information of the sentence, roughly characterizing the sentence’s progression from theme (topic, old information) to rheme (comment, focus, new information).

3. Deviating from the normal pattern is a rhetorical device.

I conclude with a suggestion for how this could have come about. To anticipate, I suggest that these markers occur more naturally on new information because they indicate the source of new information: thus, they tend to occur on the rhematic part of a sentence. In conjunction with -qa, which occurs on highly thematic/topical material, this gives rise to a profile along theme-rheme lines. Deviations from this pattern unsettle the listener, making him take note, and thus serve as a rhetorical device. So information profiling and pattern deviations for rhetorical effect are natural outgrowths of -mi/shi/chi's status as indicators of information perspective.

The evidential suffixes are testimony to the caution a Quechua speaker exercises with respect to information. The following are--I believe--true of Quechua culture:\footnote{337}{Perhaps they are to some extent cultural universals?}

1. (Only) one’s own experience is reliable.
2. Avoid unnecessary risk, such as by assuming responsibility for information of which one is not absolutely certain.
3. Don’t be gullible.\footnote{338}{Witness the many Quechua folk tales in which the villain is foiled because of his gullibility.}
4. Assume responsibility only if it is safe to do so. (Doing so builds stature in the community.)

The utility of -mi/shi/chi is in allowing the Quechua speaker to handily assume or defer responsibility for the information he conveys, thus minimizing his risks while building his stature in...
the community. With -mi the speaker assumes responsibility, with -shi he diverts it (to someone else) and and with -chi he indicates that it is not the sort of information for which anyone should be held responsible.

21.1. The Meaning of -mi, -shi and -chi

Section 21.1.1 presents one analysis of -mi/shi/chi which fits a large range of facts for many dialects. A more complete discussion follows: 21.1.2 deals further with -mi and -shi, and 21.1.3 deals further with -chi.

21.1.1. A First Characterization

For Tarma Quechua, Adelaar (1979:79) says that -mi/shi/chi "indicate the validity of the information supplied by the speaker" and that

- **mi** "indicates that the speaker is convinced about what he is saying."
- **shi** "indicates that the speaker has obtained the information that he is supplying through hearsay."
- **chi** "indicates that the speaker's statement is a conjecture."

This characterization is consonant with the majority of cases found in a wide range of dialects. Examples follow from Huanuco Quechua consistent with it. The gloss sometimes includes the situation (ST) in which the example would be appropriate and the rhetorical force (RF) it would have in this situation.

\[
\text{Wañu-nqa-paq-} \quad \text{a. -mi}\quad \text{die-SFUT-FUT} \quad \text{b. -shi}\quad \text{c. -chi}\quad \text{1864}
\]

'It will die.'

**ST:** a diviner has chewed coca and predicts death

a. **said by the diviner**
   **RF:** (I assert that) it will die.

b. **said by someone who brings the diviner's prediction**
   **RF:** (I was told that) it will die.

c. **said in response to the diviner or to the messenger**
   **RF:** (Perhaps) it will die.

\[
\text{Noq-} \quad \text{a. -mi}\quad \text{chaye-: -man aywa-r-qa.}\quad \text{1865}
\]

'I would/could/might arrive, if I were to go.'

a. **ST:** In response to person(s) who have expressed doubt as to the speaker's ability to make it (e.g. to the top of a mountain)
   **RF:** (I assert that) I would make it if I were to go.

b. **ST:** If the speaker knows that someone has said he should able to make it
   **RF:** I might make it.

c. **ST:** In response to person(s) who have expressed that the speaker can make it and the speaker wants to hedge
   **RF:** I might make it.
21.1.2. -mi and -shi are Evidentials

The characterization given in 21.1.1 has the peculiar property that -mi and -shi are validational (indicating commitment to the truth of the proposition) while -shi is evidential (indicating the source of the information). This gives rise to certain problems e.g., what about information one learns by hearsay but about which he is convinced: would -mi or -shi be used? If -mi and -shi were both of the same type (i.e., either both evidential or both validational) such problems would not arise. I will argue that -mi and -shi are basically evidential: -mi means 'learned by direct experience' and -shi means 'learned by indirect experience (hearsay)'. A validational interpretation for -mi is often appropriate because of the axiom that direct experience is reliable (and thus one is convinced about it). Table 21-1 summarizes these relationships (where the arrow indicates the force of the just-mentioned axiom):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EVIDENTIAL</th>
<th>VALIDATIONAL</th>
<th>RESPONSIBILITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-mi</td>
<td>direct</td>
<td>convinced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>==&gt;</td>
<td>speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-shi</td>
<td>indirect</td>
<td>unconvincied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>other than speaker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 21-1: EVIDENTIAL AND VALIDATIONAL INTERPRETATIONS

Various data are now given in support of this view:

Datum 1: -mi where direct experience is unlikely. According to TCV, 'My mother's grandfather's name was John' is natural with -shi but not with -mi, even if the speaker is convinced that it is true. This is because with -mi it implies that the speaker has met his great grandfather (extraordinary!). What is basic for -mi is the source of the information (direct experience), not commitment to the truth of what his name was.

The same result obtains for a sentence that the speaker does not believe, e.g., 'The moon is made of cheese.' According to TCV this is natural with -shi, indicating that the speaker had been informed that the moon was made of cheese. With -mi, says TCV, it implies that the speaker had been to the moon.

Datum 2: -shi to escape the implication of direct experience. A speaker may use -shi when he wishes to escape the implication that he has had direct experience. For example, descriptions of

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339 See footnote 335.
cultural practices and institutions are generally told either with -mi or with no validational, but -shi is used if the author wishes to make explicit that he has not had direct experience. This -shi has nothing to do with whether the author really believes the information. For example, TCV believes the following but since he has not experienced it (he seldom chews coca) he uses -shi:

TCV (from a description he wrote of coca use)
...mana kuka-ta chaqcha-r puñu-y-lla-ta-shi muna-n.
not coca-OBJ chew-ADV sleep-Inf-just-OBJ-IND want-3
...chaqcha-rku-pty-n balur-nin-pis sumaq-shi yuri-rku-n.
chew-asp-adv-3P strength-3P indef well-IND arise-asp-3
...if they don’t chew coca, they just want to sleep.
...having chewed coca, their strength comes to them.’

The same results obtain for cases where the information is not believed; for example, TCV has not witnessed nor does be believe the following:

(from a description of burial practice)
Kiki-n kasta arma-pty-n-qa fiyu ni-n.
self-3P clan bathe-adv-3P-TOP bad say-3
Llapan-shi chay kasta ka-q-qa wañi-n.
all-IND that family be-sub-TOP die-3
‘They say it is bad for a relative to bathe it (corpse).
All of that family dies (if they do so).’

Datum 3: -shi when scope of information is too large. In some cases where -mi would be expected, -shi occurs if what would have to be experienced is impossibly large. For example, in Cayco 1975b (a booklet on Peruvian history) ‘Their tools and things are found throughout Peru’ has -shi because the author could not possibly have seen all those things found in all those places.

Datum 4: -shi is inappropriate as a direct response. -shi is never appropriate when repeating some information back to the speaker. If -shi were basically validational (meaning ‘unconvinced’), one might expect it as a way to indicate that he doubts it: this unacceptability is a strike against the validational analysis. On the evidential view one would not expect it used this way since there is no reason to inform one’s hearer that what he has just said was heard second hand.

Datum 5: where -mi may be absent. Whereas many speakers use -mi in telling personal narratives, describing procedures, institutions, and such. TCV does not. He uses -mi only where there is some question about the source of the information. When he reports events in which he was obviously a participant (e.g. a trip to Lima, an amusing mishap that occurred to him and a cousin.

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340 For Huaraez (Ancash) Quechua, Pantoja [25] (pg. 254) gives a similar example in his text on coca chewing. In his text on avoiding conception and abortion (number 25), he uses -shi throughout except in statements like ‘They told me that about them’ (line 26) in which -mi is used. In Pantoja’s eighth text (pg. 132) he uses -mi for the descriptive parts but -shi in cases where he wants to disclaim responsibility for the information, e.g. (line 60-61): ‘...they say that those who do the fiesias (i.e., those who sponsor them) are really good. It takes away their guilt...’

341 Note that -shi may be used to repeat information back to one’s hearer (see 2.3).
etc.) he regards it as unnecessary to indicate (by -mi) his direct experience.\textsuperscript{342}

Other speakers demonstrate this tendency to varying degrees. For example, ATR. in telling of going to see a football game, did not use -mi in the the parts describing his getting to and from the game (told in the first person), but he did use -mi in describing the doings of other people (companions, players, referees, ...).

Further, TCV does not use -mi for "non-events," i.e., happenings not somehow embedded in time. (This is not to be taken as "irrealis" because he does use -mi with the future tense.) He does not use -mi in "how-to-make" texts (how to make a basket, weave a poncho, build a house, butcher a sheep, ...), in descriptions of static objects (buildings, pictures, ...), in descriptions of culture (coca chewing, bathing, curing, fiesta administration, ...), or in more narrative descriptions (Holy Week happenings, engagement practice, ...). These have in common that they do not concern actual events (either past, present, or future) but rather prototypical instances of events. He is speaking/writing on these matters from direct experience (and would defend the accuracy of his descriptions); his non-use of -mi in these cases is not due to a lack of commitment to the truth of his claims, but because these are not actual events, but hypothetical ones.

Datum 6: -shi may also be interpreted validationally. -mi is often interpreted validationally, to mean 'convinced.' because one is generally convinced of one's own (direct) experience. -shi may also be interpreted validationally, and when it is, the implication is that the speaker is unconvinced of what he is saying. (-shi is interpreted validationally much less frequently than -mi, perhaps because one is actually convinced of much of what one hears second hand.) For example, a speaker (from a dialect in northern Junín) wrote a pamphlet on cultivating pastures. His source of information was an agricultural engineer with whom he had talked at length: consequently, the author used -shi throughout his pamphlet. Readers apparently interpreted this as the author's lack of commitment to the idea: no one was moved by it to planting a pasture. Such evidence is insufficient justification for analyzing -shi validationally. In the same way, one should not, just on the basis of some cases in which -mi is interpreted validationally, analyze it so since these can be explained from an evidential analysis in terms of the axiom that one's own experience is reliable.

These cases support the claim that the fundamental distinction is evidential: what is at issue is not whether the author is convinced that what he is communicating is true, but whether or not he learned it by direct or indirect experience.

A word must be said in defense of Adelaar's claim for Tarma Quechua that -mi means 'convinced.' In all Ignacio Zarate Mayma's texts, both those in Adelaar [1] (pg. 308-407) as well as those in Puente [30], I have not found a single case of -shi. Even though much of the material is far beyond the realm of the teller's experience (including folk tales about the fox and the condor), he uses -mi throughout. This is because he believes the stories he is telling; for example, he says, 'Even the fox, being very powerful and very clever, died eventually. In the same way today we are very

\textsuperscript{342} The only exception is a description of a trip which concludes with the following, which contains the only -mi in the entire text:

\texttt{Chayawlla-mi Limata aywar imatapis rikashkaakuna. in:that.way-DIR to:Lima going whatever we:saw}

'In that way-DIR having gone to Lima we saw whatever.'
clever and powerful... (319).' These facts justify Adelaar's claims for Tarma.\textsuperscript{343}

\textbf{21.1.3. The Uses of -chi}

Given 'conjecture' as the meaning of -\textit{chi}, one would expect it to be an appropriate way to say: 'Perhaps it needs to be wound' in response to e.g., 'Your clock needs to be wound.' Such is not the case. One could respond with 1869a but not 1869b:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{Mana musya:-chu.} not know-1-NEG
\item \textit{Pishi-n millu-na-na-n.} lack-3 wind-SUB-3
\end{itemize}

a. 'I don't know. Perhaps it needs to be wound.'

Why is 1869b not acceptable? It is grammatical: e.g., in response to \textit{Relohuyki pishin millun} 'Your clock needs to be wound' one could respond:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{Pishi-n-chi millu-na-na-n. Millu-v ari!} lack-3-CNJ wind-SUB-3 wind-IMP emphatic
\end{itemize}

'it needs winding (you say: well go ahead and) wind it!'

At present, I am unable to explain why 1869b is no acceptable. The best I can do is illustrate some of the rhetorical effects of -\textit{chi}, and hope that they lead ultimately to a better understanding of its meaning and use.

In conversation, -\textit{chi} is useful as a way to respond to a statement without committing to its truth—a way to avoid being taken as gullible. We will now see that -\textit{chi} achieves a wide range of rhetorical effects. I will not attempt a tight explanation of them, but suspect they have a basis in -\textit{chi}'s use as a way to avoid committing to the truth of a statement, a consequence of its marking information for which no one should be held responsible.

-\textit{chi cannot initiate conversation.} One may not initiate a conversation with 1864c above; it must be said in response to a statement like 1864a or 1864b. To say 'Perhaps it will die' \textit{not} following such a statement like 1864a or 1864b, one use the Spanish loan \textit{kapas 'perhaps'.}\textsuperscript{344}

\textbf{21.1.3.1. -chi as a query}

In some cases, -\textit{chi} results in a query: a sort of challenge to answer. For example, if someone's boss is reading a list of those who are to go, and he is not sure whether his name was called he could say 1871 to his boss. It has the force of the question 'Am I to go?'

\textsuperscript{343}To the Huanuco Quechua ear, Zarate's use of -\textit{mi} seems exceedingly incautious with respect to the information he conveys. This suggests that perhaps he is not a member of a Quechua speaking community in which he values his stature. Such cases are not unknown. For example, TCV knows a man (referred to by his neighbors as "loko") who constantly uses -\textit{mi}. TCV reports that no one believes what he says because he "always speaks as though he had witnessed what he is telling about." (At best he is an argumentative braggart and from TCV's description I would guess that he is mentally ill.)

\textsuperscript{344}For example, one could say

\textbf{Kapas wa\textsuperscript{\text{-}}nu-na-na.}
\textbf{perhaps die-3FUT}

'Perhaps it will die.'
"-chi as a query [21.1.3.1]

Noga-chi aywa-shaq-paq.
1-CNJ go-1FUT-fut
'I will go.'

In response to 'John killed his son,' 1872 would be a challenge to respond roughly like 'If you could give an adequate reason why he would do such a thing, then I might believe what you say.'

Wamra-n-ta-chi waRuchi-ra-n ima-pita-(taq)?
child-3P-cnj kill-PAST-3 what-ABL-(?)
'He killed his son because of what?'

In Cayco [4], page 18 the cat says 'You are going to play (music)' with 'chi' CNJ, to which the dog and the donkey answer 'Yes, yes!' The fact that it is answered shows that the rhetorical force of the sentence is a query.

-chi as a negative. In some cases the rhetorical force is equivalent to a negative. For example, the following sentence conveys something like, 'So you think I know? I don't know a thing about it!':

Chay-ta musya-yka-:-chi,
that-ACC know-IMPfv-1-CNJ
'I know that.'

Suppose two peoples' paths converge, and after walking a ways together, they take a rest. One gets up and, on the assumption that the other is continuing in the same direction, says, 'Let's go.' The other, who was not planning to go farther, might reply:

Noga aywa-yka-:-chi gam-paq-qa.
1 go-IMPfv-1-CNJ you-PUR-TOP
'I am going (on your behalf).'

The RF is roughly 'you might have thought I was going (there), but I'm not.' It is a curt/abrupt way to respond, definitely not polite. It could be comfortably followed by an emphatic denial like

noqa aywa-yka-:-taq chu (I go-IMPfv-1-NEG) 'I'm not going!'

21.1.3.2. -chi as flippant, sarcastic, or haughty

For example, in Cayco [3] the fox, while prancing about showing off, accidentally steps on a frog, and says:345

Sapu-ta-chi ima-chi haru-riyku-: hahaa hahahaha!
frog-ACC-CNJ what-CNJ step-ASP:- (laughs)
'It seems I've stepped on a frog, hahaa hahahaha!'

To conclude, -chi has surprising restrictions and rhetorical effects (question, negation, sarcasm, etc.). Hopefully further research will yield refined explanations for these.

345 In 1875 ima-chi has either become frozen or ima 'what' is present simply to support an added -chi (?)
21.2. Information Profile

What determines where -mi/shi/chi occur in a sentence? Perhaps in some dialects they are simply associated with a pragmatic function. For Tarma Quechua, both Creider [11] (pg. 16f) and Adelaar [1] (pg. 80) identify the element to which -mi/shi/chi is attached with "focus." This may sometimes be the case in HgQ, but certainly not always. For example, in 1876, the second sentence 'having tied me' is not the focus—being highly thematic—and yet bears -mi:437

Hatra-truu-mi wata-ra-yka-. Wata-yku-ma-r-mi aywa-sha. bush-LOC-DIR tie-stat-impfv-1 tying-impact=-51-adv-DIR go-3PERF

'I am tied on a bush. Having tied me (here), she went.'

21.2.1 shows that in HgQ -mi/shi/chi occur in a certain pattern. 21.2.2 shows that this pattern roughly characterizes the sentence's progression from thematic to rhematic information.

21.2.1. The Pattern

The evidentials -qa 'TOP' and the verb generally pattern in Huánuco Quechua as in 1877. (Notation: (X)\(\text{\textsuperscript{n}}\)) means "between i and j cases of X". < means "precedes but not necessarily contiguously" and <= means "precedes (not necessarily contiguously) or coincides with".)

\[(X-qa)_0 < (Y-EVD)_0 <= \text{VERB} ((OBJ-qa,SUBJ-qa))_0^2\]

1877

This means that there may be any number of elements bearing -qa, followed by the element bearing the -mi/shi/chi, which must either precede the main verb or be the main verb itself; this may be followed by one or two -qa-bearing elements, which must be the subject or object.

The practical limit on the number of occurrences of -qa is probably 5. For example, 1878, an extreme case, has five -qa's.438

Chawra-na-ga punta-truu-ga trays-ruu-piti-n-ga wamra-ta-ga
So-now-TOP peak-truu-TOP arrive-asp-adv-3P-TOP child-OBJ-TOP

1878

mayna-shi Dysos-ninch-qi-ga heqa-rku-ykli-chi-sha
already-IND God-12P-TOP go:up-up-impact-caus-3PERF

syelu-ta-na-shi, heaven-OBJ-now-IND

'When she (the witch) reached the peak, God had already taken the child up into heaven.'

To what extent is 1877 followed? Counts made on written folk tales by three Huánuco authors

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\[436\] For yes/no questions, the focused element is the one being verified: for content questions it is the element which has the question word (who, what, etc.); for negatives, it is the element which is responsible for the sentence being false. I am not sure how to define "focus" for other sentences, but perhaps as a rough characterization, it is the least presupposed element.

\[437\] This example is from Ambo (Huánuco) Quechua, a dialect closely related to HgQ.

\[438\] The alert reader will notice that 1878 violates 1877 in that the evidential-bearing element follows the verb, and in that there are two cases of -shi/IND. This example is again from Ambo (Huánuco) Quechua.
(from the three different dialects considered) yielded the following results:\(^{349}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>(5)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LAM</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATR</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCV</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>575</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 21-2: EVIDENTIALS AND -qa IN THREE HUANUCO DIALECTS

(1)=number of -qa per sentence
(2)=number of evidential suffix per sentence
(3)=percentage of sentences not conforming to 1877
(4)=percentage of sentences having a post-verbal subject or object
(5)=approximate number of sentences counted

Note that the percentage of pattern-deviating sentences (column 3) and the percentage of postverbal subjects and objects bearing -qa (column 4) is very closely proportional to the frequency of -qa (column 1). That is, the more frequently -qa occurs, the more frequent are sentences deviating from 1877 and the more frequent are sentences having a postverbal subject or object which bears -qa.

The counts tabulated in table 21-2 amply demonstrate that there is a pattern, with deviations (for various authors) running from 5% to 12%.

21.2.2. The Pattern as Information Profile

The image of sentence in terms of which this discussion is framed is roughly that which has evolved in the Prague school (Firbas 1971): a sentence is seen as a crescendo of communication-advancing material. It builds from elements which relate it to the context (theme, old information, topical material) and material which sets the stage for the communication-advancing material, to the material which advances the communication (rHEME, new information). A few disclaimers are in order. Admittedly, the notions of theme, rHEME, old information, new information, topic, focus, etc. are very difficult ones to define or to convincingly impose on text. And the boundary between thematic and rHEMATIC material is not a discrete one. Despite these problems, the theme-rHEME distinction captures--in my opinion--something real (though fuzzy) about sentences.

I propose that the pattern of 1877 serves to roughly characterize a sentence's progression from thematic to rHEMATIC material (what I call an "information profile"). That is, with fair accuracy one can tell what parts are thematic and what parts are rHEMATIC simply from the pattern of -qa(s), the evidential and the verb. This should not be construed as identifying the evidential suffix with any particular element, e.g. the first rHEMATIC or the last thematic one. Perhaps the following is the strongest that can be said: in "ordinary" sentences, the thematic material occurs to the left of the evidential suffix and the rHEMATIC material follows the last preverbal -qa.

As a first justification for "information profile" consider the conclusion to chapter 20:

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\(^{349}\) Sentence-initial chayshi or chaymi was not counted as chay 'that' followed by an evidential because it has become a single word (a sentence-initial conjunction meaning 'then' or 'because of that'). Evidence for this is that an evidential suffix may occur elsewhere in the sentence. The actual number of sentences counted was slightly larger than the counts given since sentences without finite verbs were generally not counted.
-qa marks those constituents of a sentence which—in the speaker’s eye—are most responsible for that sentence being relevant to its context.

If this is correct, then the initial -qa-bearing elements contain material which is thematic, while the rhematic material follows.

Example 1879, the beginning of a text, further support the "information profile" claim. In 1879a the rhematic information is that there was a famine. This becomes thematic in 1879b; the rhematic information is that the famine was long ago. In 1879c the thematic part sums up 1879a and 1879b 'so when there was a famine.' Note how in 1879b and 1879c the pattern of -qa's and -shi's relates to the progression from thematic to rhematic material:

1879

a. Chaysi ka-ra-n muchuy.
   so be-past-3 famine
b. Muchuy-shi ka-ra-n unay.
   famine-IND be-past-3 long:ago
c. Chawra-qa muchuy ka-pni-n-qa pasaypa mana-shi ima-pis
   So-TOP famine be-adv-3P-TOP really not-IND what-indef
   ka-ra-n-chu miku-na-n-paq.
   to:eat eat-sub-3P-PUR

   a. 'There was a famine.'
   b. 'The famine was long ago.'
   c. 'So there being a famine, there really was not anything to eat.'

Again, note that the thematic material in 1880a is a repetition of the rhematic material of 1880a:

1880

   meaty potato-OBJ-IND give-3 child-OBJ-TOP
b. Chawra machka papa-ta qara-pni-n-qa wamra-qa
   so meaty potato-OBJ feed-adv-3P-TOP child-TOP
   apta-rku-n-shi.
   grasp-asp-3-IND

   a. 'She (the witch) gives the child mealy potatoes.'
   b. 'So when she gives her a mealy potato, the child grasps it.'

In 1881, note the repetition concerning the many children—too many to feed. It is much more thematic when repeated in the last sentence than on its first mention (in the second sentence), and thus it bears the -qa and -shi. Also note the thematic clause of the third sentence repeating the rhematic material of the first:
The Pattern as Information Profile [21.2.2]

a. Chawra utku-pa muru-lla-n-te-shi tari-mu-n.
   So cotton-GEN seed-just-3P-OBJ-IND find-afar-3

b. Wamra achka ka-sha.
   child many be-SPERF

c. Chayshi utku-pa muru-lla-n-ta tari-rku-mu-r-ga
   so cotton-GEN seed-just-3P-OBJ find-asp-afar-adv-TOP

   anka-q-shi.
   fry-narpst-IND

d. Wamra-ga achka-shi kasha.
   child-TOP many-IND there:were

   a. 'So she found only some cotton seeds.'
   b. 'There were many children.'
   c. 'So finding just some cotton seeds, she fried them.'
   d. 'There were many children.'

Example 1882 (from Albino [2] 350) shows that the thematic element may "reach back across" background material. The second and third sentences (with verbs in the past perfect) are not on the event line. The thematic adverbial clause in the last sentence picks up from the first sentence. 351

a. Y traya-chi-n marka-man [may-man-mi hipash qeshpi-sha]
   And arrive-caus-3 town-GOAL where-GOAL-DIR girl escape-3PERF

   there-GOAL girl-TOP tell-refl-prtc-now be-3PERF this-SIM

paa-sa-ga-n-ta.  c. Chay-nuy willa-ku-pti-n iglesya-man
   happen-sub-3P-OBJ that-SIM tell-refl-adv-3P church-GOAL

   close-modal-prtc be-3PERF. so-TOP church door-GOAL

traya-ru-ga kondenadu-ga nin-shi... 
   arrive-asp-adv-TOP condemned-TOP says-IND

   a. 'And it brings him to the town, to the place where the girl had fled.'
   b. 'The girl had been told what had happened.'
   c. 'When she had been told that, she was shut into the church.'
   d. 'So arriving to the door of the church, the condemned one says...'

To conclude, these examples show that the pattern in which the -qo's, the evidential, and the verb occur characterize (in a very loose way) a sentence’s progression from thematic to rheematic material.

21.3. Pattern Deviations as a Rhetorical Device

As shown in 21.2.1 there is a basic pattern for the occurrence(s) of -qo, the evidential, and the verb, with few deviations from this pattern (5-15%). These deviations are not simply randomly distributed in a text but constitute a rhetorical device for marking crucial points in a narrative. Not all deviations are crucial points, and conversely, not all crucial points involve a deviation from the pattern. Perhaps not all speakers use this device. Nevertheless, I find the examples given below reasonably convincing. By no means do I consider the rhetorical uses given here as exhaustive: there

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350 Again, from Ambo (Huánuco) Quechua.

351 The braces mark off a correlative relative clause, as mentioned in section 21.4 (see example 1888, page 407) and discussed more fully in Weber [39], section 3.3.
are perhaps a host of different (and novel) uses various speakers make of pattern violation.

21.3.1. Pattern Deviation at Textual Boundaries

Pattern deviations occur at textual boundaries, e.g., sentences like 'So the three of them go on their way' which concludes an episode or like 'And then there appears a hawk' which begins an episode. Of the sentences which deviate from the pattern in Cayco [4], five of them involve a post-verbal goal: they are given in 1883. 1883a deviates from 1820 in that -qa occurs after the evidential and before the verb, and 1883b-1883e deviate in that the evidential follows the verb:

1883

a. Y chayshi runaga aywasha yaya kampusu. (p. 2)
   'And then the man went to the respected kampusu.'

b. Chaypita aroq chayan runamangshi. (p. 4)
   'After that the fox arrives to the man's place.'

c. Atoq chayan liyunmanphi. (p. 9)
   'The fox arrives to the lions' place.'

d. Chaypita osoga chayan yunka muntimanshi yantakoq. (p. 12)
   'After that the bear arrives to the jungle to cut firewood.'

e. Chaypita runa chavaykun mayur suwamangshi "ayi ayi" nishpangsi. (p. 24)
   'After that, the man arrives to the head thief saying "ayi ayi".'

Each of these sentences imply a change of scene. For some linguists this would perforce mean the beginning of a new paragraph. And this accords well with the observation that chaypita 'thereafter, then' is a very "loose" connective, the sort which initiates paragraphs.

Consider 1884, which has been reorganized to make clear the parallelism from episode to episode. The written order was 1a-c, 2a-c, ... 5a-c. There are three pattern deviations in this section of text: 1a, 3a, and the first sentence in 5a. Each of these initiates a new episode. (I do not know why 2a and 4a, which also initiate episodes, do not deviate from the pattern.) Considering the infrequency of deviations from the pattern in ATR's folk tale (about 6%), it could hardly be considered coincidental that these occur precisely at the point of initiating a new episode.

Note that 1a, 3a and 5a do not deviate from the pattern in the same way. 1a deviates in that -shi precedes -qa while 3a and 5a deviate in that the element with -shi follows the verb. (Incidentally, all the a sentences give the first mention of the bird of that episode; perhaps that is why the subjects are postverbal.)
1a Saychaw qaparaykaptiinghi waqershan puntapaga anka tumaskamun. 1884
2a Tapay wamrakuna waqykaayaptiinghi tumapamun kiliksa.
3a Tumaramun alqaynashi
4a Nikaalaptiinghi yuriskamus wiskul.
5a Wamrakunagga qaparayken saynavlashi. Say oorega aanirshi
  huk hatun kondor yuriskin. Tumur tumar qaga hanapadghi hqarpamun.

1b Y wamrakuna ruwakuyan: Tiyyay anka, horqaykalaamay!
2b Saytana niyan wamrakuna: Tiyyay kiliksa, horqaykayaamay!
3b Ruwayan saytana: Tiyyay alqay, horqaykayaamay!
4b Saytana ruwakuyan: Tiyyay wiskul horqaykayaamay!
5b Saytana ruwakuyan: kaynaw nir: Tiyyay kondor, horqaykayaamay!

1c Anka kaynawpa kontistana: Imaptaaq "walpa suwa anka" nimarqayki?
  Nirshi paasakun.
2c Niptin kiliksa nir: Imaptaaq "pisqo apaq kiliksa" nimarqayki?
3c Paasakunghi kaynaw nir: Imaptaaq "aqish baapq alqay" nimarqayki?
4c Saypis paasakunghi: Imaptaaq "waniq alq mikuq wiskul" nir
  ashlimarqayki? Hoodikuy! --nirshi paasakun.
5c Niptin aanir tumar tumar laadumman niraq witin.

1a As they are yelling there, an anka comes around the point
  where they were hung up.
2a Again, as the children are crying, a kiliksa comes around.
3a There comes around an alqay.
4a When it has said that, there appears a wiskul.
5a The children are yelling just like that. At that moment, agreeing
  a large condor appears. Circling about, it comes down toward the
  top of the boulder.

1b And the children beg: Aunt anka, please take us out!
2b To that one now the children say: Aunt kiliksa, take us out!
3b They beg that one now: Aunt alqay, take us out!
4b That one now they beg: Uncle wiskul, take us out!
5b That one now they beg saying like this: Uncle kondor,
  take us out!

1c The anka answers like this: Why did you call me "chicken thief
  anka"? Saying (thus) he went on.
2c When they said that, the kiliksa says: Why did you call me me
  "bird snatcher kiliksa"?
3c He goes on saying like this: Why did you call me "tribe baapq alqay"?
4c That one too goes on. Why did you insult me saying "dead dog eater
  wiskul"? Be damned! saying he went on.
5c When they saying, agreeing circling he comes right down next to them.

A similar example from Cayco [4], pg. 15ff is given in 1885. The only pattern deviations in this
section of text are in 2f and 3f: they deviate in that the evidential-bearing element follows the verb.
They conclude their respective episodes. Again, pattern deviations being fewer than 5% in TCV's
folk tales, their occurrence on these episode final sentences cannot be considered coincidental.
Pattern Deviation at Textual Boundaries [21.3.1]

1a Warannin hunaq kaminunpashi aywakuykan.
2a Warannin lo mismo ishkallanpashi aywakurkuykan.
3a (absent)

1b Kasl las du: sinagshi tarin kaminu kantunchaw la taraykaqta huk awkis allquta haqayasha.
2b Aywaykashanchawshi tarin kaminuchaw mishi la taraykaqta.
3b Mas mas aywaykashanchawshi tarin huk gaalli hatun sawan hananchaw ushaypa ushar kantaykaqta.

1c Chawra buurru pavan: Imanirtaq qam haqayash kaykanki amfigu? ninghi.
2c Chawra buurru pavan: Imanirtaq qam kaminunchaw la taray shakamushkanki?
3c Chawra buurru pavan gaalluta. Ninghi: Imanirtaq qam ushaypa ushar kantanki, gaalli, likishalla kunkeykipis qasmananyaq?

1d Allquushi kuntistan:
2d Chawra mishipis kuntistan:....... (Here follows negotiations between
3d Chawra gaalli kuntistan:....... the donkey and the dog/cat/rooster)

1e Chawra allqu ninghi: Chaynaw oqyapanchi kaptin aywakushun chawra.
2e Chawra mishipis ninghi: Chawra noqawanpis aywakushun tukapakoq.
3e Chawra gaalli nin: Chawra baamu aywakushun.

1f Chawra buurru ishanpshi aywakun kaminunpa.
2f Chawra aywakun kimsanpshi kaminunpa.
3f Niptin aywakun chusunpshi kaminunpa.

1a The next day they are going on their way.
2a The next day in the same way the two of them are going.
3a (absent)

1b Just before noon they find an old, unhappy dog laying in the middle of the road.
2b As they are going along they find a cat laying in the road.
3b As they are going on farther and farther, they find a rooster on top of a gate, crowing his heart out.

1c So the donkey asks, "Why are you unhappy, friend?"
2c So the donkey asks, "Why have you come to lay in the road?"
3c So the donkey asks the rooster, "Why do you sing your heart out, rooster, until your throat gets raw?"

1d The dog answers.....
2d So the cat answers.....
3d So the rooster answers.....

1e So the dog says, "If that's the way we'll live, let's go!"
2e So the cat, too, says, "So I'll go along to play (music)."
3e So the rooster says, "So let's go!"

1f So both of them go on their way, the donkey (and the dog).
2f So the three of them go on their way.
3f When he said that, the four of them went on their way.

These examples show that the pattern deviations occur at textual boundaries.

21.3.2. Pattern Deviations to Build (and Resolve) Tensions

Pattern deviations sometimes flag a theme on which tension is built in the narrative. For example, a tension running through one text is a girl's ignorance of what the witch has done with her brother (particularly since her ignorance puts her in considerable danger). The girl asks about her brother and does not get a satisfactory answer. She asks a second time, and her question is set by 'Again the girl asks...' where the pattern is X-shi < Y-qa < verb. Her danger is brought home by a sentence saying that the witch had cut up her brother and put him into a pot to boil in which the pattern is X-shi < Y-qa < verb. After some intervening events, the tension is built with 'And she asks
the witch about her brother* in which the pattern is verb-*shi* \(< Y\)-*qa*. The girl's preoccupation about her brother--and the reader's concern that she realize her dangerous situation--are resolved when the bird (*yukish*) and the frog inform her. where the pattern is \(W\)-*qa* \(< X\)-*qa* \(< Y\)-*qa* \(< \text{verb} \,< Z\)-*shi*. This illustrates a tension woven into the narrative which is flagged by pattern deviations.

**21.3.3. Pattern Deviation to Distinguish Two Themes**

When intertwined in text, two themes may be kept distinct by making the sentences of one theme conform to the pattern while making those of the other strand deviate from it. For example, in Cayco [5], a sketch of Peruvian history, two themes are interwoven:

1. that which used to be (that which happened historically), and
2. the basis on which we know such things.

Very consistently, the 1-sentences have past verbs (tense marker *-ra-yqa*) and *-*shi* on some constituent following the verb--thus deviating from 1877. Equally consistent, the 2-sentences have present tense verbs, have *-*na* 'now' somewhere in the sentence, and do not violate 1877. Generally the 2-sentences do not have an evidential suffix. (Exceptional are the cases in which the domain of what would have to be witnessed is too large, as discussed in section 21.1.2, page 394.) However, when evidentials and *-qa* do occur in the 2-sentences they conform to 1877.

**1-SENTENCES**

**1886**

1 Mas mas unay achka marka-*shi karan* kay Peruunichiichaw.

2 Tivarcqan achka runakuna-*shi*.  

3 Pero noganchi mana *perrishkanchi chu* chay runakuna  

\(\text{imanaw-}\text{shi qoyashapish}\)  
\(\text{imanaw-}\text{shi arushapish chay runakuna-qa}\)  
\(\text{Noganchi kana na musvanchi unay pergakunata rikallarna o wasinkunata puntakunachaw tarillarna}\).  
\(\text{Y tu}\text{ilunkunata rikanchi machaykunachaw}\).  
5 Mas pis kan....

6 Chay kushankunata ruragqan paykuna llapan rumipita-*shi*.

7 Wakin-qa kargan allapita-*shi* y shodoshpita-*shi*.

8 Ruragqan hanankuna dibuhuyqita-*shi* bonito kuyayllapaq achka kastatachi.

9 Pero chaykunata rikallara noganchi musvanchi unay runakuna imanaw rurashantapis imanaw tiyeshantapis.

10 Chavin hatun marka.

**2-SENTENCES**

11 Chay marka kargan kanan departamento Ancash probinsya Huari kaykashanchaw-*shi*.

12 Kanan chayta musvanchi dibuhunkunata rikallarna imanawpis kashanta.

13 Unay Chavin markachaw dibuho kaqaw chay kasta-qa inteeru Peru markachaw-*shi kan*.

14 Pero dibuhunpa kolornin kargar reqppa-*shi*.

15 Llapan yansilla-*shi* chay Chavin markapa-*qa*.
1 Long ago there were many towns/peoples in Peru.
2 There lived many people.
3 But we did not know those people, how they lived or how they worked.
4 Now we know, seeing the walls of long ago, or finding their houses on the peaks.
5 And we see their bones in caves.
6 There are also ...
7 They made those things from stone.
8 Some were of earth or of cane.
9 They made all sorts of beautiful drawings on their surface.
10 But seeing those we know how the people of long ago made them and how they lived.
11 Chavin (was) a large town.
12 That town was in the department of Ancash where the province of Huari now is.
13 We know that now seeing their drawings, how they were.
14 Ancient drawings like those of Chavin are throughout Peru.
15 The colors of the drawings were distinctive.
16 Those of Chavin were all simply black (and white).

21.3.4. Conclusion

It has been shown that deviating from the pattern (1877) is a rhetorical device which can be used for various purposes:
- to mark boundaries.
- to signal a theme of concern.
- to interweave two themes in such a way that the reader/listener can easily keep track of them.
I doubt this exhausts the possibilities: there are perhaps many different (and novel) uses various speakers make of this rhetorical device.

21.4. Other Uses of -mi and -shi

This section mentions some non-evidential uses of -mi and -shi.

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354 It is reasonable to ask if deviating from the pattern serves as a rhetorical device in other dialects. I conjecture that it does. For example, the following sentence (Adelaar [1], p. 316 sentence 51) departs from the Tarma pattern in that the evidential precedes the -qa-bearing element. I think that in the basic pattern for Tarma, the evidential is the first constituent, and -qa-bearing elements follow. It follows text describing the fox’s attempts to climb down from heaven on a rope that was too short: it expresses the fox’s predicament, which leads shortly to his fall and death.

Chapita ali yarparkutpin-ga mana-mi niy tramunansi kaqchu.
then well when he:thought-TOP not-DIR nor ever his:arrival it:was:not

‘Then, when he really thought about it, he realized that he would never reach the ground.’

This is, of course, merely suggestive, and I leave as a conjecture that pattern deviations of the sort discussed here serve as a rhetorical device in dialects other than those of Huanuco.

355 Another is -chush, used to form yes/no questions in the same way as -chu, with perhaps slightly different semantic/rhetorical effect (which I am not able to make precise). I believe it to be (at least historically) -chu ‘YN?’ followed by -shi ‘IND’. I do not have a good example from HgQ, although I know that this suffix is indeed used there. An example follows from Tarma Quechua (form Adelaar [1], p. 83):

Maa tupaayu, kuyunin-g-chush.
lets:see push:IT it:turns:OUTTO:move-CHUSH

‘Why don’t you give it a push, to find out whether it moves or not!’
21.4.1. -mi as a Question Marker

-mi is sometimes used in the formation of content questions.\textsuperscript{356} Far more common for this is -\textit{laq};\textsuperscript{357} e.g.:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{pi} \\
\item \textit{who} \\
\item \textit{chaya-mu-sha.} chaya-mu-sha. \\
\item \textit{arrive-afar-3PERF} \\
\item \textit{Who arrived?}
\end{itemize}

21.4.2. -mi in Correlatives

-mi is a structural feature of correlative relative clauses; see Weber [39]. It co-occurs with other evidentials, and is -\textit{mi} regardless of whether the other is -\textit{mi}, -\textit{shi}, or -\textit{chi}; e.g., (where the correlative is enclosed in braces):

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{kuti-chi-n.} kuti-chi-n. \\
\item \textit{return-caus-3} \\
\item \textit{...they return the crosses to (the places) from which they have brought them.}
\end{itemize}

21.4.3. -shi with Non-Finite Embedded Questions

There is a rather restricted sort of complement, one which forms embedded questions with non-finite verbs. (It is discussed in Weber [39], section 4.2.4.3.) Its properties are as follows:

1. the superordinate verb is a verb of perception (e.g., \textit{rika} ‘see’) or of cognition (\textit{reqsi} ‘be acquainted with’).
2. the verb of the complement is finite (all other complements have a non-finite verb). and
3. the complement contains a WH word with -\textit{shi}.

Examples follow, with the complement bracketed:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{[ima-shi ka-yka-n chay-chaw] rika-yku-mu-nki.} ima-shi ka-yka-n chay-chaw rika-yku-mu-nki. \\
\item \textit{what-IND be-impfv-3 there-LOC see-impact-afar-2} \\
\item \textit{'Go and see what is there!'}
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{Chay-naw+pa musya-shun [mayqa-nchi:-shi mas kalpa-yoq} chay-naw+pa musya-shun mayqa-nchi:-shi mas kalpa-yoq \\
\item \textit{that-adv know-12 which-1P-IND more strength-have} \\
\item \textit{ke-nchi].} ke-nchi. \\
\item \textit{be-12} \\
\item \textit{'In that way we'll know which of us is the stronger.'}
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{356} Cerrón [6] (pg.108) states that a question with -\textit{mi} is less polite than a question with -\textit{laq} or -\textit{raq}, and indicates that the speaker has much confidence in his hearer.

\textsuperscript{357} -\textit{raq} is also used, with very special effect: see Weber [41]
21.5. Conclusions

1. -mi/shi/chi allow the Quechua speaker to exercise caution in the amount of responsibility he assumes for information. With -mi the speaker assumes responsibility, with -shi he diverts it to someone else, and with -chi he indicates that it is not the sort of information for which anyone should be held responsible.

2. -mi and -shi are evidential, but due to pragmatic axioms like "one's own (direct) experience is reliable" a validational interpretation is sometimes appropriate for -mi.

3. -chi has (seemingly curious) rhetorical effects which undoubtedly have a basis in its use as a way to avoid committing to the truth of a proposition.

4. The relative positions of one or more -qa's, the evidential suffix, and the main verb form a pattern which grossly characterizes the sentence's progression from thematic to rhematic material. In "ordinary" sentences, the thematic material occurs to the left of the evidential suffix and the rhematic material follows the last preverbal -qa.

5. Deviations from this pattern serve as a rhetorical device. Three uses of this device were identified: occurrence at textual boundaries, for flagging "high tension" themes in the narrative, and for intertwining two sorts of information.

I wish to conclude by suggesting that information profiling and the use of pattern deviations as a rhetorical device naturally follow from -mi/shi/chi's status as indicators of information perspective. How so? First--I suggest--a marker of information perspective (be it evidential or validational) accompanies the new information more naturally than material which simply "paves the way" for it: thus, evidentials naturally occur with the rhematic part of a sentence (provided they are free to do so). In conjunction with a marker of thematic material like -qa 'relevance to context,' this naturally gives rise to a profile along theme-rheme lines. Second--I suggest--it is natural that the speaker/author should tamper with the information profile for rhetorical effect since that goes to the very heart of rhetorical "punches": unsettling the listener to make him take note. So information profiling and pattern deviations for rhetorical effect are natural outgrowths of -mi/shi/chi's status as indicators of information perspective.
22. FORMULAIC AND IDIOMATIC EXPRESSIONS

This chapter lists some expressions whose meaning or use does not result straightforwardly from a combination of their parts. Some should simply be listed in the lexicon; others involve some syntax of limited productivity. A particular concern of this chapter is to provide the user a list of expressions with which he can interact politely in a Quechua situation.

22.1. Polite Expressions

The most important factor to successful interactions with Quechua people is to make a sincere effort at being polite in their terms. This makes a terrific difference in the way they react—particularly to outsiders. Unfortunately, what counts as politeness to members of other cultures (e.g. the culture of Peruvian, Spanish-speaking city-dwellers, or that of North Americans) often misses the point in interactions with Quechua people.

It is obviously not the purpose of this section to explain what politeness is to a Quechua person: it is simply hoped that the expressions included below will serve the person who interacts with Quechua people until, by personal experience, he learns how to be polite.

22.1.1. Mechanisms for Politeness

One way to indicate politeness is to liberally use -lla ‘just’ and -lla ‘polite’. These suffixes are seen in many of the polite expressions listed below.

With imperatives, -ykU ‘impact’ is used to indicate politeness; see section 9.2.4.4. Some requests are made more polite by phrasing them in the future:

Paal-la-yi-ta maña-ku-shaykI.
shovel-2P-OBJ ask-refl-1=2FUT

'Could I borrow your shovel?'
(lit. 'I will ask you for your shovel')

Commands are made more polite by avoiding the second person imperative. They may be rephrased in the first person plural inclusive as in 1892 or in the third person imperative as in 1893:

Noga-wan aywa-ku-shun.
me-COM go-refl-12IMP

'Come with us' (lit. 'with me, let's go').

Chay-lla-chaw ka-ku-yku-chun.
there-just-LOC be-refl-impact-3IMP

'Leave it there!' (lit. 'May it just be there. ')

Another mechanism for showing politeness (one so obvious it hardly need be mentioned) is to use the correct forms of address. Men are addressed generally with taya ‘sir’ and women with mami(;)ta. If one has some relationship with a person, it is appropriate (and polite) to use that, e.g. kompa: (from Sp. compadre) ‘co-father’. It is generally regarded as an abuse to use kinship (and extended kinship) terms when they are not appropriate.358 One exception is that it the children of a

358I have heard a bitter denunciation of banki'sh (evangelicals) because they use terms for brother and sister where there is no such relationship.
community generally address all adults as tiyu 'uncle' or tiya 'aunt'. (It would not surprise me that this varies from town to town.)

22.1.2. Greetings

The greetings have been adapted from Spanish:

*bwenus diyas* 'good morning' (from Sp. buenos días)

*bwenas tardeis* 'good afternoon' (from Sp. buenas tardes)

*bwenas noochis* 'good night' (from Sp. buenas noches)

To some extent, the first of these is used at any time of the day, and I have occasionally heard *bwenas tardeis* used in the morning. But generally, their use follows Spanish in being restricted to the morning, the afternoon and evening, and the night, respectively.

There are various ways to inquire about the addressee's well-being. 1894 would be used upon first seeing someone in the morning to ask if the addressee passed a good night:

```
Alli-chu wara-shka-nki?
good-YN? dawn-perf-2

'How did you come into the new day?'
```

If the addressee slept at some distance from where the question is asked, -*mu* may be added to the verb: *warao-mu-shka-nki* (dawn-afar-perf-2); the meaning is then roughly 'How did you come into the new day over there'. Other ways of inquiring after someone's health are 1895 and 1896:

```
Alli-lla-chu ka-yka-nki?
good-just-YN? be-1mpfv-2

'How are you?'
```

```
Ima-naw-lla-tag ka-yka-nki?
what-SIM-just-?? be-1mpfv-2

'How are you?'
```

If you have not seen the person of whom you are asking for a considerable while (say several weeks), it is appropriate to say *Hawkalachu*? 'How are you'? 359 The appropriate response to such inquiries is:

```
Aw. alli-lla-mi ka-yka-:: Qam-qa?
yes. good-just-DIR be-1mpfv-1. you-TOP

'I'm fine. And you?'
```

To inquire about someone's place of origin (nationality, place of birth) one says:

```
May-tag ka-nki?
where-?? be-2

'Where are you from?'
```

The answer is of the same form: e.g.:

```
Qasaqmarka ka-::
be-1

'I am from (native to) Qasaqmarka.'
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359 *hawka-* means 'be happy. contented'. It is also be used in e.g. *Hawka kanki*? 'Are you contented?' and *hawka'kamay* 'until later' (for leave-taking)
Greetings [22.1.2]

It is proper upon approaching a house to announce your visit by yelling out Wasi-lla-ykt? (house-just-2P) ‘Anyone home?’ (said as you approach a house). If you are welcome someone in the house will respond with something like Wasi ka-lla-n (house be-pol-3) ‘The house is.’ (response to the above).360

To inquire who is at the door (e.g., if someone knocks), either of the following may be used. where the second is more polite:

Pitaq ka-nki? (who-be-2) ‘Who are you?’ or
Pi-lla-mi? (who-just-DIR) ‘Who?’

The appropriate response is

Noqa-lla-. (I-just-1P) ‘just me’, or
Noqa-lla-~mi. (I-just-1P-DIR) ‘just me (DIR)’

To take one’s leave, it is polite to say Aywa-lla-. (go-pol-1) ‘I’m going now’. The proper response is Aywa-lla-~raq (go-pol-2IMP-yet) ‘Go then’.

22.1.3. Giving and receiving

The following expressions are necessary to successful interactions, particularly in contexts where one is giving or receiving things (e.g. at meals):

Aw mi (yes) and Awnillaa ‘yes thank you’. Awnillaa is used to accept invitations or in return for services; it is not used not when accepting a gift (where pakillaa is the appropriate response).

Kayllaa ‘here. thank you!’ (as when returning something),
Kaa ‘here. take it!’ (less polite than the above).
Katay ‘Here. take it!’ (abrupt) (probably derived from Sp. acá está),
Pakillaa ‘Thank you’ (derived from ‘Que Dios se lo pague’),
Walka-lla-raq (little-just-OBJ-indef) ‘although (it was) just a little bit’ (in response to thanks for a meal or some refreshment).
Mana ima-pita-pis. (not what-ABL-indef) ‘you are welcome, it was nothing’,
Chay-lla-paq-na. (that-just-PUR-now) ‘that’s enough. I’ve had enough.’ (as when being offered a second helping).

Haa ‘huh?’ (to get someone to repeat what he said).
Hana-pa-ri-shun! (sit-ben-sud-12IMP) ‘Let’s rest a bit.’
Mana ima+ na-n-pis-chu. (not what+ do-3-indef-NEG) ‘It doesn’t matter.’,
Kay-raq-mi mishki-lla-qa (this-yet-DIR tasty-just-TOP) ‘This sure is go!’,
To ask that something be handed to you (e.g., the bread) one could say:

Tanta-~ta maky-uk-Ulla-~ma-y.
bread-OBJ hand-impact-pol-==1-2IMP

‘Please pass me the bread.’

360 The most common exchange after this is to discuss whether the dog(s) of the house bite. initiated by the visitor saying something like the following:

Allqo-ylka n-lla-man-chu?
dog-2P bite-==1-3-COND-YM?

‘Might your dog bite me?’
Both -illa: and -ykU contribute to making 1900 polite. Another possibility is simply to add -illa-yki as e.g.:  
Kachi-illa-yki  
salt-just-2P  
'just your salt / Pass me the salt.'

To ask a question, it is polite to pave the way with Tapu-ku-shayki (ask-refl-1->2FUT) 'I will ask you.' To ask other for other things (e.g. to borrow something) it is polite to pave the way with maña-ku-shayki (ask-refl-1=>2FUT) 'I will ask (of) you'.

22.2. Expressions Reflecting Different Perspectives

The examples of this section show that HgQ speakers express some matters from a different perspective than we who are of a different culture. (They also seem to involve a different way of perceiving or conceiving matters.) For example, to indicate how many siblings someone has, he is include in the count:

Pay qanchis wawqe.  
he seven brother  
'He has six brothers.' (lit. 'He is seven brothers.')

Kimsa wawqe ka-...  
three brother be-1  
'I have two brothers.' (lit. 'I am three brother')

Of course, this is no more remarkable than it is to say "He has six brothers": it simply follows a different convention.

To speak of "blowing" a light means to blow on coals to get a flame, thereby lighting rather than extinguishing it:

achki-ta puuka-  
light-OBJ blow  
'blow a light, i.e. get a flame by blowing on a cinder'

Anger is spoken of in the same way as an illness, i.e., one recovers from it:

Rabya-sha-yki-pita allcha-ka-y!  
enrage-sub-2P-ABL fix-pass-2IMP  
'Don't be angry any more.'

Whereas an English speaker talks of "getting" some malady, in HgQ illnesses (broadly conceived) "grabs" one; e.g., mana-y chari- (pain-inf grab-') 'to begin labor pains',

Mana-na chari-q-na-chu  
not-now grab-narpst-now-NEG month sickness-3P-indef  
'Month sickness had not yet grabbed her.'

(i.e. 'She had not yet begun to menstruate.')

Authority is spoken of as a characteristic that someone has with respect to another: muna-y-niyog ka-... [X]-wan (want-inf-have be-... [X]-COM) 'to have X in one's authority'. Or one

---

361 This correlates nicely with the way many dialect (HgQ not among them) express "to get well": and one is freed of the illness.
can speak of being in someone’s authority: *muna-γ-nin-chaw ka-* (want-inf-3P-LOC be-) 'to be under his authority'.

### 22.3. Idioms

HgQ has very few idiomatic expressions. This discussion will begin with idioms that are semi-productive, and then turn to those which are not.

Semi-productive idioms allow some latitude in their formation: in those mentioned here, it is possible to substitute different phrases within the expression, provided these phrases are of the appropriate type. (Certainly the distinction between productive and non-productive idioms is not a clear cut one.) The following idioms are semi-productive idiomatic expressions:

**TO BECOME**

Examples 1907-1911 show that *rika-kU-* (see-refl-) can be used to mean ‘to become x’ where x is some complementing substantive (a substantive phrase, a participle):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{saanu rika-kU-} & \quad \text{health see-refl-} \quad \text{1907} \\
\text{‘to become well’} & \\
\text{mas hatum rachi-sha rika-kU-} & \quad \text{more big tear-prtct see-refl-} \quad \text{1908} \\
\text{‘to become more torn’} & \\
\text{fiyu+pa almira-sha rika-kU-} & \quad \text{very admire-prtct see-refl-} \quad \text{1909} \\
\text{‘to be amazed’} & \\
\text{qeshrqa /chichu rika-kU-} & \quad \text{sick-sub/pregnant see-refl-} \quad \text{1910} \\
\text{‘become pregnant’} & \\
\text{mancha-kaaku-q niraq rika-kU-} & \quad \text{fear-compl-sub just:like see-refl-} \quad \text{1911} \\
\text{‘he became extremely frightened’} &
\end{align*}
\]

**WITHOUT FAIL**

...*mana WH pis pishi-q* (...not WH-indef lack-sub) means ‘without fail’ for example.

*mana pi pis pishi-q* (not who-indef lack-sub) ‘everyone without fail’.

**AROUND THE EDGE**

*inteeru NP pa tuma + ri q* (entire NP-GEN go:about-sub) means ‘all around’: e.g.,

*inteeru kantu-n pa tuma + ri q* (entire edge-3P-GEN go:about-sub) ‘all around the edge’.

**IT DOESN’T MATTER**

The third person imperative is used. as illustrated in 1912, to form the complement to the idiomatic expression *imata gokaman* ‘it doesn’t matter to me’:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kuchpa-ku-chun-pis imata go-ka-ma-n.} & \quad \text{1912} \\
\text{roll-refl-3IMP-even what-OBJ give-refl-*1-3} & \\
\text{‘May it roll (down the hill)--it doesn’t matter to me!’} &
\end{align*}
\]

**PROFESSIONALLY DEDICATED TO**

To express ones profession, one can use the frame *X*-*ila-chaw kakU-*, where X is either a substantive referring to a profession or an infinitive such as in the following
example:

```
chakra aru-y-lla-chaw ka-kU-
field work-inf-just-LOC be-refl-
'to be professionally dedicated to farming.'
```

We now turn to non-productive idioms, i.e., those which are frozen and allow no syntactic manipulation.

I have only seen one HgQ idiom which refers to an internal organ as the center of consciousness, emotion, feeling, etc.; shongo ‘heart/lung’ used as the center of personality or character. For example, shinch shongo (hard heart) ‘uncompassionate’. Further, in example 1914 *tukuy shongoopu* ‘with all my heart’ refers to emotion or will:

```
tukuy shongoopu pa mañá-kU-
all heart-1P-GEN ask-refl-
'to ask with all my heart'
```

These cases are rare and little used, leading me to suspect that they are borrowed from Spanish.362

Unpleasant/uncouth subjects may be referred to euphemistically: e.g. *paharo*—literally ‘bird’ from Sp. *pájaro* ‘bird’—is a euphemism for penis.363 To speak of someone’s death, one may euphemistically speak of his being lost:

```
Tayta-:ta ogra-shka-:
father-1P-OBJ lose-perf-1

'My father died.'
(literally, 'I lost my father.')
```

Examples 1916 and 1917, show "displaced reference", i.e., the predication is really about one thing (e.g. in 1916 about one’s mental state) but this is stated in terms of some other object (e.g. the eyes):

```
Nawi-: puñú-na-:yka-n.
eye-1P sleep-desid-impfv-3
'I am sleepy.' (literally 'My eye wants to sleep. ')
```

In 1917, it is, of course, the contents of the pot which are said to boil, and not the pot itself:

```
Payla timpu-yka-q-ta tallí-ri+yku-r...
pot boil-impfv-sub-OBJ tip-sud-adv

'Quickly tipping over the boiling pot...'
```

There follows a (rather jumbled) list of non-productive idioms:

*adoobi-ia chuta* (adobe-OBJ pull-) ‘to make adobes (putting mud into a mold, etc.)’

*rupaypa rupaykan* ‘to spread like wildfire’; e.g.:

```
Chay-y-lla-mi alburu:ta rupa-y+pa rupa-yka-n.
that-just-GEN word burn-adv burn-impfv-3

'Everyone is learning about it (i.e., word is spreading like wildfire).'
```

---

362 One might suspect that that at least the brain would be viewed as the center of thought. That I have been able to tell, it is not.

361 HgQ shares this euphemism with the Spanish of the area.
busburu-pa huk uma-n (match-GEN one head-3P) 'a single match'
asi-y binsi-rl (laugh-inf conquer-pnct) 'to be unable to suppress a laugh'
Qampis ni noqapis gustu kashunchu:

Qam-pis ni noqapis gustu ka-shun-chu,
you-indef nor i-indef pleasure be-12FUT-NEG

'Neither of us will be the same.'

alli qoya:-[X]-wan 'to live compatibly with X'
mana sumaq tanitya-q-naw-chu ka-: 'I don’t fully understand' (lit. 'I am as one who does not understand well.')</n
adyus-ta go- (greeting-OBJ give-) 'to greet'
kichki ka- (narrow be-) 'to be packed tightly together' e.g. in a vehicle/theatre where there is not really enough room.
kargu-ta yayku- (office-OBJ enter-) 'enter office'
waz-ya-man chura-ka-: (cry-inf-GOAL place-pass) 'to begin to cry'
huk-niraq-ya-: (one-just-like-become-) 'countenance fall'
ruka-y-ta apa-ku- (replace-inf-OBJ take-refl) 'to become the replacement...' (e.g. to take over a fiesta cargo for the next year)
kwinta-ta apa-ku: (account-OBJ take-refl-) 'to become aware that'
huti-n-pa willa- (name-3P-GEN tell-) 'to identify by name'
-pa huti-POS, -chaw 'in x’s name' e.g.:

Maña-ku-n santu-pa huti-n-chaw, 1920
ask-refl-3 saint-GEN name-3P-LOC
'They pray in the saint's name.'

direechun-ta go- (right-OBJ give-) 'to give the right to (e.g. to drink liquor)'
chacha “old one” may come from an expression for ‘bent over’ chachaniraq ‘like an old person’
chachashniraq ‘person/post... which is inclined’

22.4. Emotional Expressions

The following might be called “emotives”: they are expressions of emotional reaction:

Achachaw! ‘Oh no! (from fear or surprise)’
Achallaw! ‘How beautiful!! How tasty!’
Anananw! ‘Ouch!’
Akatichaw! ‘How hot (ambient)!’
Wawitita (for a female) or Wawititu (for a male)
‘Poor thing!’

Other, more complicated expressions of emotion follow:

desperation
kanan-raq-chi kanan-lia-qa (now-yet-CNJ now-just-TOP) means roughly ‘Oh dear!
Now what!!’ and is generally followed by something like ima-ta-raq rura-shaq?
(what-OBJ-?? do-1FUT) ‘What shall I do?’ Another example:
22.5. Formulaic Expressions

There are rough formulas for indicating a beginning or an end of a discourse, and there are some discourse types (e.g., riddles) with a fairly fixed structure.

There is no one fixed formula for beginning a folk tale: however, most begin with an existential as in examples 1924-1927:

Chay-shi hasendaaro mishti ka-sha. 1924
that-IND hacienda:owner white be-3PERF
'There was a white hacienda owner.'

Chay-shi buurr ru ka-ra-n. 1925
that-IND donkey be-past-3
'There was a donkey.'

Chay-shi kar a muchu-y. 1926
that-IND be-past-3 famine
'There was a famine.'

Ishkay upa-kuna-shi ka-ra-n. 1927
two stooge-plur-IND be-past-3
'There were two stooges.'

Some begin with an "encounter" between principle participants: e.g.:

Tinku-ka-ra-n sooru-wan kondor-shi. 1928
encounter-pass-past-3 fox-COM condor-IND
'The fox and the condor met.'

The following are standard terminators of speeches: they all mean (roughly) 'that's all':
Chaylla-mi ka-sha. (that-just-DIR be-3PERF)
Chaylla-mi. (that-just-DIR)
Chaylla (that-just)
These are used to terminate any sort of speech, such as the telling of a folk tale, the end of a political speech, the ending of a narrative about some incident, and even to conclude public and private prayer ('amen').

A riddle has three or four lines: the first line is very standardly *Imata:shi Imataqshi (kaykaa)?* (see 1930); the other lines give properties of the item to be guessed.

```
Ima-taq-shi ima-taq-shi (ka-yka-::)
what-??-IND what-??-IND  be-impfv-1
Paqas-ta hunaq-ta aywa-ku-yka-::, yoraq-lla.
night-OBJ day-OBJ go-refl-impfv-1 white-just
Mana ultimu chawa-y-pa paqas-ta hunaq-ta.
not finally complete-adv night-OBJ day-OBJ

'What am I? What am I?
Night and day I am going, white.
By night by day.' [mayu 'river']
```

```
Ima-taq-shi ima-taq-shi (kaykaa?) (what-??-IND what-??-IND)
Wak chimpa, kay chimpa,
there bank this bank
Waraka-naku-yka-::
(sling-recip-impfv-1)

'What are we? What are we?
That bank, this bank.
We sling things at each other. [runa 'man']
```

```
Wasi waqta-n-chaw noqa tiya-:
house behind-3P-LOC live-1
Imay-pits unchu-ra-::
when-indef squat-stat-1
Uma rebeti-sha
(head cap-prtc)
Miku-:: yapay aqtu-ri-:
et-1 again spit:out-pinct-1

'I live behind a house.
Always squatting.
My head capped
I eat. Then I spit it out.' [horno 'oven']
```

As the ultimate in formulaic expressions, I offer following war cries:

Golpe gyeerra!
Tuuka la kampaana!
Wañuy Kaway!

### 22.6. Loan Translations (Calques)

There are perhaps a few cases in which HgQ has borrowed an expression from Spanish, translating them part for part. (These are called "loan translations" or "calques.") For example, Spanish has the following expressions: *estar en ayunas* 'to be on fast (i.e., to not yet have eaten breakfast)', *estar de sed* 'to be thirsty', and *estar de hambre* 'to be hungry'. These were translated part for part into HgQ, giving rise to expressions like the following:

```
Yarqa-y-chaw ka-yka-::
be:hungry-inf-LOC be-impfv-1
'I am hungry.' or 'I am without having eaten.'

Yaku-na-y-pita ka-yka-::
water-desid-inf-ABL be-impfv-1
'I am thirsty.'
```
23. PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOPHONEMICS

This chapter describes various aspects of the phonology of HgQ. These are treated in ten sections as follows:

1. Phonemes, see section 23.1.
2. Allophones, see section 23.2.
3. Consonant Clusters, see section 23.3.
4. Syllables, see section 23.4.
5. Morpheme Structure Conditions, see section 23.5.
6. Orthography, see section 23.6.
7. Stress, see section 23.7.
8. Morpo-Phonological Processes, see section 23.8.
9. Loan Processes, see section 23.9.

23.1. Phonemes

Table 23.1 shows the phonemes of HgQ. Those in parentheses are used only in Spanish loans.

| CONSONANTS: | stops voiceless | /p/ | /t/ | /k/ | /q/ |
| voiceless | (b) | (d) | (g) |          |
| fricatives | (f) |          | /h/ |          |
| affricates |          | /ch/ |          |          |
| sibilants | /s/ | /sh/ |          |          |
| nasals | /m/ | /n/ | /ñ/ |          |
| liquids | /l/ | /l/ | / Stall |          |
| semivowels | /y/ | /w/ |          | [length]^{364} |

| VOWELS: | front | mid | back |
| high | /i/ | /u/ | |
| mid | (e) | (o) | |
| low | /a/ |          | |

Table 23.1: THE PHONEMES OF HUALLAGA QUECHUA

The consonants in parentheses are found only in words which are borrowed (e.g. bi:da 'life' from Spanish vida) or onomatopoetic (e.g. bunnuru- 'of thunder to rumble'). The vowels in parentheses occur in native Quechua morphemes only as allophones of the high vowels. They also occur in borrowed words.

The importance of vocalic length in the central Quechua languages cannot be over-estimated. In some extreme cases, virtually every vowel is long, e.g. /aka:-chi-yka:-ma:-na-nchi:-paq-qa/^{364}

^{364} Length is phonetically vocalic (being the protraction of a vowel) but it is listed here because it has the value of a consonant in the phonological system.
[aka:chi:ka:ma:nanchi:pá:ga] 'in order to be making me hot'. Length may be the only clue to rather sharp differences: e.g.:

[kawará:chu] /kawá-ra:-chu/ (live-past-1-NEG) 'I did not live'
[kawará:chu] /kawá:-raq-chu/ (live-1-yet-NEG) 'I still don't live'

In many cases length is the only feature distinguishing two morphemes: e.g. roots may be distinguished only by the length of the final vowel: 365

a. pishi:-chi-n (urinate-caus-3)
   b. pishi:-chi-n (be: lacking-caus-3)

a. 'he makes/allows him urinate (of a small child)'
   b. 'he causes it to be lacking'

a. rika:-ku-n (spectate-refl-3)
   b. rika:-ku-n (see-refl-3)

a. 'he looks (as a spectator)'
   b. 'he sees/looks'

a. wayra:-chi-sha (blow-caus-3PERF)
   b. wayra-chi-sha (winnow-caus-3PERF)

a. 'he made it blow (as by opening a window)'
   b. 'he made him winnow it'

In some cases the allomorphs of different suffixes are distinguished only by length. For example, /-ykU/ 'directly' and /-yka:/ 'imperfective' both have allomorphs with the [-yka], but that of /-ykU/ can occur in an open syllable whereas in such an environment /yka:/ will have a long vowel:

[chayaykámur] chay-a-ykú-mu-r (directly)
[chayaykámur] chay-a-yka:-mu-r (imperfective)

'upon arriving'

23.2. Allophones

/p/  voiceless bilabial stop. e.g. /papa/ [pápa] 'potato'
/t/  voiceless apico-alveolar stop. e.g. /tanta/ [tánta] 'bread'
/k/  voiceless dorso-velar stop

365 Here is a list of roots which end in long vowels. (Abbreviations used are the following: v1 intransitive verb, v2 transitive verb, p1 pronoun, s substantive, adj adjective, loc locative/ expression/location. onom onomatopoeic.) achikya:- v1 shine: aha:- v1 form a sore on the skin: aka:- v1 be hot: aqaya:- v1 be hot (e.g., a sprained ankle): ama: s mythical figure (like a witch): asga:- v1 be sour: ayas:- v1 sink: ayara:- v2 to hold something horizontal in the hands: ayas:- v1 to reach, to be sufficient: v2 to hand to: chapa:- v2 to cover, to protect by covering: chara:- v2 to have: chayaka:- v2 to stain: chillaya:- v1 to sparkle: chipa:- v1 to be shiny: ha: huh? (what you say to get someone to repeat what he has said): hisaka: whoa! (what you say to a horse to make it stop): hitapa:- v2 to cast the blame on: hucha:- v1 to sin: illa:- v1 to be absent: illqa:- v1 to disappear: ka: here! (what you say when extending something to someone so that he will take it): koyla: here, thanks! (what you say when returning something): kuekha:- v1 to roll (down the slope): ma: loc let's see! (a challenge to do something): macha:- v1 to be intoxicated: melana:- v2 to be nauseating or revolt: micha:- v2 to impede, to stop from doing: mishki:- v1 to become sweet: nama:- v1 to hurt/pain, v2 to be painful to: pacha:- take lodging: pit pro who: pish:- v1 to be lacking to: pocha:- v1 to be too salty, to be fermented: apara:- v1 yell: qasa:- v2 to be cold (derived from qasi-ya: peace/ful become): qoya:- v1 to pass time: rasa: s an old house in ruin (without roof...): rawra:- v1 to burn (skin): rika:- v1 to watch (as a spectator): shama:- v1 to be warm (from the sun): shuya:- v1 wait: v2 to wait for: qonha:- v2 to be warm: sara:- v1 to go down: utika:- v1 to be tired: wara:- v1 to dawn: washar:- v2 to defend (by coming between the aggressor and victim): waysu:- v1 to blow (cf. wayar:- to winnow?): wequl: s species of plant: wicha:- v1 climb: yanapa:- v2 help: yarpa:- v2 think, remember, deliberate... yarqa:- v1 to be hungry.
- Word-finally /k/ is sometimes pronounced with a strong vocalic termination e.g. /huk/ [huk] 'one'.

- In the morpheme /-yka:/ 'impf.' the /k/ is sometimes voiced [-yga:] and sometimes the point of articulation is quite far front (in the palatal region) with a strong palatal offglide [-yk-a:] e.g. /kaykaqwan/ [kaykəqwan].

For example, /əq/ [əɣo]-[əɣo] 'sand', /açcha/ [açcha] 'hair'. To clarify the last two cases, the /q/ of suffixes with the shape /-Caq/:

1. either drop /q/ altogether or have a slightly audible velar friction [x] (perhaps post-velar [x]) when word-final.
2. may be either length (of the preceding vowel) or a voiced velar stop [g] or [g] generally followed by a transition vowel: e.g.

   /mana-raq/ [manāraq] ~ [manarə:] /awc-shaq/ [awcshaq] ~ [awcshaq]

- voiced bilabial stop or fricative (as in Spanish). e.g. /aba/ [aba]-[ava] 'grape'
- voiced apico-alveolar stop. e.g. /deeru/ [deeru] 'finger'
- voiced dorso-velar stop. e.g. /rīgin/ [rīgin] 'he believes'
- voiceless labio-velar fricative. e.g. /WAsta/ 'fiesta'
- voiceless breath. e.g. /hacha/ [hacha] 'shrub, brush'
- voiceless lamino-alveolar affricate. e.g. /chaka/ [chaka] 'bridge'
- voiced apico-alveolar sibilant. e.g. /suqta/ [suqta] 'six'
- voiceless lamino-palatal sibilant. e.g. /shamun/ [shamun] 'he comes'
- bilabial nasal stop. e.g. /micha/ [micha] 'stingy'
- alveolar nasal stop. e.g. /anka/ [anka] 'eagle'
- lamino-palatal nasal e.g. /niatin/ [niatən] 'liver'
- alveolar lateral. e.g. /laps/ [laps] 'pencil'
- lamino-palatal lateral. e.g. /alli/ [alli] 'good'
- apico-alveolar flap. e.g. /chary/ [chary] 'grab it'
- voiced apico-postalveolar fricative e.g. /kaazu/ [ka:zu] 'truck, car'
- high front semi-vowel. e.g. /yaykuy/ [yaykuy] 'enter!'
- high back rounded semi-vowel. e.g. /wawa/ [wawa] 'baby'

[length] length of the preceding vowel

---

366 /q/ is rarely pronounced as a voiceless stop in HgQ as it is in most other dialects.

367 This covers a wide range of labial and velar constriction: [fW]-[sW]-[kW]

368 i.e., this is formed with the blade of the tongue.

369 i.e., it is retroflexed. Orthographically this is represented with ꜳ.
23.3. Consonant Clusters

The following consonant clusters and their phonetic values have been recorded. (This list is not intended as a complete list of all possible clusters.) There seem to be little constraint on what may occur as a cluster.\(^{370}\)

/kk/ [k] *ichikkuna* ‘little ones’
/kq/ [kʰ] e.g. *hukqa* (one-TOP)
/ksh/ [kʃ] e.g. *taksha* ‘small’
/lǐ/ [lɭ] or [lʰy] e.g. /papilla/ [papɪlə]~[papɭɨlə] ‘just paper’
/lq/ [ɭɨɡ] e.g. *pallqa*
/l italiane/ e.g. *pəlyə* ‘to fight’ [pəlyə]~[pɛɭəyə]\(^{372}\)
/mp/ [mɲ] e.g. *hampi* ‘medicine’, *qampa* ‘yours’
/mn/ [mɲɨɾ] e.g. *wanra* ‘child’
/mw/ [mʰw] e.g. *qamwan* ‘with you’
/nč/ [nɭ] e.g. *hanča* ‘take by the hand’
/nk/ [ɲk] e.g. *anka* ‘hawk’
/nɲ/ [ɲɲ] e.g. *hatunnum* ‘the biggest’
/np/ [mɲɲ] e.g. *Juanpa* ‘John’s’
/nq/ [ɲɡ] e.g. *tanga* ‘push’
/nɾ/ [ɲɾ] e.g. *qanra* ‘dirty’
/nɛ/ [ɲɛ] e.g. *mayqansi* ‘which (indef)’
/nt/ [ɲt] e.g. *tanta* ‘bread’
/nw/ [nɯ] *piikunu* ‘with his pick’
/ny/ [ɲɲ] or sometimes [ɲŋ] e.g. *qanyan* ‘yesterday’\(^{373}\)
/pr/ [pr] or [pɾ] e.g. *qapra* ‘blind’ *tap(a)qarkoq* ‘butterfly’
/qc/ [xɭ] e.g. *aqcha* ‘hair’ *paqcha* ‘waterfall’
/qk/ [xk] e.g. *atoqkoaq* ‘fox + def’ [atɔ̃kax]
/qq/ [qɡ] or [ɭɡ] e.g. *atoqqa* ‘fox + TOP’
/qɭ/ [qɭ] e.g. *paqila* ‘bald’
/qɭl/ [qɭɭ] e.g. *atoqilla* ‘just the fox’ *chaqilla* ‘cover with sticks’
/qm/ [ɛm] e.g. *aywashaqmi* ‘I will go’ or [ɛʃɛm] or [ɛʃɛm] e.g. *saqma* ‘to stone’
/qn/ [qɛn] or [ɛʃɛn] e.g. *hunaqna* ‘now day’
/qt/ [qɭt] e.g. *paqra* ‘worthless soil’. *mugra* ‘soiled’
/qsh/ [xɭ] e.g. *taqsha* ‘wash clothing’
/qɭɑ̃/ [ɡɭʃ] e.g. *hunayqaq* ‘until day’ *wagqa* ‘howl (dog)’

---

\(^{370}\) And these might simply reflect distributional constraints on consonants in terms of syllables: e.g. /h/ may only occur in the syllable onset, so there are no clusters which begin with /h/.

\(^{371}\) This is perhaps slightly longer than a normal /lɭ/.

\(^{372}\) /ly/ contrasts with /lɭ/. e.g. *pəlyə* ‘to fight’ is pronounced [pɛɭəyə] and not *[pella]*.

\(^{373}\) [nɭ] contrasts with [ɲɭ]: e.g. a minimal pair is *maŋqa* ‘to tie the hands of, to hobble’ versus *maŋa* ‘to ask for’.
Consonant Clusters [23.3]

/gw/ e.g. lagwa- ‘to lick’
/rz/ e.g. kumpa:rr (from compadre)
/r/k/ e.g. marka ‘town’
/r/ e.g. puñurraq ‘yet sleeping’
/s/ e.g. urlaykich ‘below you’
/rm/ e.g. kmra‘cot/strecher’ tumanya ‘rainbow’
/rn/ e.g. puñurna ‘sleeping now’ gubirnu ‘government’
/r/ e.g. parti ‘region’
/ry/ e.g. ukumarya ‘bear’
/z/ e.g. puñursi (sleep-adv-indef)
/st/ e.g. paqasraq ‘yet night’
/sy/ e.g. paqasyaq ‘until night’
/shch/ e.g. kikishchaw ‘in the armpit’
/shsh/ e.g. kuurrishshi ‘he ran’ (run-3PERF-IND)
/tq/ e.g. watqa- ‘to spy on’
/ww/ e.g. illawwan ‘with the weaving stick’

23.4. Syllable Structure
The following account for virtually all of Quechua syllabic structure:
1. A phonological word is a series of syllables.
2. Syllables are simply (C)V(C),
3. The syllable onset is obligatory except in the initial syllable.
4. Length patterns as a consonant (which only occurs in the coda), i.e. V: = [V][C].
Using C = {consonants and length} and V = {short vowels} the above-listed facts yield the following
constraints:
* CCC i.e., no clusters of three consonants.
* # CC i.e., no consonant clusters initially (Loans are exceptional e.g., kwartu)
* CC# i.e., no consonant clusters finally
*VV i.e., no two vowels together
*:CC and *C: # i.e., length does not occur in closed syllables (These are special cases of the first two constraint given (respectively).)

23.5. Morpheme Structure Conditions
Any combinations of consonants, vowels and length which (1) meets the phonological constraint presented above, (2) does not result in too many syllables (four being about the limit) could be a (verbal or substantive) root morpheme. Verbal roots must end in a vowel (either short or

\[374\] We must not be misled by digraphs: “shll” is only two consonants. Snow [33], page 252, gives mayqanntsish. which violates this constraint: I suspect this is simply wrong.

\[375\] But length is represented orthographically by double vowels.
long). There is a strong (diachronic) tendency to make verbal roots bisyllabic. For example, \( \text{rika} - \text{cha} \) becomes \( \text{rikcha} \) 'to look intently at', \( \text{qara} - \text{cha} \) becomes \( \text{qar'cha} \) 'to drag' etc.

The canonical shapes (morheme structure conditions) of suffixes include the following:

\( -C \)  
\( -n \) 'third person'

\( -\cdot \)  
\( -\cdot \) 'first person'

\( -CV \)  
\( -\text{ia} \) 'OBJ'

\( -C\cdot \)  
\( -\text{pa} \) 'ben'

\( -CVC \)  
\( -\text{paq} \) 'purpose'

\( -CCV \)  
\( -\text{ykU} \) 'impact'

\( -CCV \)  
\( -\text{yka} \) 'impfv'

\( -CCVC \)  
\( -\text{ynaq} \) 'without'

\( -C\cdot V \)  
\( -\cdot\text{sh} \) 'help'

\( -CVC\cdot V \)  
\( -\text{pita} \) 'ABL'

\( -CV:CV \)  
\( -\text{pa:kU} \) 'plur'

\( -CV:CV \)  
\( -\text{kach} \) 'iterative'

\( -CCVC\cdot V \)  
\( -\text{ykach} \) 'iterative'

\( -CVCC\cdot V \)  
\( -\text{raygu} \) 'sake'

If \( /q/ \) occurs in a suffix, then neither \( /i/ \) nor \( /u/ \) occurs in it. This is probably because phonetic lowering would make the \( /i/ \) or \( /u/ \) into \( [e] \) or \( [o] \) (respectively), making them susceptible to re-analysis as \( /a/ \).

### 23.6. Orthography

The orthography used throughout this work is that authorized by the Peruvian Ministry of Education. Table 23-2 is included for the benefit of any who might venture to read material written in a Hispanic orthography.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PHONEME</th>
<th>AUTHORIZED</th>
<th>HISPANIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/w/</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>hu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>word initial and sometimes between vowels in all coda, after consonants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/y/</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>gu before e and i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/q/</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>gu before e and i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 23-2: ORTHOGRAPHIC CONVENTIONS

The authorized orthography requires that the vowels be written lowered only if no morpheme

---

376 Perhaps this is true for all roots, but the tendency is certainly stronger for verbal roots.

377 Resolución Ministerial No. 4023-75-ED, October of 1975.
boundary intervenes between the lowered vowel and the /q/ which causes the lowering. Thus,

/atoq/ 'fox' is written atoq
/upu-q/ 'drink-agent' is written upuq
/asi-ŋqa/ 'search-fut' is written asinqa but
/sinqa/ 'nose' is written senqa

When /n/ has undergone assimilation to the point of articulation of a following stop or affricate, it should nevertheless be written as "n". Thus,

[wasiŋpa] /was-i-n-pa/ 'to his house' is written wasinpa but
[pampa] /pampa/ 'ground' is written pampa

### 23.7. Stress

Basically, stress is assigned to the penultimate mora.\(^{378}\)

In the most usual case, the next to the last syllable is stressed. Thus:

/ayway/ [ayıway] 'go (IMP)'
/aywaykan/ [ayıwaykan] 'aywaykan' 'they are going'
/aywaykɔmmi/ [ayıwaykɔmmi] 'they are going (DIR)'
/aywashaykikaʃma/ [ayıwashaykikaʃma] 'until you go'

Since long vowels count as two mora, word-final long vowels are stressed. This may come about by (i) the final morpheme ending in an underlying long vowel or (ii) length resulting from compensatory lengthening upon the loss of a /q/:

/raka:/ [ɾaka:] 'abandoned house in ruins'
/ama:/ [ama] 'a prehistoric people'
/mana-raq/ [manaɾax] ~ [manaɾax] 'not yet'
/aywa-shaʃ/ [aywaʃax] ~ [aywaʃax] 'I will go'
/chay-lila-raq/ [chayllaraʃ] ~ [chayllaraʃ] 'just a moment ago'

Because the penultimate mora is stressed and because the first person suffix (either verbal or non-verbal) is length, it is accompanied by stress unless it occurs pre-penultimate. (One could say that it attracts stress from its left but not from its right.) Thus,

/uma:/ [uma:] 'my head'
/uma::ta/ [uma:ta] 'to my head'
/uma::pita/ [uma:pita] 'from my head'
/uma::pita-mi/ [uma:pitaʃmi] 'from my head (assert)'

---

\(^{378}\)\text{Yet all stress follows the rules presented below in the text. For example, stress may be used for emphasis: in the following, the final vowel of noqo is lengthened and stressed:}

\text{Kasarashaq noqá:::}

\text{‘I will marry her!’ (pleading so her father won’t throw the speaker over a cliff)}

Further, in some discourses, a speaker may shift to a staccato pattern: heavy stress on the first syllable of a phrase followed by decreasing stress and pitch to the end of that phrase. I have only seen this pattern maintained over fairly small stretches of a discourse.
23.8. Morpho-Phonological Processes

23.8.1. Sibilants

/sh/ becomes /s/ when it immediately precedes /ch/: e.g.

/hanash-chaw/ [hanaschaw] 'farther up +LOC'

/aywa-sha-chu/ [aywashâchu] ~ [aywâschu]

'Has he gone? / He has not gone.'

/kikish-chaw/ [ikikischaw] 'in the armpit'

/sh/ may also become /s/ before /y/: e.g.

/wipchush-yəa̱ / [wipchúsı̊ya̱] or [wipchúsı̊ya̱]

In the following, the (second) /z/ and the following /sh/ merge together into a continuous affrication with the tongue tip moving forward

/kururi-r-shi/ [ku:zi:zshi] (run-adv-IND)

The same is true of the /r/ and /sh/ of the following example, even though a word boundary intervenes:

[gongáyku:shákamúsh kashká:] ]

/gongqaykur shakamusha kashkaa/ 'I had come forgetting it.'

23.8.2. Phonetic Lowering

High vowels become mid vowels in the environment of /q/.

- when the vowel directly precedes: /uq/ --> [oq], /iəq/ --> [eq], e.g., /suqta/ [sóxta] 'six'
- when the vowel directly follows: /qu/ --> [qo], /qi/ --> [qe], e.g., /qi/ [qé] 'bundle'
- when a resonant occurs between the /q/ and the (preceding) vowel: for example, /quq/ --> [onq]. e.g., /shunqu/ [shôngoro] 'heart'; /iɾq/ --> [erq]. e.g., /pirqa/ [pérga] 'wall'.
- /e̱lq/ --> [ollq] e.g., /ollq/ [óllo] 'male', etc.

- but (generally) not with other consonants intervening: for example, /uχq/ --> [uχq]. e.g.,

/putqan/ [puchgan] 'he spins'; /uɾq/ --> [uɾq] etc.

23.8.3. Lowering of High Long Vowels

In HgQ there is a strong tendency to lower long high vowels; e.g.,

/ash:shiy/ [ash:shí] 'help him search'

/mi:kː/ [míkː] 'I eat'

/mana tapu:-ræq-chu/ [mána tapo:rā:chu] 'I haven't asked yet.'

---

379 This process operates across morpheme boundaries as well as within morpheme boundaries.

380 There are some exceptional words in which /u/ is virtually always lowered despite an affricate between it and the /q/.

e.g., /puchqun/ [pochğon]
The long high vowels of highly assimilated loans are sometimes lowered; e.g.:

\[ \text{biyō-ra} \ '\text{widow}' \text{ from Sp. viuda} \]

This does not occur in all loans; e.g.:

\[ /\text{kara-w-nun}/ \ '\text{each one of them}' \text{ [kara-w-nun]} \text{ NOT: [karō-nun]} \]

### 23.8.4. Nasal Assimilation

Syllable initially /\text{n}/ is simply [n]. Syllable final, /\text{n}/ assimilate to the point of articulation of a following stop or affricate; otherwise, syllable finally it is velar.

\[
\begin{align*}
/\text{n}/ & \rightarrow [\text{m}] / \text{p} \quad \text{e.g.} /\text{taytanpaq}/ & \quad [\text{taytāmpaq}] \\
/\text{n}/ & \rightarrow [\text{t}].\text{ch} \quad \text{e.g.} /\text{umanta}/ & \quad [\text{umanta}] \\
/\text{n}/ & \rightarrow [\text{k}] \quad \text{e.g.} /\text{anka}/ & \quad [\text{ānka}] \\
/\text{n}/ & \rightarrow [\text{j}] \quad \text{syll final} \quad \text{e.g.} /\text{anana}/ & \quad [\text{ānān}] 
\end{align*}
\]

For example, /\text{n}/ is [ŋ] before /\text{r/} e.g., /\text{qanta}/ [gāŋra] 'dirty'; before /\text{s/}, e.g., /\text{aywansi}/ [aywāŋsi] 'he also goes'. Generally before semifervews /\text{n}/ becomes [ŋ], e.g., /\text{taytanwan}/ [taytāŋwan]. However before /\text{y/} there is alternation between [n] and [ŋ]:

\[ /\text{qanyan}/ [\text{qānyan}] \rightarrow [\text{qānyan}] \ '\text{yesterday}' \\
/\text{manya-}/ [\text{mānya-}] \rightarrow [\text{mānya-}] \ '\text{hobble}' \]

Nasal assimilation does not apply in /\text{panpany-a-}/ [panpāŋya-] 'to explode (fireworks)' formed by the cliticization of -\text{ya:} to the onomatopoeic expression [pāŋ pāŋ].

### 23.8.5. Apocope

When word final and following a short vowel, some suffixes of the form -CV may (optionally) lose the final vowel (accompanied by a shift of stress). Thus.

\[
\begin{align*}
/\text{mana}-\text{m}/ & \rightarrow [\text{manam}] \quad [\text{mānam}] \quad \text{(not-DIR)} \\
/\text{uma-ta}-\text{m}/ & \rightarrow [\text{umatam}] \quad [\text{umātam}] \quad \text{(head-OBJ-DIR)}
\end{align*}
\]

but never

\[ /\text{aywa-n-m}/ \rightarrow [\text{aywāŋm}] \quad *[\text{aywanm}] \quad \text{(go-3-DIR)} \]

Suffixes which undergo this process are: -\text{mi} 'direct', -\text{shi} 'indirect', -\text{s} 'even, also', -\text{sha} 'participle'. Apocope is very common immediately preceding ka- 'be'. [āllim kāykāŋ] is much preferred to [āllimī kāykāŋ].

### 23.8.6. Contractions

#### 23.8.6.1. Syllable dropping

If adjacent syllables are highly similar at the end of a word, one is sometimes deleted; e.g.:
Syllable dropping [23.8.6.1]

/-yki-taq/ --> [-yk(γ)ax] (with [k] somewhat fronted)
/-pita-taq/ --> [-pitax]
/-ta-taq/ --> [-tax]

For example,
/puñashaykikamaq/ --> [puñashayk'axamə]
'to the place where you slept'
/maypitataq/ --> [maypita] 'from where?'
/wallpaykitataq/ --> [wallpaykita] 'your chicken+OBJ?'

In /kikikunata/ [kikik:unata] 'yourselves+OBJ' the third [k] is somewhat longer than an "ordinary" [k], presumably because it is the collapse of /kik/.

In example 1934 four animals are mentioned in parallel, each overtly followed by -shi except mishi: the absence following mishi is due to the contraction of like syllables at the end of a word.

a. ...puñuykaarinishi chay washi chaw
b. burren-shi hawa punku pampaman
c. alliqu-shi punku yaykurninachaw
d. mishi-∅ tulpa punkuchaw y

Sometimes other syllables are dropped as a speech-speed phenomenon. e.g.: /karuna-kuna-ta/ [karukunata]

/taqay washa/ [te:wašha]

The /a/ of -pa 'GEN' is sometimes lost in compounds:
/ikhchypa ikchur/ [ikchur:p:ikchur] 'sobbing'
/burrp:pa chupa-n/ [bu:zupchupaŋ] 'donkey's tail (type of plant)'

23.8.6.2. Hana, ura and washa contracting with qa

Hana, ura and washa are discussed in section 12.3.2.3. These roots may contract with a following substantive as han-, ur- and wash- (respectively). For example, with la:du 'place, side'.

\textnumero han⁰:la:/ ~ /hanalä:/ ~ /hana ła:du/
\textnumero ulä:/ ~ /ulala:/ ~ /ur⁰:la:/ ~ /ura ła:du/

With wasi 'house':
\textnumero han⁰:wasi/ ~ /haywası/ 'that house up there'
\textnumero wash⁰:wasi/ ~ /washwası/ 'that house over there'
\textnumero ur⁰:wasi/ 'that house down there'

\textsuperscript{381} [e] is a transition vowel: it does not have the status of a phoneme.
The following shows this contraction with /qa/:\textsuperscript{362}
\begin{align*}
[h\text{\textsuperscript{\textbeta}qa-}] & /h\text{\textalpha}qa-/ \ < \ hana+qa \\
[ur\text{\textsuperscript{\textbeta}qa-}] & /ur\text{\textalpha}qa-/ \ < \ ura+qa \\
[wash\text{\textsuperscript{\textbeta}qa-}] & /wash\text{\textalpha}qa-/ \ < \ wash+a+qa
\end{align*}

\textbf{23.8.6.3. Contractions involving suffixes and postpositions}\
Some rare cases show the contraction of /\ldots qa+ya:/ to /\ldots qa/: e.g.:
\begin{align*}
[malli\text{\textsuperscript{\textbeta}qa-}] & /malliqa-/ 'to be hungry' \\
& from /mallaq+ya:-/ (hungry+become-) \\
[yor\text{\textsuperscript{\textbeta}qa-}] & /yor\text{\textalpha}qa-/ 'to pale' \\
& from /yoraq+ya:-/ (white+become-) \\
[chana\text{\textsuperscript{\textbeta}qa-}] & /chanaqa-/ 'to become tight (e.g. a knot in a rope)' \\
& from /chanaq+ya:-/ (tight+become-)
\end{align*}
The third of these examples contrasts with [chan\text{\textsuperscript{\textalpha}qa-}] /chanqa-/ which means 'to damage a tuber when harvesting'.\textsuperscript{383}

The postposition \textit{ari} fuses with the -$\text{\textalpha}mi$ 'DIR'. and -$\text{\textalpha}chaq$ 'sure':\textsuperscript{384}
\begin{align*}
/-\text{\textalpha}mi\#ari/ & \rightarrow /\text{\textalpha}mari/ \\
/-\text{\textalpha}chaq\#ari/ & \rightarrow /\text{\textalpha}chari/
\end{align*}

\textbf{23.8.7. Metathesis}\
In the following examples, metathesis has applied to the (medial) consonant cluster:
\begin{align*}
/a\text{\textalpha}kiqa-/ 'to shine' from /a\text{\textalpha}kki-/ 'light' and /-ya:/ 'become' \\
/tunka-/ \sim /tukna-/ 'to support, to uphold' \\
/samqa-/ \sim /saqma-/ 'to stone'
\end{align*}

\textbf{23.8.8. Non-Phonemic Transition Vocoids and Consonantoids}\
Transition vocoids have been illustrated above. For cases like /chan\text{\textalpha}qa-/, speakers definitely reject a pronunciation like [chanaga-] in which the vocoid would have phonemic status (i.e., /chanaqa-/).

Transition consonants are found in native Quechua words such as [wam\text{\textbeta}ra] /wamra/ 'child' and in Spanish loans such as [in\text{\textalpha}riga-] /inriga-/ 'turn over to'. Again, these consonantoids do not have phonemic status.

\textsuperscript{362}This /qa/ probably derived from an old substantive (probably a spatial pronoun): it no longer occurs freely.

\textsuperscript{383}The [chan\text{\textalpha}qa-] could be analyzed as /cha\text{\textalpha}qa-/ while and [chan\text{\textbeta}qa-] as /chanqa-/, riding on the fact that /n/ assimilates to the point of articulation of a following stop while /\textalpha/ does not.

\textsuperscript{384}In other dialects it also fuses with -$\text{\textalpha}hi$ 'CNT', -$\text{\textalpha}sh$ 'IND'.
23.8.9. /i+y/

/i/ followed by /y/ is pronounced [i:], i.e., /i+y/ → [i:]. For example,
/chakiya:n/ [chakǐ:kaŋ] 'It is drying.'
/asiyunkchik/ [asǐ:kǔnchi] 'We are laughing.'

The second person non-verbal person marker (2P) is basically /-yki/. but following /i/ it is simply /ki/. Following a consonant, /-ni/ intervenes, making 2P follow /i/. Thus the complete rule for 2P is:

\[ 2P → -ki / i_ \quad \text{e.g.} /ńawiki/ 'your eye' \]
\[ -niki / C_ \quad \text{e.g.} /ńañniki/ 'your fox' \]
\[ -Long vowel_ / C_ \quad \text{e.g.} /ńaq:niki/ 'your abandoned house' \]
\[ -yki / Elsewhere_ \quad \text{e.g.} /ńumyki/ 'your head' \]

23.8.10. Word Final /i+y/

Word final /i+y/ becomes simply [i] (i.e., short [i]). For example, /asi-y/ [asǐ] 'laugh-imper'. Because the length of the first person plural inclusive suffix /-nchi:/ is also lost word finally it could be analyzed as /-nchiy/.

23.8.11. Morphophonemic Lowering

The high vowel of certain morphemes becomes /a/ when one of certain other suffixes follow in the word. For example, /-kU/ becomes /-ka/ if e.g. /-mu/ follows, so /sha-kU-mu-n/ becomes /shakamun/ 'he comes'. The suffixes involved are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AFFECTED</th>
<th>TRIGGERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-yu</td>
<td>-mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>-mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-raU</td>
<td>-mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-rI</td>
<td>-?:I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-raU</td>
<td>-?:kU</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 23-3: TRIGGERS AND AFFECTEES OF MORPHOPHONEMIC LOWERING

Note the convention of writing the vowel which is lowered with a capital letter. The following

---

385 This may not be a phonological rule but certainly bears mentioning.

386 For example:
[aywǎnchì] /aywa-nchi:/ 'we (incl) go'
[aywǎnchì:mi] /aywa-nchi:-mi/ 'we (incl) go (DIR)'
[wasi:nchì] /wasi-nchi:/ 'our house' but
[wasi:nchì:pita] /wasi-nchi:-pita/ 'from our house'

387 Morphophonemic lowering does not occur across word boundaries: e.g. in the following, the /U/ of -kU is lowered, it being within the same word and preceding -mu, but that of /y/ is not. since it is in a different word:
Qonga-yku-r sha-kU-mu-sha.
forget-imt-adv come-refl-afar-3PERF
'He came forgetting it.'
conventions has been observed throughout: When in the text of this work a suffix is referred to, the final vowel will be capitalized if the suffix has the property of undergoing morphophonemic lowering. In examples however, that vowel will be capitalized only if the vowel has actually been lowered, i.e., if the vowel is actually /a/. For example, when writing about the reflexive suffix we write /kU/, but [shakamur] ‘he comes’ would be cited in an example as shar-kU-mu-n.

Some examples of morpho-phonemic lowering follow:

/quyakamanki/ quasi-ka-ma-nki ‘you give it to me (direct)’ (Cf. /quyka:maniki/ < qu-yka:-ma:-nki ‘you are giving it to me’.)
/aywarkar:ramunki/ aiywa-rukU:-ri-mu-nki ‘they came up here’
/aywarayka:ran/> < aiywa-ri-ykU:-ri-ra-n ‘they went (for just a moment)’
/mikutarka:rinaykipaq/ miku-kU-rukU:-ri-ma-yki-paq ‘in order that they eat it’
/apakaraykamusha/ apa-kU:-ri-ykU-mu-sha ‘he brought it here’
/wañuykachiran/ wañu-ykU-chi-ra-n ‘he killed it’
/wañukamunanaq/ wañu-kU-mu-na-n-paq ‘so that he dies over there’
/yarpachachimana/ yarpa-chakU-chi-ma-n ‘it makes me think’
/rantikapas/ rantu-kU-pa-sha ‘he sold it for him’ (i.e., he negotiated the sale for the seller)
/chayayka:ramur/ chaya-ykU:-ri-mu-r ‘right upon arriving’

Note that the trigger need not immediately follow the affected suffix. The suffix which undergoes lowering may be separated from the trigger by suffixes which do not undergo lowering.

With roots derived (historically) by the combination of a monosyllabic root like qa-, ya-, or hu- with a directional suffix (-ykU, -rukU, -rpU, -rQU) the final vowel of the root may become lowered, or it may not, depending on the extent to which the fusion has dissociated the property of lowering from what was previously a suffix. Thus in the following there is variation:388

chu+rku-pa:-ma-y  ~  chu+rkU-pa:-ma-y
put+up-ben=+>1-2IMP

‘Put it on (to cook) for me.’

But in the following there is no variation possible:

ya+ru-chi-ma-sha  but not *ya+rU-chi-ma-sha
go+out-caus=-+>1-3PERF

‘He turned me out.’

The following suggests that -mu ‘afar’ and -pU ‘ben’ have a greater lowering effect than -chi ‘caus’:

a. miku-mu-sha or miku-mu-sha (eat-afar-3PERF)
b. miku-chi-sha (eat-caus-3PERF)

a. ‘he ate (over there)’
b. ‘he made/allowed him to eat’

a. miku-pa-ku-n  ~  miku-pa-ku-n
b. miku-pa:ku-n  ~  miku-pa:ku-n

a. ‘he begins to eat’
b. ‘they eat’
c. ‘eat it (to your benefit)

388 I think there is variation in the ya-ykU: the following show that the lowering is not obligatory:
yu+ykU-chi-n ‘he allows/makes it enter’
yu+ykU-kU-ykU:-ri-ra-n ‘they entered’

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The following suggests that -ri may cause lowering only in the immediately preceding suffix:

a. yaryk-u-ri-ykU:-ri-sha (enter-punct-impact-plur-3PERF)
b. arma-ri-ykU:-ri-shun (bathe-refl-punct-impact-plur-3PERF)

a. 'They entered in for a moment.'
b. 'Let's bathe ourselves for a moment.'

But note that -mu necessarily causes the lowering to more than just what immediately precedes:


a. 'Go (and come back right away)!'b. 'Go buy it (and come back right away)!' When -ri occurs by itself, it is lowered if a trigger follows. So, for example, upi-ri-rkU:-ri-chi-r is /upirarka:ra:chir/ ‘putting it right out’ (e.g. a flame). However this is not the case when it is co-lexicized with another morpheme; for example, it is colexicizing with qalla- ‘begin’. qapa- ‘to yell’, and hata- ‘to stand up’ so there is now variation:

qalla+ri-mu-chun ~ qalla+ra-mu-chun
(begin=punct-afar-3IMP) 'May he begin (over there)!'

qapa+ra-chi ~ qapa-ri-chi-
(yell-asp-caus-) 'to make yell'

hata-ri-chi-sha ~ hata-ri-chi-sha
(stand-asp-caus-3PERF) 'it made him stand up'

---

### 23.8.12. -ni Insertion

-Ni Insertion is not a necessary rule in this grammar because /ni/ has been given as part of the allomorphs which would otherwise be involved; e.g. the first person possessive is said to have allomorphs -: (following short vowels) and -ni (elsewhere). However, we will discuss -ni Insertion briefly here. The rule is roughly this: when a possessive suffix, -ntin, -ynaq, or -yoq directly follow a consonant, -ni intervenes; e.g.:

/ha:tu-niː:/ 'my big one'

/ma:qaː-maː-q-ni-nchiː/ 'the one who hit us (incl)'

/haːtin-ni-yanaq/ 'not having a liver'

The motivation for the rule is to avoid illegal consonant clusters which would otherwise result; see 23.4. However, this motivation is insufficient in two ways:

1. In the case of -yoq, no illegal consonant cluster would result. 390
2. Some roots have alternative forms with ending in /ni/ which are not motivated by a need to avoid an illegal consonant cluster; e.g. lapa(ni)- ‘all’, ishka(ni)- ‘two’. See 12.4.1 for a more

389 When hata-ri- occurs right before -mu (as in a) then there is possible variation, but if -ri-ykU intervenes (as in b) -ri is much preferred: it is as though -ri-ykU takes the brunt of the effect of the trigger:

a. hita-ri-mu-y ~ hita-ri-mu-y

a. 'Throw it (to here)!'b. 'Throw them (down)!' 390 It has been suggested (Peter Landerman. personal communication) that -yoq might have been -yoq in some previous era.

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complete list of these roots.
Because of these problems, I have chosen to incorporate /ni/ as part of allomorphs rather than to
defend a rule of -ni Insertion.

23.8.13. Processes Involving Length

23.8.13.1. Foreshortening

Long vowels of verbs become short in closed syllables, or to put it another way, long vowels
"surface" only in open syllables. Examples:

/maqa:-ma:-n/ [magáman] 'he hits me'
/chaki:-yka:-n/ [chaki:kan] 'it is drying'
/shuya:-ma:-na-n-paq/ [shuya:ma:nám'pa] 'to wait for me'

Certain morphemes "foreshorten" even though they begin /-CV/, and thus should not close
the preceding syllable. These are:

-chakli 'deliberate'
-ko: 'pass'
-ka:kl 'compl'
-na: 'desid'
-pa: 'be'
-pa:kli 'plur'
-ra: 'stat'
-sha 'sub'.

For example:
/mikuykasha:ta:/ < miku:-yka:-sha:-ta 'that which I am eating'
/achikya:pa:-may/ < akhi:-pa:-ma-y 'shine it for me'
/utikapa:man/ < uiti:-ka:-pa:-ma-n 'he gets tired on me' (i.e., to my detriment, e.g. by holding me
up)
/qoyapaka:ku:n/ < qoyo:-pa:-ka:kU:-n 'he stays way over the expected time, he overstays his
welcome'
/waraka:kusha/ < wara:-ka:kU- 'the day has fully dawned. it is fully light now'
/melanapan/ < melana:-pa:-n 'it is disgusting to him'
/pishi:raykan/ < pishi:-ra:-yka:-n '(some) is lacking (of what he left)'
/charararan/ < chara:-ra:-ra-n 'he had it'
/yarpa:-chaku:sha/ [yarpachakūsha] 'he thought'

The long vowel of a substantive is never foreshortened; if a suffix follows which begins with
two consonants, /ni/ intervenes (see 23.8.12); e.g., siwra: 'city' followed by -yonaq 'without' becomes
siwra:nîynaq 'without cities' and not *siwra:yonaq.

391 Note the following contrast, due to the fact that -sha 'sub' foreshortens but -shaki '1=>2FUT' does not:
/yana:shakki/ yana + pa:-shakki (help-) =2FUT; 'I will help you' /yanapashayki/ yana + pa:-sha:-yki (help-sub-2P) 'which
you helped'.
23.8.13.2. Length in noqanchi(ː)kuna

When -nchi: '12P' is followed by kuna 'plural', the length of -nchi: is optional: e.g.
[uywanchikuna] ~ [uywanchikuna] 'our sheep'
[noqanchikuna] ~ [noqanchikuna] 'we (inclusive plural)'

I conjecture that the two forms came about as follows:
1. The proto-Quechua form of 12P was */nchik/. */nchik-kuna/ would have been pronounced [-nchikuna] because /kk/ was pronounced [k]. This has been preserved as a frozen form.
2. On the other hand, -nchi: is now the basic form of the first person plural inclusive suffix. The length occurs when -kuna follows: [-nchi:kuna].

23.8.13.3. Length for emphasis

If /y/ occurs in the coda of the stressed, lengthened syllable, it may be held into a protracted, voiceless fricative, somewhere in the region of the palat (roughly a fronted [x]): e.g.
/aywakuykan/ [aywakuykːːkan] 'they are going'

If /w/ occurs in the coda of the stressed, lengthened syllable, it may be carried into a protracted voiceless velar friction accompanied by lip rounding: e.g.
/chawra/ [chawːːra] 'then. so'.

Other examples of length used for emphasis are the following:
/mana/ [māːːna] 'no!!'
/may karu/ [māːːyːː kāru] 'very far'

23.8.13.4. Compensatory lengthening

Under certain conditions, when /q/ is the coda of a syllable it may be lost leaving compensatory length. Various conditions are discussed:

1. Certain morphemes whose shape is /Caq/ (e.g. -paq 'PUR', -shaq '1FUT...') become /-Ca:/ when followed by certain other suffixes (e.g. by -pita, -mi, -wan, -pis); e.g.:
    /ima-paq-taq/ [imapa:ta] 'what for?'
    /nuqa-paq-pis/ [nuqapaxpis] 'for me too'
    /tun-mu-shaq-chu/ [tunmusha:chu] 'shall I fall?'

Following some suffixes there is alternation with [x]:
    /nuqa-paq-wan/ [nuqapaxwan] ~ [nuqapaxwan] 'and for me'
    /kay-kaq-wan/ [kaykɑ:xwan] ~ [kaykāxwan] 'this which is here'

Some following suffixes do not cause the change:
    /chay-yaq-lla/ [chayyāqkːːlla] NOT: *[chayyāːlla]

2. Rarely is /q/ lost when it is a suffix (e.g. -q 'sub') but the following shows that it is possible:
    /waqa-pa-q-qa/ [waqa:paxqa] 'the one who tells +TOP'

3. When kaq is a separate word it does not lose /q/ with compensatory lengthening unless the immediately following suffix is -qa 'TOP'; compare the following:
Compensatory lengthening [23.8.13.4]

/kutichimushan kaqpita/ [kaxpita] NOT: *[Ka:pita] 'from the place to which they were returned'
/kunranchi kaqqa/ [kunranchi ka:ya]392 'the one who opposes us'
/chaychaw kaqqaqa/ [chaychaw kaxká:ya] 'those that were there'

4. Roots ending with /q/ seem to suffer the loss of /q/ with compensatory lengthening only if /-qa/ 'TOP' follows:
   /stuq-qa/ [ató:ya] 'fox+TOP'
   /hunaq-qa/ [huné:ya] 'day+TOP'
   /sumaq-qa/ [sumá:ya] 'very+TOP'

Compensatory length also applies in the following words (but is not a productive process for /y/ as it is for /q/):
   /pay-qa/ --> [pá:ya]
   /key-qa/ --> [ká:ya]
   /chay-qa/ --> [chá:ya] ~ [cháya]

23.8.13.5. Final length suppression

-chaw 'LOC' and -naw 'SIM' have allomorphs -choa: and -no: (respectively). The length in these occurs only when some other suffix follows; word finally the vowels are short; e.g.:
   /wasi-n-chaw/ [wasíncho] 'in his house'
   /wasi-n-chaw-mi/ [wasínchó:mi] 'in his house (DIR)' 1935

23.8.14. -lla POS Switch

In HgQ -lla 'just' precedes possessive suffixes and -r 'adv'. There is reason to believe that this order comes about by a reordering rule: see 19.1.1.1. A phonological reason for thinking so is that the reordering interacts with other morpho-phonological processes. For example, a words like kikish-ni-lla-yki 'just your armpit' involves -ni Insertion followed by reordering; without such a derivation there would be no motivation for introducing -ni. Further, the selection of the allomorph for 2P must follow the reordering, since /yki/--not /ki/--is chosen.

/kikish-2P-ll/a/ by -ni Insertion
kikish-ni-2P-lla by -lla POS Switch
kikish-ni-lla-2P by spelling 2P 1936

23.8.15. Cliticization of Post-positions

The following are post-positions (see 7.2):

kama 'respective'
pacha 'continuously'
raji 'reason'

392 The absence of length on -nchí: '12P' shows that /kaq/ is a separate word.
They may occur as a separate, stress-bearing word or they may cliticize to the preceding word, in which case they share one primary stress with that word. These clitics behave differently than suffixes with respect to certain phonological processes:

1. Whereas /n/ assimilates to the point of articulation of a following stop or affricate in the same word, it is not obligatorily assimilated when the following stop is in a clitic. For example, /Lakon-man pacha/ can be pronounced [llakonmam pacha] or [llakonmampacha].

2. /pachak-kamá/ is not pronounced *[pachakáma] (with /kk/ as [k]) but [pachak káma]

kaq 'def', niraq 'SIM' and mallwa 'young ones' share with the above-mentioned clitics that they may occur as a separate word or as part of the preceding word. kaq, niraq and mallwa are often followed by one or more suffixes. As a tendency, the more suffixes occur, the more likely they are to be a separate word from what precedes; e.g.:

/punúsha-n-kaq/ [punushaŋkax]
'where he slept'

/punúsha-n-kaq-pita-qa/ [punushaŋ kaq-pitaŋa]
'from the place where he slept'

/o:su mallwa-kuna-ta/ [o:su mallwakunata] 'bear cubs'

23.9. Loan Processes

Quechua and Spanish have been in contact for close to four hundred years. Quechua has contributed hundreds of words to Spanish, and borrowed hundreds from it. In the process the Spanish words are assimilated to Quechua phonological patterns, and also expand these patterns. The assimilation processes will be surveyed here; the discussion is divided into sections on:

- vowels (see 23.9.1),
- syllabification (see 23.9.2),
- consonant clusters (see 23.9.3).

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393 For example, (to list only a few) caihua (a type of vegetable), chancor 'to mash', champa 'soc', charqui 'jerky', poncho 'poncho', pompo 'plain'. Much Peruvian slang is derived from Quechua; e.g. chambear 'work'. (Pulgar [31] has assembled several hundred examples.)

394 Three observations about loans, which have nothing to do with their phonological assimilation:

1. Certain words have been borrowed with gender distinctions; e.g.:
   awilu//awila 'grandfather'//grandmother
   ihus//ihu 'son'//daughter
   cholu//chola 'mountain boy'//mountain girl

2. Certain words were borrowed from Quechua into Spanish and have then been borrowed back to Quechua; e.g.:
   kondur < Sp. condor < Q. kuntur
   llangi ~ llanki < Sp. llangi or llanki < Q. llanqi
   lampa < Sp. lampa < Q. llampa

3. Some borrowings show semantic differences with the Spanish word from which they were borrowed. In some cases this is due to a semantic shift in Spanish after the borrowing; e.g.:
   ladrillo 'a floor tile' (from Sp. ladrillo) now means 'brick'
   inatal 'together with' (from Sp. igual) now means 'the same as'
   huar 'time' (from Sp. lugar) now means 'room, place'
   derechu 'space above' (from Sp. derecho) now means 'right'
   almusa 'to eat breakfast' (from Sp. almorrar) now means 'eat dinner (the noon meal)'

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- loss of a syllable (see 23.9.4), and
- multiple Spanish words borrowed as a single word (see 23.9.5).

23.9.1. Vowels

23.9.1.1. Mid vowels become high vowels
In the following, a mid vowel (/e/ or /o/) in Spanish has become high in the loan:
hilii 'razor blade' (from Sp. Gillette).  
mirinda- 'to eat dinner (noon meal)' (from Sp. mirendar). and 
mantika 'lard. butter' (from Sp. manteca).

23.9.1.2. Vowel added after final consonant
A vowel may be added to words ending in consonants:395 e.g.:
dosi 'two' (from Sp. dos).  
oosi 'sickle' (from Sp. hoz).
koña 'cognac' (from Sp. coñac).
lipi 'jeep' (from Sp [yip]396).
pikapa 'record player' (from English pickup).397
relohu 'watch' (from Sp. reloj).398

23.9.1.3. Stress and long vowels
Spanish stress is not preserved when a word is borrowed into Quechua: e.g.:
balkon [bákon] 'balcony' (from Sp. balcon)
The stressed vowel of a Spanish word becomes long when it comes into Quechua: this is subject to the constraint that long vowels occur only in open syllables. Examples:
aabi 'bird (small)' (from Sp. ave).
keeda- 'remain' (from Sp. quedar). and  
soora- 'perspire' (from Sp. sudar).
Trisyllabic borrowed roots often lack the expected length. Some speakers will pronounced a borrowed word with a long vowel if they are saying it as in Spanish but with a short vowel when speaking Quechua; e.g. they would say kabaallu 'horse' speaking of the Spanish word caballo but kawallu when speaking Quechua.

395 This may not be restricted to Spanish loans: I have on occasion heard huk' for the native Quechua word huk 'one'.
396 This is an approximation of how jeep is pronounced in the local Spanish.
397 This is one of the few loans from English into Quechua. Another case, is chompo 'sweater' is from English jumper.
398 The presence of the vowel is confirmed by adding a possessive suffix, e.g relohayki 'your watch': if /u/ were not present the form would be relohnikü.
23.9.2. Syllabifications

Quechua syllable structure does not allow for more than one vowel in sequence. Consequently many Spanish vowel sequences are assimilated as a vowel and a semivowel:

Sp./ae/ becomes Q./ay/. e.g.:
- hwayna [xʷayna] 'work party' (from Sp. faena)

Sp./ah/o/ becomes Q./aw/. e.g.:
- awga- 'drown' (from Sp. ahogar)
- awrora 'blue' (from Sp. aorora)

Sp./awa/ becomes Q./aw/. e.g.:
- awrinti 'firewater' (from Sp. aguardiente)
- awbindita 'holy water' (from Sp. agua bedia)

Sp./au/ becomes Q./aw/. e.g.:
- babul 'trunk' (from Sp. baul)
- awturidaa 'authority' (from Sp. autoridad)
- awha 'needle' (from Sp. aguja\(^{399}\))

Sp./oe/ becomes Q./yu/ or Q./iyu/. e.g.:
- hwidyus 'noodles, macaroni' (from Sp. fideos)
- fyu 'bad' (from Sp. feo)
- piyur 'worse' (from Sp. peor)

Sp./ie/ becomes Q./i/ or /e/. e.g.:
- astinda 'hacienda' (from Sp. hacienda)
- awrinti 'firewater' (from Sp. aguardiente)
- iskyerda 'left' (from Sp. isquierda)
- simri 'always' (from Sp. siempre)

Sp./iu/ becomes /iw/. e.g.:
- siwra 'city' (from Sp. ciudad)

Sp./ohi/ or /ohe/ becomes Q./uy/. e.g.:
- ruybiru 'forbidden' (from Sp. prohibido)
- kuyri 'firecracker' (from Sp. cohete)

Sp./ue/ becomes ["i] or /u/. e.g.:
- awwila 'fishhook' (from Sp. ansuela)
- duyũ 'owner' (from Sp. dueño)
- hwis 'judge' (from Sp. juez)
- hwirsa 'strength' (from Sp. fuerza)
- hwista 'fiesta'
- hwe:bus or huybus 'Thursday' (from Sp. jueves)
- swerti or surti 'fate' (from Sp. suerte)

Sp./ui/ becomes Q./uy/. e.g.:
- iskuyla 'school' (from Sp. escuela)
- puyri 'be able' (from Sp. poder\(^{400}\))

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\(^{399}\)Perhaps this form suffered the following changes in Spanish before being borrowed: [áwha] < [áu̯a] < [ayũa]: however, in the current local Spanish, it is pronounced [ayũa] so I suspect that the changes occurred in the borrowing process.

\(^{400}\)In other dialects: pwidth. ---

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23.9.3. Consonants

23.9.3.1. Stop + labialization as a consonant

In the following, a consonant with a labialized off-glide behaves in Quechua syllable structure as a single consonant:

/pw/  pwisu 'station' (from Sp. puesta)
      pwerta 'door' (from Sp. puerta)
/fw/  fwisra 'strength' (from Sp. fuerza)
/kw/  kwartu 'a small bottle, a unit of liquid measure',
      paskwa 'Easter' (from Sp. pascua)
      wasker 'oatmeal' (from Sp. Quaker)

/hw/  hwm 'John' (from Sp. Juan)
      hwis 'judge' (from Sp. juez)
      hwirsa 'strength' (from Sp. fuerza)
      hwista 'fiesta' (from Sp. fiesta)
      hwisyun 'judgement, rationality' (from Sp. juicio)
      hwe:bis or huysis 'Thursday' (from Sp. jueves)

/sw/  swerti 'fate' (from Sp. suerte)
      aswila 'fishhook' (from Sp. ansuela)

23.9.3.2. Stop + palatal offglide as a consonant

In the following, a consonant and a palatal offglide behaves in Quechua syllable structure as a single consonant:

/py/  pyesar 'to piece together, to repair' (from Sp. piesar),
/lj/  lj:rru 'iron' (from Sp. fierro).
/by/  abyun 'airplane' (from Sp. avion).
      byernis 'Thursday' (from Sp. viernes)
/ty/  atyus 'goodbye' (from Sp. adios).
      tyenda 'store' (from Sp. tienda).
      tyempu 'time/weather' (from Sp. tiempo)
/dy/  adyus 'goodbye' (from Sp. adios).
      hwi:dus 'noodles, macaroni' (from Sp. fideos)
      dyabl ['ðablʊ] ~ [d yablu] ~ [yablʊ]401 'devil' (from Sp. diablo)
/sj/  sy:rra 'mountain region' (from Sp. sierra).
      denunysa- 'to denounce' (from Sp. denunciar).
      despayu 'slowly' (from Sp. despacio),
      dispisyu 'to look down on' (from Sp. despreciar),
      kawsyunta 'cause + OBJ' (from Sp. caución)

/kj/  kyeto 'be quiet' (from Sp. quieto)
      inkype:tu 'unhappy' (from Sp. inquieto)
      iskyerda 'left' (from Sp. Isquierda)
/gj/  gve:rra 'war' (from Sp. guerra).

401 Word initially /dy/ often becomes /j/: another example: /yur/ 'God' from Sp. Dios.
Stop + palatal offglide as a consonant [23.9.3.2]

/hy/  
hye:rru 'iron/steel' (from Sp. fierro or hierro 'iron').

/my/  
simyentu 'foundation of a building' (from Sp. simiento).
myerkulis 'Wednesday' (from Sp. miercoles)

23.9.3.3. Clusters with /r/ and /l/

Clusters are simplified when their presence would violate consonant cluster constraints: e.g., if /n/ were preserved in borrowing Sp. ansuela, the cluster /nsw/ would result. To avoid this, /n/ is dropped: aswila 'fishhook' (from Sp. ansuela).

Clusters with /tr/ or /l/ are often simplified by dropping the stop if the cluster would cause a violation of one of the consonant cluster constraints. For example, the following illustrate dropping a consonant to avoid initial clusters (which are not allowed):

lanta 'plant' (from Sp. planta)
laitano 'cooking banana' (from Sp. platano)
lusua 'blouse' (from Sp. blusa)
raahi 'costume' (from Sp. traje)
rus 'cross' (from Sp. cruz)
rimiri 'first' (from Sp. primero)
rusyun 'procession' (from Sp. procesión)
ryubiiru 'forbidden' (from Sp. prohibido)

In the following, the cluster occurs within the word. If the cluster were to count as two consonants, this would violate the constraint against clusters of three consonants. But in each case the cluster is treated as a single consonant:

Sp./pl/ becomes simply Q./l/. e.g.:
kumliita 'complete' (from Sp. completar)

Sp./pt/ becomes Q./r/. e.g.:
simri [sim'ri] 'always' (from Sp. siempre)

Sp./tr/ is treated as a single consonant or becomes simply /z/. e.g.:
kuntra 'enemy, opposition' (from Sp. contra)
enkwenbru 'joint' (from Sp. encuentro)

inriga [in'zi:ga] 'turn over to' (from Sp. entregar)

Other changes involving clusters with /tr/ and /l/ are as follows:

1. with /tr/:
Sp./fr/ becomes Q./pt/ or /br/. e.g.:
aprichu 'chaff' (from Sp. afrecho)
asubri 'sulphur' (from Sp. azufre)
Sp./dr/, /tr/, and /rd/ (in highly assimilated loans) become Q./rr/ [z]. e.g.:
kumparri 'godfather to one's child' (from Sp. compadre)
pa:rrinu 'godfather' (from Sp. padrino)

I have heard presidinpa 'residence' (Sp. residencia); this hypercorrection shows that Quechua speakers are aware that some of their loans involved the loss of a consonant.

Whereas in Spanish planta refers to all plants, in Quechua lanta refers only to cultivated plants in contrast to hacha 'wild plants'.

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Clusters with /r/ and /l/ [23.9.3.3]

\[ta:rr\acute{i} 'evening' (from Sp. tarde)\]
\[in\acute{r}iga- [\text{in}^{\text{d}}\text{ri}g\acute{a}-] \sim [\text{in}\acute{e}r\acute{g}a-] 'turn over' (from Sp. entregar)\]

Sp./gr/ becomes Q./nr/ [\eta\grave{r}], e.g.:
\[tin\acute{r}i [\text{ti}n\acute{r}i] 'tigre' (from Sp. tigre)\]

2. with /l/:

Sp./bl/ stays Q./bl/
\[dy\acute{\alpha}l\acute{u} [\text{dy}\alpha\grave{\alpha}\text{l}\acute{u}] \sim [\text{dy}\alpha\text{bl}\acute{u}] 'devil' (from Sp. diabl\acute{u})\]

Sp./gl/ becomes Q./nl/ [\eta\grave{l}], e.g.:
\[in\acute{l}\acute{i}sy\acute{a} [\text{in}\acute{l}\acute{i}s\acute{y}a] 'church' (from Sp. iglesia)\]

23.9.3.4. Initial Spanish /h/ /f/ and /j/

Quechua loans from Spanish which result in an initial Q./h/ have various possible sources:

Some Spanish words spelled with initial /h/ are pronounced in some non-standard Spanish dialects with /h/. These are borrowed with Q./h/.\(^{404}\) For example:
\[ha\acute{c}ha 'axe' (from Sp. h\acute{a}c\acute{h}a)~[\acute{h}\acute{a}\acute{c}\acute{h}a]\]
\[harina 'flour' (from Sp. harina)~[\acute{h}\acute{a}r\acute{i}n\acute{a}]\]

Spanish words with initial /f/ are often borrowed with /h/ (or in some cases /hw/); e.g.:
\[horna 'shape' (from Sp. forma)\]
\[h\acute{\alpha}wayn\acute{a} 'community work party' (from Sp. faena)\]

Spanish words with initial /j/ (pronounced [h] or [x]) are borrowed with /h/; e.g.,
\[hornal 'day's wage' (from Sp. jornal)\]

23.9.3.5. Intervocalic consonant insertion

Spanish /ee/ is borrowed into some Quechua dialects as /iyi/. In HgQ, the semi-vowel is "strengthened" to become [g]. i.e., /iyi/ \(\rightarrow\) /igi/. Examples follow:
\[ligi 'read' (from Sp. leer, which might have been pronounced [leyer])\]
\[rigi 'believe' (from Sp. creer, which might have been pronounced [kreyer])\]

Another process gives rise to intervocalic /g/’s in HgQ: /g/ is simply inserted when at least one of the vowels is high (i.e., /\acute{a}/ or /\text{u}/). Examples follow:\(^{405}\)
\[laguna 'some time after one o'clock' (from Sp. la una-pita)\]
\[bigul\acute{\epsilon}n 'violin' (from Sp. violin)\]
\[Teguduru 'Theodor' (from Sp. Teodoro)\]
\[im\acute{l}\acute{i}ga:r\acute{a} 'employee(fem)' (from Sp. 'empleada')\]

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\(^{404}\)Spanish words spelled with initial /h/ which is not pronounced (and has not been pronounced for several centuries) are simply borrowed without /hm/: e.g., Q./oosi/ 'sickle' from Sp. hoz. I am indebted to Bill Bright for pointing out to me that the initial /h/ of some Spanish words have been pronounced in some non-standard dialects, and that this could explain why in some cases the /h/ is borrowed as Q./h/.

\(^{405}\)In HgQ p\text{iy}u\text{n} (from Sp. pe\text{\'on}) does not become p\text{igu}n as reported for Inga by Levinsohn.
23.9.3.6. Intervocalic /g/

Considering the processes giving rise to /g/ discussed in section 23.9.3.5, it is surprising to find the contrary tendency, i.e. the "weakening" (lenition) of /g/ to /w/: e.g.:

ruwa' 'to plead' (from Sp. rogar)
luwar 'time (sufficient)' (from Sp. lugar)

(In all attested cases, this occurs between /u/ and /a/.)

23.9.3.7. Spanish /j/ borrowed as /sh/

Some extremely old loans have /sh/ where Spanish orthography has /j/. This is because the words were borrowed at a time when Spanish /j/ was pronounced [sh].

uysha 'sheep' (from Sp. obeja)
millish 'gizzard' (from Sp. molleja)

23.9.3.8. Stop replacing fricative

In the following, a Spanish fricate has been borrowed as a stop:

almasika 'plan a seed bed' (from Sp. almasigar)
nubilla 'oxen' (from Sp. novillo)
asubre 'sulphur' (from Sp. azufre)
alparha 'saddle bag' (from Sp. alforja)
gomita 'vomit' (from Sp. vomitar)

There is a contrary tendency in some (very old??) loans in which a stop has become an affricate: e.g. /kawallu/ 'horse' (from Sp. caballo).

23.9.3.9. Intervocalic Sp. /d/ becomes Q. /r/

Spanish /d/ becomes a flapped oral resonant in assimilated loans: e.g.:

diwr 'finger' (from Sp. dedo)
siwraa 'city' (from Sp. ciudad)
karina 'chain' (from Sp. cadena)

23.9.3.10. /l/ to /r/ word final

When Spanish /l/ occurs word final, it is borrowed as /r/; e.g.:
alwasir (an officer in the fiesta administration) (from Sp. alguacil)
amitar 'very much' (from Sp. amatálo)

23.9.3.11. Metathesis of consonants

Metathesis occurs in some borrowed words, particularly when resonants follow a stop in medial clusters, this is metathesized to a resonant-stop order; e.g:

alberha or arbelha or arbeha 'pea' (from Sp. alverja or arbeja)

---

406. Some non-standard Spanish dialects have [gomítár] for vomitar (Bill Bright, personal communication).

407. A somewhat similar change is Sp./d/ becoming Q./l/ in Q./albertí/- 'to warn' from Sp./advertí/.
ardee or adree 'on purpose' (from Sp. adrede)

23.9.3.12. Dropping a consonant

In a few cases, a Spanish consonant is simply dropped in the borrowed form; e.g.:
faasi 'easy' (from Sp. facil)\textsuperscript{408}
falín 'skirt' (from Sp. falda)

23.9.3.13. Word final /ado/ and /ad/

Word finally a sequence of /Vd(V)/ becomes /V:/; e.g., /ado/ or /ad/ becomes /a:/.
Examples follow:\textsuperscript{409}
ardee ~ adree 'on purpose' (from Sp. adrede)
apura 'quickly' (from Sp. apurado)
auíriidaa 'authority' (from Sp. autoridad)
kwiira 'be careful lest' (from Sp. cuidado)\textsuperscript{410}
lao 'side, place' (from Sp. lado)\textsuperscript{411}
siwraa 'city' (from Sp. ciudad)

23.9.4. Loss of a Syllable

In the following, a syllable has been dropped, bringing the assimilated loan closer to the preferred bisyllabic form.
ar pinti [-azpinti-] 'repent' (from Sp. arrepentir)
kalbasá 'type of squash' (from Sp. calabaza)
nisita 'to need' (from Sp. nescita)
wysá 'sheep' (from Sp. obeja)
awrinti 'firewater' (from Sp. aguardiente)
awbindita 'holy water' (from Sp. agua bendita)

A syllable may be lost by dropping a Spanish prefix or the vocalic part thereof,\textsuperscript{412} e.g.:
sindi 'to light (a fire)' (from Sp. encender)
tabla 'to plank' (from Sp. entablár)
namura 'to be in love with' (from Sp. enamorar)

\textsuperscript{408}Perhaps this came about because of the frequency with which faasi occurred with -lla 'just'; fasit-lla was perhaps reanalyzed to fasit-lla

\textsuperscript{409}Some of these are common pronunciations in non-standard Spanish dialects.

\textsuperscript{410}This is a different word than Q. kwíiser 'to take care of' from Sp. cuidar.

\textsuperscript{411}This does not occur when lado is a separate word, but only when it occurs in combinations such as kanaláa 'that place up there'.

\textsuperscript{412}But other words have not dropped en-. e.g., entublar 'to be clouded over' (from Sp. entublar).
23.9.5. Multiple Spanish Words Borrowed as One Word

In the following cases, multiple Spanish words have been borrowed as a single Quechua word:

- *akese* 'although' (from Sp. aun que sea)
- *amaanu* 'ready, available' (from Sp. a mano)
- *aybeesish* 'occasionally' (from Sp. a veces)
- *laguna* 'some time after one o'clock' (from Sp. la una-pita)
- *lasdoosina* 'it is now noon' (from Sp. las doce-na)
- *lasdosina* 'it is now two o'clock' (from Sp. las dos-na)
- *lamar* 'ocean' (from Sp. la mar)
- *lumismu* 'the same' (from Sp. lo mismo)
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